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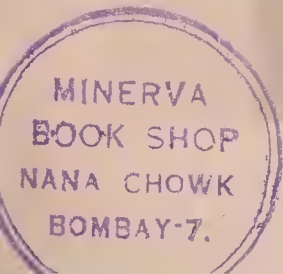
INDIA

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Nolan, Edward Henry

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- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1, New Road from Cawnpore. | 11, Chuttur Munzil Palace. |
| 2, The Alumbagh. | 12, The Kaiserbagh. |
| 3, Line of Genl Havelock's advance in Oct 1857. | 13, The Residency. |
| 4, Line of Sir Colin Campbell's advance. | 14, River Goomtee. |
| 5, Canal and Mutineers line of defence works. | |
| 6, Del Khoosha house and park. | |
| 7, Martiniere College. | |
| 8, Secunderbagh. | |
| 9, Inambarra of Ghazee-ood-deen. | |
| 10, Motee Menal. | |

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W. DANIELL R.A. DELT

J. COCHRAN, SCULPT

TIPPOO SAIB.

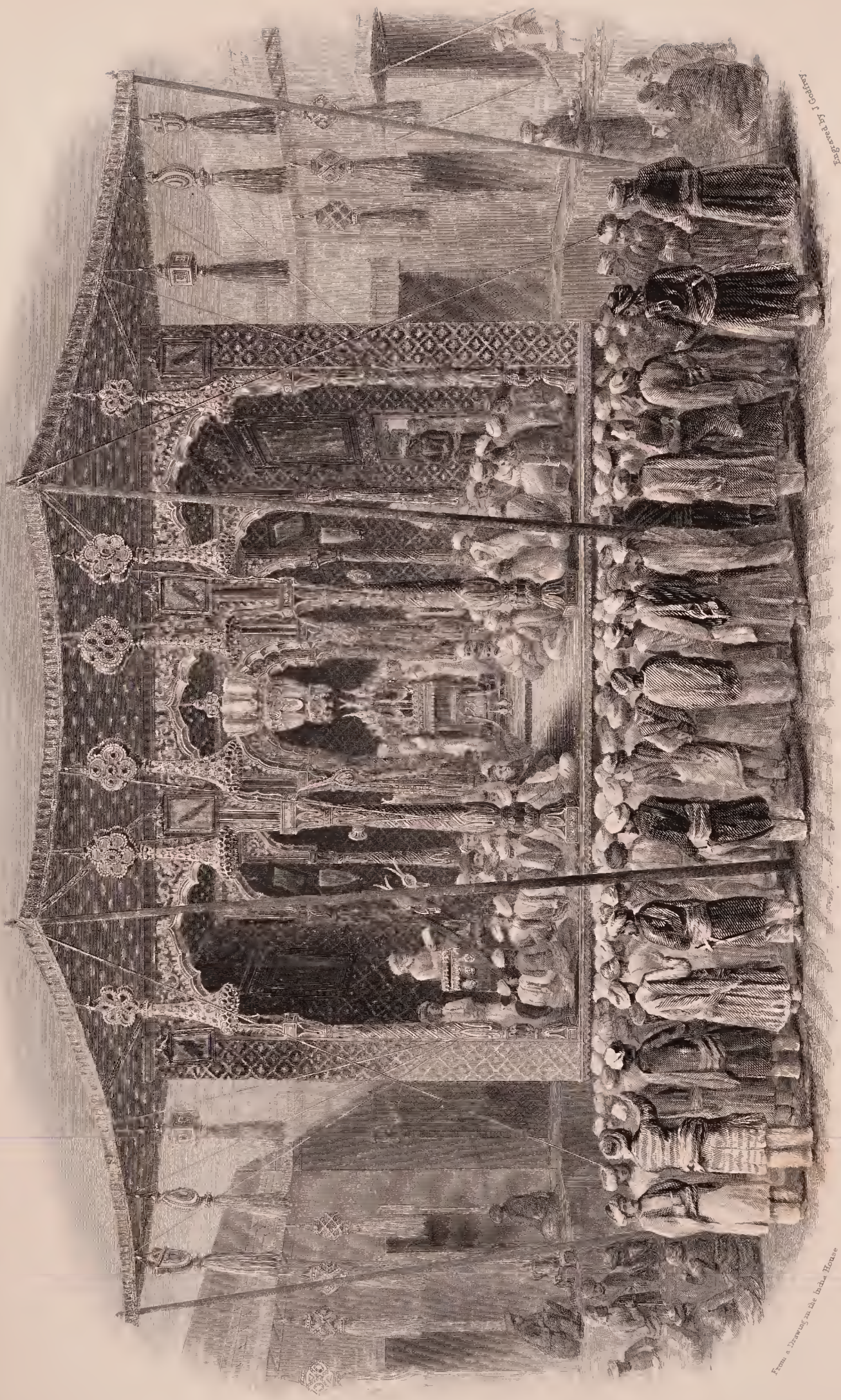
LONDON: VIRTUE & CO LIMITED.



W. Daniell, R.A. Del.

J. Cochran, Sculpt.

SULTAN BABER.



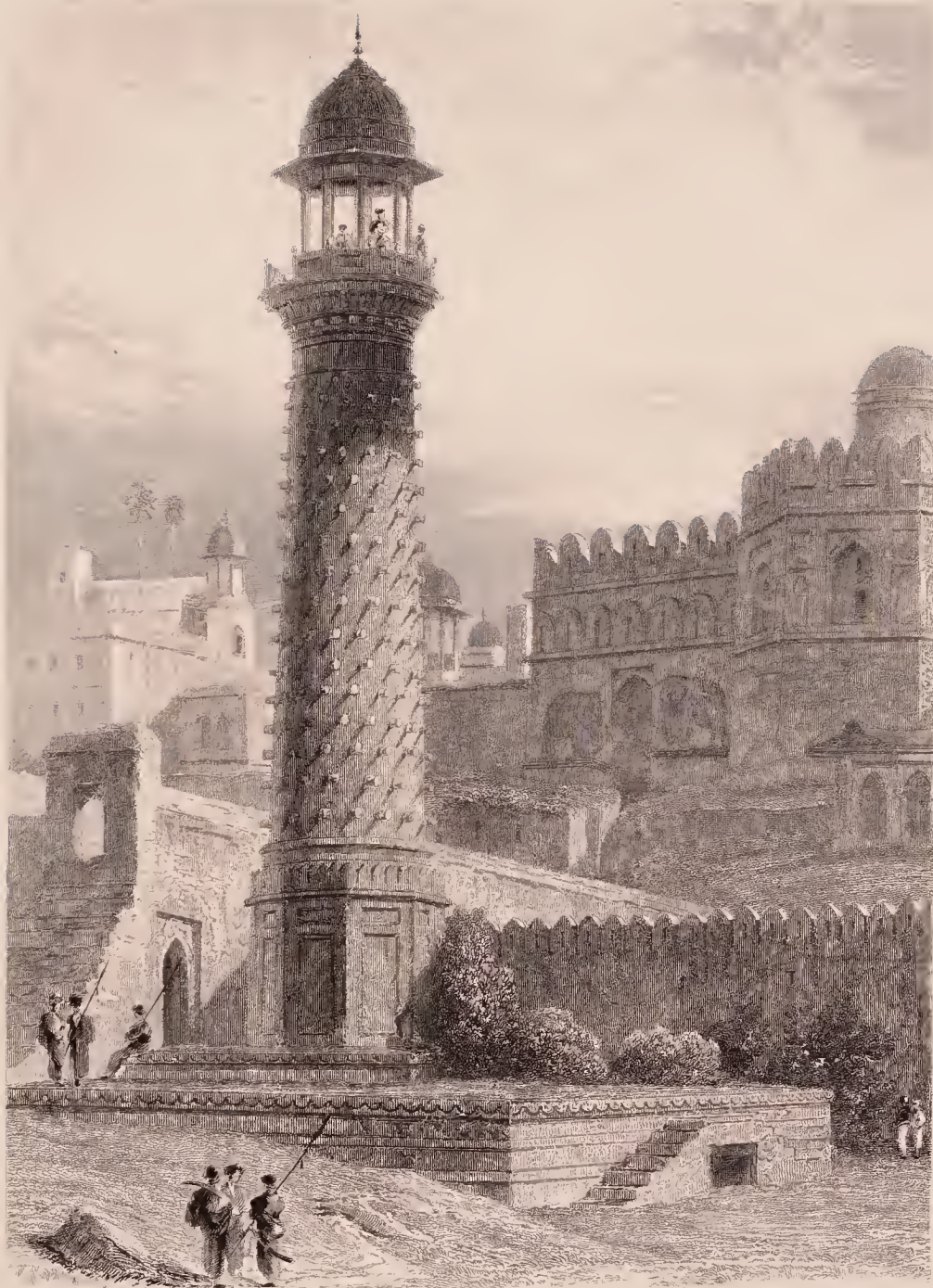
MOHAMMEDAN FESTIVAL OF THE MOHURUM.

From a Drawing in the India House

Engraved by J. G. P. R. 1852



VISCOUNT GOUGH, G.C.B. & C.



W. Daniell, R.A. Del.

J. Redaway, Sculpt.

MINAR AT FUTTYPORE SICRI.







E. Hodart

THE EARL OF AUCKLAND.

LONDON. VIRTUE & CO LIMITED.



SIR CHARLES NAPIER PURSUING THE ROBBER TRIBES.



W Daniell, R.A. Del.

J. H. Kernot, Sculp.

HINDOO TEMPLE AT TRITCHENGUR.

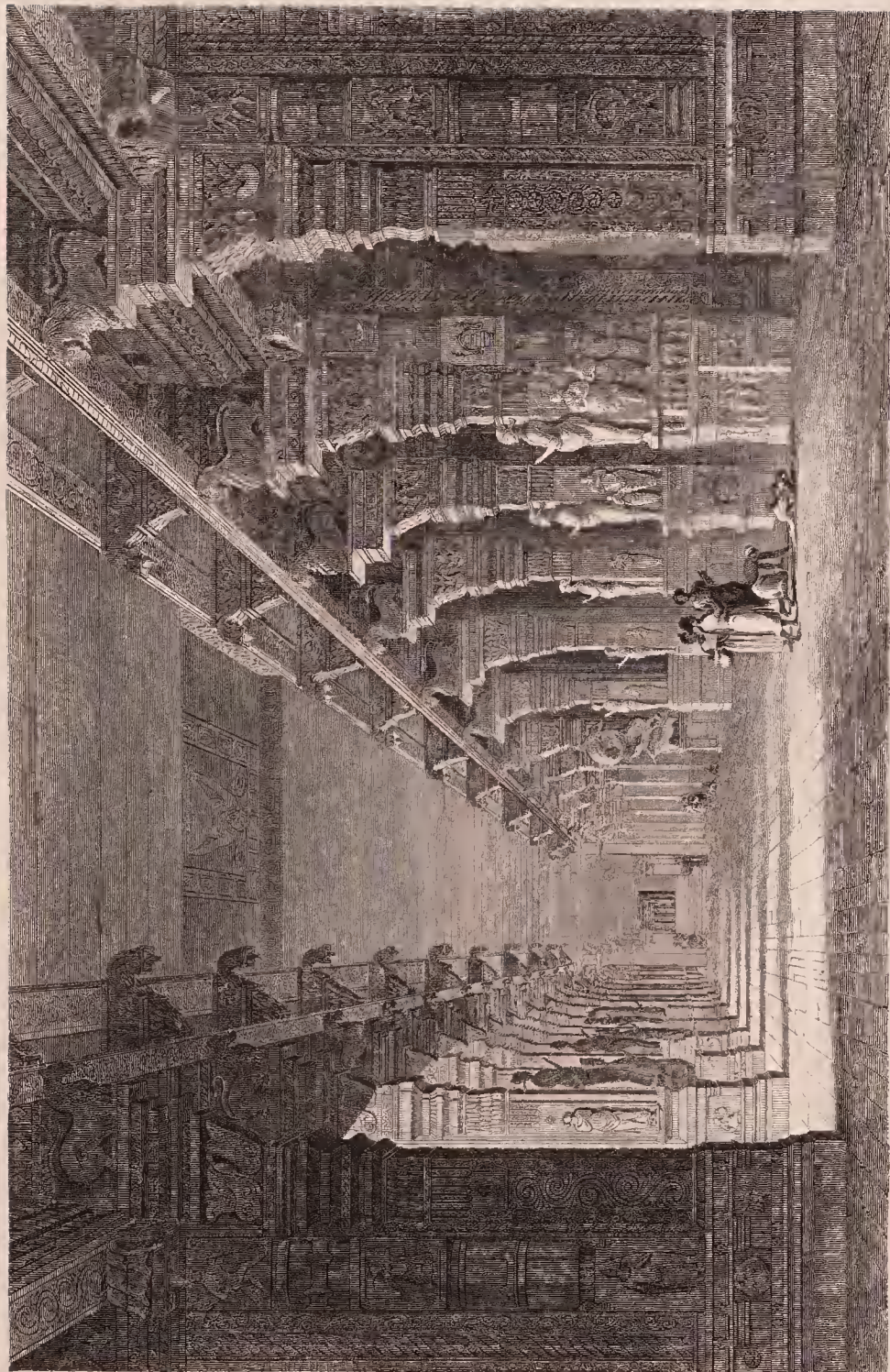
FIGURE 1. THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA





DOST MOHAMED KHAN.

From a Drawing by an Indian Artist.



W.Daniell, R.A. Del^t

J.Lowry, Sculp^t

THE CHOULTRY OF TREMAL NAIG AT MADURA.



J. W. Lowry, Sculp.

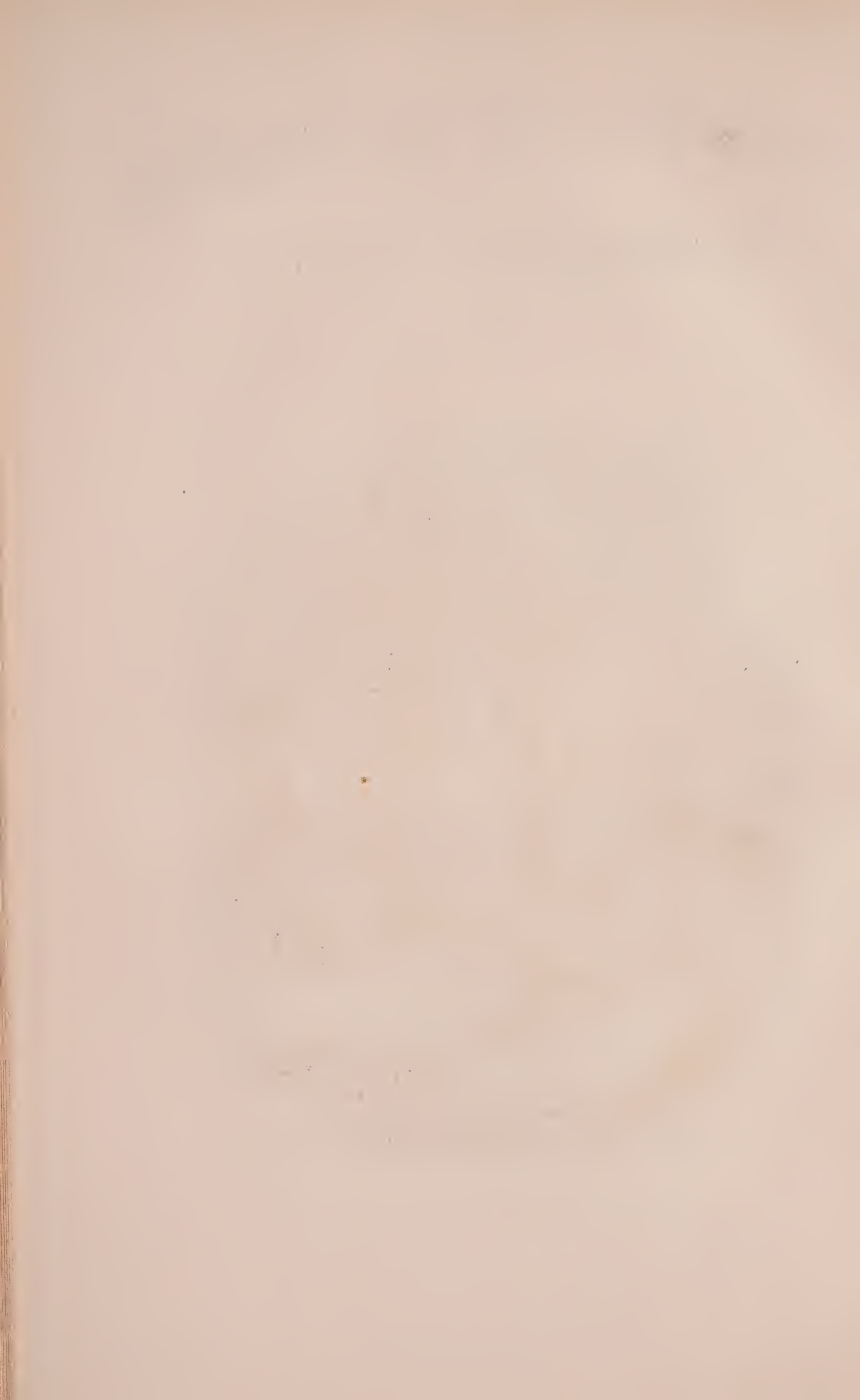
W. Damell, R.A. Del.

THE TIGER HUNT.

THE
HISTORY OF INDIA
AND OF
The British Empire in the East.
VOL. 2.



SIR DAVID BAIRD DISCOVERING THE BODY OF TIPPPOO SAIB





G. S. S. S. S.

ਮਨੀਕਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ

GHOLAB SINGH

From a Drawing by an Indian Artist.

THE
HISTORY OF INDIA
AND OF
The British Empire in the East.
VOL. 3.

CONTAINING A CONTINUATION TO THE END OF 1878.



THE FAN-LEAF PALM.





THE ISLANDS OF
JAPAN
WITH
COREA, MANCHORIA,
AND THE
NEW RUSSIAN ACQUISITIONS.

English Miles

“Long before he left India the relation in which his character had stood to the memorable events of 1857 came to be universally recognised by a grateful country. How often, in the lives of remarkable men, are we tempted to wish that such recognitions had been yielded sooner! But if the rarer virtues received always, and at once, the homage of the multitude, those virtues would themselves be less. The power of resisting passion is the power of resisting that which carries before it other men. They cannot see it as it is till their own vision has been cleared, and the balance of their mind restored. Enough if they see it then, and are eager to thank the man whose character is greater than their own. When Lord Canning landed in England there was no honour which he might not have had at the public hands. The modesty of his disposition would probably have led him to avoid such honours at any time. But, besides this, his health was broken by work, by climate, and by severe affliction. Within a few weeks of his arrival the grave of an illustrious father was opened to receive the body of an illustrious son. His funeral was attended by a large number of the men most distinguished in public life, both of this generation and of that which is nearly gone. There were there colleagues of the elder Canning, who had seen with pleasure, and with curious surprise, the very different but not less valuable qualities which replaced in his son the brilliancy and genius of their own early friend. There were there some who had known Lord Canning chiefly as the close political follower of Lord Aberdeen, and who recognised in the temper of his mind the same spirit of generous resistance against all forms of popular injustice. There were there many of Lord Canning’s companions in school and college life, to whom his great reputation was no surprise, because they had long known his safe sagacity and his manly judgment. There were there others who, with no mixture of personal feeling, represented only the universal sorrow of the sovereign and the people. That sorrow came from the public heart, and was the deeper because it touched also the public conscience. All men felt that Westminster Abbey was receiving that day, under its venerable pavement, the remains of one who had done much to restore and—better still—to justify our dominion in the East; who, at a time when it was sadly needed, had exhibited to India and the world some of the finest virtues of the English character, and in doing so had shed new lustre on the English name.”* Lord Canning, who was raised to an earldom in consequence of his services in

India, left no family. His titles, therefore, died with him, and the line of George Canning survives only in Lady Clanricarde and her children.

“The late Viceroy was destined to pass through a more fiery ordeal than any Indian ruler has ever been subjected to since the Black Hole of Calcutta, and compared with which even that horrible catastrophe sinks into insignificance. Barely a year had passed after his assumption of the government, and before he could possibly have acquired sufficient local knowledge and experience to act on his own judgment, symptoms of disaffection began to exhibit themselves in the ranks of the native army. Pampered and petted and humoured in every caprice, the sepoys had come to regard themselves much in the light of the Prætorian Guards of the Roman Empire, and to fancy themselves as the only true source of power and dominion. It must be conceded that at first Lord Canning failed to read aright the warnings that rapidly succeeded each other. Neither he nor the experienced counsellors to whose advice he naturally deferred were capable of justly appreciating the importance of the movement then gradually acquiring force. They were aware, indeed, of a slight shock, but they little anticipated an earthquake that was about to overthrow temple and tower, and well-nigh demolish the entire fabric of the British Empire in the East. The measures adopted by the Government to repress the growing evil were wholly inadequate to the emergency, and their apparent timidity and vacillation emboldened the native soldiery to resort to the arbitrement of arms. From that moment, however, Lord Canning rose equal to the occasion. Throwing aside his constitutional indolence and habit of procrastination, he at once faced the treacherous foe with the calm self-possession of an English gentleman, and by his unostentatious but resolute bearing inspired courage and confidence where abject terror and distrust had already become too painfully manifest. No sooner was the extent of the danger recognised than he steadily applied himself to the restoration of order, and the preservation of the vast territory committed to his care. Never for a moment did he despair of victory. Though every day brought fresh tidings of disasters in the north-west—though station after station was lost, and even Calcutta itself filled with wild alarms—his heart never quailed, his hand never faltered, his cheek never paled. His only fault, perhaps, was an untimely want of confidence in his own countrymen who were unconnected with the Government. And yet even in that respect

* *Dalhousie and Canning*. By the Duke of Argyll.

some allowance must be made for traditional prejudices. Nor can it be denied that the European community conducted themselves in a manner little calculated to win the respect and esteem of the sorely embarrassed Government. Not only were all sorts of alarming rumours greedily swallowed and circulated, but coarse abuse was heaped upon the Governor-General, and frenzied cries for vengeance on the natives were incessantly uttered by men who should rather have set an example of patient courage and true manly deportment. Ill-seconded, or to speak more correctly, misrepresented and thwarted by his own countrymen, it is not much to be wondered at that he should turn his back upon them for the moment and ignore their very existence. Nothing, perhaps, more tended to increase his unpopularity than his extreme measure of "gagging" the press, and much declamatory nonsense was talked about a son of Canning suppressing freedom of speech. In similar circumstances it is probable that Canning himself would have been compelled to act in a similar manner, and reduce to impotency those upon whose co-operation he could no longer rely. It is not to be supposed that Lord Canning ever questioned the loyalty of the English journalists in India, but he certainly had much reason to question the soundness of their judgment. The fierce invectives against their unfortunate ruler, in which they habitually indulged, might have been passed over with contempt, had it not been for the mischief they were likely to work among even the well-affected natives. In such cases moral support is oftentimes little inferior to physical force, and the knowledge of the fact that the Governor-General was opposed by his own countrymen would lend additional confidence to the enemies of the State, and excite grave doubts in the minds of those who were still well disposed. Looking back from this distance of time, we cannot place to Lord Canning's account as a serious charge this bold, hazardous, and most unpopular act, but would rather accept it as a further proof of the self-reliant, resolute character of the man. And, ere long, he availed himself of an opportunity to display the highest attribute of a truly brave man. While India was ringing with clamorous demands for signal retribution, and fire and sword were denounced against the innocent as well as the guilty, Lord Canning alone remembered that he was a Christian, and dared to be merciful. Future generations will regard as an honourable epithet that which was intended as a reproach, and "Clemency Canning" will be spoken of as one who tempered justice with mercy, and

held the balance even in the midst of angry passions and furious denunciations. Regardless of false reports and wilful misrepresentations, he steadfastly adhered to the straight and narrow path, and finally triumphed over his calumniators as signally as he had done over the mutinous sepoys. And when the rebellion was crushed he applied himself with the same quiet earnestness to soothe men's minds and conciliate all classes subject to his sway. His famous Oude Proclamation, so cruelly misunderstood in England, and so harshly rebuked by Lord Ellenborough, was in fact one of the wisest measures that characterize his viceroyalty, for it prepared the way for the restoration of the Talukdar system, and inseparably bound up the interests of the great native landowners with the stability of the British power. After punishing the ringleaders and condoning the minor and misguided offenders, Lord Canning did not forget to shower noble gifts with princely profusion on those who had remained faithful to their allegiance, and proved themselves trustworthy allies in the hour of need. Nothing could be better or more eminently serviceable than his various progresses through the country, his stately durbars, his right royal speeches. The favour he has systematically shown to the native gentry and independent princes will bear good fruit for many a generation yet to come; and by reviving the right of adoption he has removed all apprehension of future encroachments and absorption of territory. More recently we have seen the Viceroy engaged in prosecuting public works and encouraging the arts of peace. Roads, railways, and canals are being constructed or improved in all directions. Waste lands are being offered for sale at a moderate price to all, whether native or European, who will undertake to reclaim them, and the fee simple of every estate in the country may be obtained by its occupant on equitable terms. Still, with all his faults and shortcomings, the result of natural indolence, he has governed India for six years with eminent sagacity, uncompromising impartiality, dauntless resolution, and Christian magnanimity. If he has not added a kingdom to the British dominions, he has at least saved an empire. If he has not annexed principalities and chiefships, he has won the hearts of the princes themselves and made their interests coincide with those of the paramount Power. If he has not added many millions to the revenue, he has reduced the expenditure to a level with the income, and prepared the way for a financial surplus. If he has not left a quarter of a million of sepoys in arms, he has removed the principal

source of internal danger and provided an adequate European force to repel every foreign foe." *

The more important changes in various branches of the Indian administration since the mutiny may here be noted. In 1859 the Trans-Sutlej and Cis-Sutlej states together with the Delhi territory were formed into a lieutenant-governorship under Sir Robert Montgomery, who thus succeeded Sir John Lawrence, who went home to take his seat in the India Council. The ministry of Lord Derby having fallen, Lord Stanley was succeeded as Secretary of State for India by Sir Charles Wood, who modified the India Council by dividing it into five committees for the dispatch of business. In 1860 Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, went home only to die. He was succeeded by Sir George Clerk, who was followed in 1862 by Sir Bartle Frere. Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had succeeded Lord Harris as Governor of Madras, ensured his recall by the unjustifiable publication of an intemperate private minute on the proposed income-tax. He was replaced by Sir Henry Ward, who, falling a victim to cholera almost immediately on his arrival, was succeeded by Sir William Denison. In the same year the departure of Sir James Outram, the Bayard of India, called forth expressions of goodwill from all classes. In Calcutta alone £1,000 were subscribed in one day for the purpose of presenting the veteran with a testimonial of the universal esteem in which he was held. On December 19th, 1860, the Marquis of Dalhousie died at Dalhousie Castle in his forty-eighth year, leaving behind him a name that ranks among the highest in the roll of Indian Viceroys for statesmanship, administrative vigour, and the faculty of inspiring confidence among the millions subjected to his sway. On his arrival in England in 1856 he was unable to take his seat in the House of Lords, and the remainder of his days was spent in much physical suffering and prostration of strength.

In 1862 the outlying provinces of Pegu, Aracan, Mulmein, Martaban, Amherst, and Tenasserim were consolidated into the Chief Commissionership of British Burmah, and placed under the administration of Colonel Phayre. The territories of the Nerbuddah, Saugor, and Nagpur were constituted into the Chief Commissionership of the central provinces. North Canara was also transferred from Madras to Bombay.

After the great mutiny a fund was opened for the relief of those who had suffered, and subscriptions rapidly poured in from every part of Great Britain and its colonies all over

the world, as well as from foreign countries. A statement of the administration and position of the fund, as supplied by *Allen's Indian Mail*, may not inappropriately close this chapter. "The total receipts of the Indian Mutiny Relief Fund amounted to £475,901 4s. 10d., of which £435,405 9s. 9d. were the direct fruits of subscriptions, while the balance was made up of £36,850 11s. 3d., interest on securities, and £3,645 3s. 10d. repayment of temporary loans. On the other hand, the outgoings up to the present time have been no more than £254,845 1s. 3d., thus leaving a balance on hand of £221,056 3s. 7d. The expenditure was in this wise:—Remittances to India, £140,286 18s. 7d.; donations in this country, £92,667 4s. 1d.; loans, £11,335 10s. 6d.; and expenses of management, £10,545 8s. 1d., the last item including £4,418 9s. 9d. paid for advertisements. The actual sum, however, at the disposal of the committee is £246,069 12s. 9d., as several local committees hold among them £25,013 9s. 2d., and it is fondly hoped that a further addition will be made by the gradual repayment of outstanding loans. On the last day of 1861 there were 412 widows of soldiers, seamen, &c.; 760 orphans of soldiers, seamen, &c.; 63 widows or relatives of officers; 69 orphans of officers, and 142 disabled soldiers, making a total of 1,446 persons in receipt of relief from the fund. The question then naturally suggested itself—how long each of these individuals could continue to benefit by the fund without exhausting it? The answer is most satisfactory. The capitalised value of the present allowances is estimated at £245,477 11s. 4d., from which may be deducted the sum of £19,129 0s. 5d. on account of re-marriages of widows and deaths. The capital, therefore, actually required to provide for existing liabilities may be stated at £226,348 10s. 11d., plus expenses of management, at five per cent., £11,317 8s. 6d.: in all £237,665 19s. 5d. Now, as the balance in hand on the 31st December, 1861, was £246,069 12s. 9d., there still remains over and above all demands the sum of £8,403 13s. 4d., of which £6,000 are to be applied to providing a competent education to as many orphans as possible, while the balance is held available for such cases of distress among the sufferers by the mutiny as may be proved satisfactorily to the committee." Thus closes not the least glorious chapter relating to that terrible convulsion which for so many months filled the nation with sorrow, indignation, and affright, while it called forth deeds of unrivalled heroism and Christian charity. Already the retrospect is not altogether dark.

* *Allen's Indian Mail*,

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

THE WARS WITH CHINA, 1856 TO 1860.—TREATIES OF TIENTSIN AND PEKIN.—
COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH JAPAN.

AFTER the ratification of the Treaty of Nan-kin, 1842 (vol. ii. 639), although the Chinese evaded the treaty whenever they found it practicable, no very serious event occurred to interrupt English commercial intercourse until the affair of the *Arrow* towards the close of 1856. On the 8th of October that year the *Arrow* lorcha, a small vessel registered at Hong Kong and entitled to British protection, was boarded by the authorities at Canton, who tore down the British flag, and seized and carried off the crew, insisting, in spite of the remonstrances of the master and the consul, that the vessel was Chinese and not English. Negotiations were then opened with Yeh, the Chinese Imperial Commissioner at Canton, who, after having been threatened by Sir John Bowring, the Governor of Hong Kong, with an application to the naval authorities, delivered up the crew to the consul, but refused to tender any apology. After a fresh demand for an apology in writing, it was decided by Sir John Bowring and Admiral Seymour, the senior naval officer on the station, that on its refusal the defences of Canton should be seized. Accordingly, on the 23rd of October and two following days, the whole of the Canton forts were taken and occupied without opposition. This measure, however, failed to produce the confidently expected submission on the part of the Commissioner Yeh; and the Admiral and Sir John Bowring conceiving this was now "a fitting opportunity for requiring the fulfilment of long-evaded treaty obligations," added to their demands by insisting upon the right for all foreign representatives of free access to the authorities and city of Canton. "Hitherto," says Mr. Oliphant,* "the point at issue had been one simply of principle, and turned upon the right of the Chinese Government to seize a lorcha under certain conditions. It is just possible that even this stubborn functionary (Yeh) may have had his doubts on the subject, and been disposed to purchase peace and quietness at the price of so immaterial a concession. But now any momentary weakness, if it ever existed, was passed for ever. A grave question of policy had been raised—an old and much-vexed one—in the successful battling of which his predecessors had covered themselves with glory.

* *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan, in the years 1857, '58, '59.* By Lawrence Oliphant, private secretary to Lord Elgin.

Moreover, this sudden change of issue rouses the whole suspicious nature of the Chinaman, and he draws an inference somewhat discreditable to us, but not to be wondered at, which he thus expresses in a proclamation issued to the Cantonese:—

"Whereas the English barbarians have commenced disturbances on a false pretence, their real object being admission into the city, the Governor-General, referring to the unanimous expression of objection to this measure on the part of the entire population of Canton in 1849, has flatly refused to concede this, and is determined not to grant their request, let them carry their feats and machinations to what length they will.'"

The obstinate Yeh, having delayed to answer the letter sent to him, was reminded of this omission by the bombardment of his residence, and he retaliated by offering a reward of thirty dollars for the head of every Englishman. A slow bombardment of the town was kept up, the Chinese meanwhile harassing the ships on the river by night attacks. Passenger vessels were fired upon, and, on December 30th, the postal steamer *Thistle* was seized by the Chinese on board, and eleven persons had their heads cut off. These now fetched one hundred dollars apiece. Previous to this affair the Chinese had destroyed the whole of the foreign factories. The Admiral intrenched a portion of their site, but finding this position threatened, after setting fire to the suburbs on each side, he left it, and found it necessary to abandon, one by one, all the positions he held on the river, until, by the beginning of February, 1857, he retained only Macao Fort. The Admiral then applied to the Governor-General of India for the assistance of 5,000 troops. In the following month troops arrived from Madras and from England, and Lord Elgin was sent out as English envoy. In June the Chinese fleet was completely destroyed by the English, after which Canton was strictly blockaded. Lord Elgin's diversion of the Chinese expedition to Calcutta to strengthen the English in India against the mutinous sepoys caused a stagnation in the war for several months; but, on his return, and the arrival of Baron Gros, the French ambassador, with troops, energetic measures were taken to bring Commissioner Yeh to terms.

On the 10th of December, Mr. Wade, Chinese Secretary to the Mission, proceeded

to Canton and delivered to one of Yeh's officers the ultimate demands of the English and French plenipotentiaries, which included the execution of treaty engagements and compensation for the losses sustained by British subjects. In the event of non-compliance, at the expiry of four days, Canton was to be taken. Meanwhile, the island of Honan, three miles beyond Macao Fort, was occupied by the British and French marines. Further communications were made, but Yeh still refusing to come to terms, the attack on the city was begun on the 28th, when Lin's Fort, a small circular building, capable of holding two hundred men, was taken, and, after a terrific bombardment of twenty-seven hours, the allies were masters of the city. The capture was accomplished with a loss to the British out of a force of 5,000 of no more than eight killed and seventy-one wounded. The French, out of a body of 900, had two men killed and thirty wounded. It was not, however, till the 5th of January, 1858, that the allies entered Canton, when Pihkwei, the governor, the Tartar general, and the imperial commissioner were seized. The latter had sought refuge in the house of the Tartar lieutenant-general, the doors of which were broken open by Captain Key's blue-jackets, when an old man, in the costume of a mandarin, threw himself before them, declaring that he was Yeh. But he was the lieutenant-general himself. Captain Key then hurried round to the back of the house, where he encountered a fat old man, whose appearance reminded him of a portrait he had seen of the commissioner, and he was accordingly secured. This proved to be the veritable Yeh, who was sent a prisoner on board the *Inflexible*, and was soon afterwards dispatched to Calcutta, where he died on April 9th, 1859. Yeh is said to have beheaded, on the lowest computation, one hundred thousand Chinese rebels, and to have regretted his inability to destroy the whole of the rebels and their kindred. After a short confinement the Governor Pihkwei was released, and was entrusted with the administration of the affairs of Canton under the supreme authority and surveillance of the general of the troops. The naval force was then withdrawn, and, in order to prevent further loss to commerce, the blockade of the port, which had been established during Lord Elgin's absence in India, was raised in February. Canton, however, continued in military occupation and under martial law.

The conclusion was now come to by the British and French plenipotentiaries, that, in order the more effectually to deal with the Chinese Government, it was necessary "to bring pressure to bear at some point near the

capital," and the representatives of the United States and Russia agreed to unite with Britain and France in an expedition northwards, in order "to press their common demands jointly on the Cabinet of Peking." Communications were therefore dispatched to that city by the Powers respectively, demanding that a plenipotentiary should be sent to meet them at Shanghai with full powers to treat regarding the matters at issue between them. In the event of a commissioner not being sent there by the end of March, they were to proceed to a point nearer the capital. Lord Elgin announced to the Chinese Government the intention of Britain and France to continue the occupation of Canton until their demands were conceded, and further required that a British Minister should be permitted to reside in or near the Court of Peking, and that freedom of trade and travel throughout the country should be extended. The communications were addressed to the highest official authority in China, the Prime Minister Yu; but, disregarding a clause of the treaty of Nankin, which empowered her Britannic Majesty's chief officer in China to correspond with the Chinese high officers both in the capital and in the provinces, this dignitary did not condescend to reply, but instructed a subordinate authority to notify to their Excellencies that they were to return to Canton. On receipt of this unsatisfactory reply, the allied plenipotentiaries immediately decided to move northwards to the mouth of the Peiho River, and they arrived in the Gulf of Pechili about the middle of April. It had been Lord Elgin's intention "to approach the capital at once, and to conclude a peace at such a period of the year as would have admitted of his visiting Peking before the hot season," but the non-arrival of a reinforcement of gunboats which had been ordered left the expedition inactive at the mouth of the Peiho for five weeks. During this time another letter was dispatched to the Chinese Prime Minister, notifying the arrival of the allies, and expressing a readiness to meet at Taku a duly authorised minister. Commissioners on the part of the Chinese were consequently appointed, but their powers not proving sufficient no negotiation ensued. The delay gave the Chinese opportunities of strengthening their forts and other defences at the entrance of the river. Earthworks, sand-bag batteries, and parapets for the heavy gungals had been erected on both sides of the river for a distance of nearly a mile in length, upon which eighty-seven guns rested, and the whole shore had been piled in order to obstruct a landing. "Politically," says Mr. Oliphant, "the consequences were even more disastrous, because, by obliging

Lord Elgin to protract, at the mouth of the Peiho, negotiations which he clearly saw could lead to no good result, they gave to his proceedings a vacillating character, which was calculated to strengthen the self-confidence of the Chinese diplomatists." At length, rather than give the Chinese occasion to increase their arrogance by the abolition of the enterprise, it was resolved to take the Taku forts and advance up the river. This intention was announced to Tan, the Governor-General of the Chili province, and on the morning of May 20th, the ultimatum of the allies was delivered under a flag of truce, and two hours were allowed for the surrender of the forts. No communication having been received from the Chinese at the expiry of that time, the signal was given for the attack. The forts were taken the same day, and the plenipotentiaries with the admirals and their gunboats advanced up the tortuous river to Tientsin, the port of Pekin, from which it is distant eighty miles south-east. Its distance from the mouth of the Peiho is sixty-eight miles by the windings of the stream, but only thirty-four by land. The capture of the Taku forts, and the presence of so large a naval and military force within so short a distance of the capital, had the desired and expected effect of bringing the Court of Pekin to its senses, for on the 2nd of June two Imperial Commissioners, KWEILIANG, "a Senior Chief-Secretary of State, styled of the East Cabinet, Captain-General of the Plain White Banner of the Manchu Banner Force, Superintendent-General of the Administration of Criminal Law," and Hwashana, "one of His Imperial Majesty's Expositors of the Classics, Manchu President of the Office for the Regulation of the Civil Establishment, Captain-General of the Bordered Blue Banner of the Chinese Banner Force, and Visitor of the Office of Interpretation," arrived from Pekin with full powers to treat. The result of the negotiations that followed was the treaty of Tientsin, which was signed on June 26th, 1858. The principal provisions of this treaty were the following:—

The treaty signed at Nankin on August 29th, 1842, was renewed and confirmed.

Any British Diplomatic Agent might with his family and establishment reside permanently at the capital, or might visit it occasionally at the option of his Government.

Persons teaching or professing the Christian religion were to be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities.

British subjects were authorised to travel, for their pleasure or for purposes of trade, to all parts of the interior, under passports to

be issued by their consuls and countersigned by the local authorities.

British merchant ships received permission to trade upon the Great River (Yang-tsz). The upper and lower valley of the river being, however, disturbed by outlaws, no port was for the present to be opened to trade, with the exception of Chin-Kiang, which was to be opened in a year from the date of the signing of the treaty.

In addition to the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foo-Chow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, opened by the treaty of Nankin, it was agreed that British subjects might frequent the cities and ports of New-Chwang, Tang-Chow, Tai-Wau (Formosa), Chau-Chow (Swatow), and Kiung-Chow (Hainan), with right of trading, residence, building, &c.

The character "I" (barbarian) was no longer to be applied to the Government or subjects of her Britannic Majesty in any Chinese official document issued by the Chinese authorities, either in the capital or in the provinces.

By this treaty was settled the vexed question of transit-dues, which had been left in so unsatisfactory a state by the treaty of Nankin that it had ever since proved a permanent source of complaint to the British merchant. He was now enabled to purchase at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* in the case of imports at the port of entry and in the case of exports at the first inland barrier through which his commodities would pass, a certificate enabling him to carry his goods duty free, in the latter case to the port of shipment, and in the former to any place in the interior of China to which they might be destined.

In a separate article annexed to the treaty it was agreed that a sum of two millions of taels (about £650,000), on account of the losses sustained by British subjects through the misconduct of the Chinese authorities at Canton, and a further sum of two millions of taels on account of the military expenses of the expedition which her Majesty the Queen had been compelled to send out for the purpose of obtaining redress and of enforcing the due observance of treaty provisions, should be paid to her Majesty's representatives in China; the British forces to be withdrawn from Canton when the above amount had been discharged in full.

On July 4th the assent of the Emperor of China to the terms of the treaty was obtained. It had been Lord Elgin's intention to visit Pekin in order to present to the Emperor the letter with which he had been accredited by

the Queen; but various circumstances induced him to abandon that design, chief of which was the requirement of the forces in the south through disturbances at Canton. The mission, therefore, returned to Shanghai, where they received intelligence from Peking that commissioners had been appointed to proceed to that place "for the settlement of the tariff, and the framing of those general trade regulations which must necessarily be drawn up as a supplemental part of the treaty." The commissioners arrived on October 3rd, and these addenda were signed on November 8th. Before leaving China Lord Elgin made a six weeks' exploration up the Yang-tse-Kiang from Nankin to Hankow, "in order that, by personal inspection, he might be the better enabled to judge what ports along its shores it would be most advisable to open in conformity with the treaty of Tientsin."

During the interval that elapsed between his return to Shanghai after the signing of the treaty of Tientsin and the arrival of the imperial commissioners at Shanghai to adjust the trade regulations, Lord Elgin paid a visit to Japan, and at Yedo, the capital, succeeded in negotiating with the Government of the Tycoon a treaty of peace and commerce, which was signed on August 26th, 1858. The following are the principal articles of this treaty:—

"Her Majesty may appoint a Diplomatic Agent to reside at the city of Yedo, and Consuls or Consular Agents to reside at any or all the ports of Japan which are opened for British commerce by this treaty. The Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General of Great Britain shall have the right to travel freely to any part of the Empire of Japan.

"The ports and towns of Hakodadi, Kanagawa, and Nagasaki shall be opened to British subjects on July 1st, 1859; Nee-gata or another convenient port on the west coast of Nipon, on January 1st, 1860; Hiogo, on January 1st, 1863; and in all these ports and towns British subjects may permanently reside, the general boundary of their liberty being ten *ri* in any direction, the *ri* being equal to 4,275 yards English measure. From January 1st, 1862, British subjects shall be allowed to reside in the city of Yedo, and from January 1st, 1863, in the city of Osaka, for the purposes of trade only.

"British subjects in Japan shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and for this purpose shall have the right to erect suitable places of worship.

"It is agreed that either of the High Contracting Parties to this Treaty, on giving

one year's previous notice to the other, may demand a revision thereof, on or after July 1st, 1872, with a view to the insertion therein of such amendments as experience shall prove to be desirable.

"It is expressly stipulated that the British Government and its subjects will be allowed free and equal participation in all privileges, immunities, and advantages that may have been, or may be hereafter, granted by his Majesty the Tycoon of Japan to the Government or subjects of any other nation.

"The ratifications of the treaty shall be exchanged at Yedo within a year from the day of signature."

On Lord Elgin's return to England, the Hon. Mr. Bruce was appointed Minister to Peking and Superintendent of British trade in China, and was instructed to proceed to the Chinese capital for the ratification of the treaties.

On his arrival at Shanghai in March, 1859, Mr. Bruce found that every obstacle would be thrown in the way of his admission to Peking. The Chinese commissioners at Shanghai did their utmost to detain there the British and French plenipotentiaries, pretending that they alone were entrusted with the exchange of the ratified treaties, and that they wanted to be at the capital for about two months. They further derived confidence from the withdrawal of the French forces then employed in an unsuccessful enterprise on the coast of Anam. After much fruitless negotiation, the envoys determined to proceed to Peking, and to force, if necessary, admission to the capital, and the proper exchange of the ratified treaties. The Hon. Mr. Bruce, M. de Bourboulon, the French plenipotentiary, and Mr. Ward, the United States Minister, left on June 15th for the Gulf of Pechili. Mr. Bruce was accompanied by from five hundred to six hundred royal marines, a hundred royal engineers, and a number of seamen. A British force of seven steamships, ten gunboats, and two troop and store ships, under Admiral Hope, who had succeeded Admiral Seymour, arrived off the island of Shalutien, fifty miles from the mouth of the Peiho, on the 17th, and next day the Admiral proceeded to the mouth of the river to intimate to the local authorities the intended arrival of the plenipotentiaries, and to reconnoitre the existing state of the defences of the river. He found that the works previously destroyed had been reconstructed and strengthened by additional ditches and abattis, and a number of formidable booms had been placed across the entrance of the river. Few

guns were visible, but many of the embrasures were screened with matting. An officer sent on shore to communicate with the authorities was prevented from landing, and on his requesting that the obstructions at the mouth of the river should be removed in order to enable the ministers to proceed to Tientsin, a promise was given that this should be done. Next day the squadron was moved up to the anchorage off the mouth of the river, and the gunboats placed inside the bar. The obstructions not being removed as promised, the Admiral was directed by Mr. Bruce to take the necessary steps to clear them away. But the barriers resisted all attempts to remove them, and it was therefore determined to open fire on the forts, and take them by storm. By half-past two on the afternoon of the 25th the *Opossum* had opened a passage through the first barrier, and moved up to the second, supported by the *Plover*, and closely followed by the *Lee* and *Haughty*. The moment the *Opossum* arrived at the second barrier, suddenly and as if by magic, the mats that screened the guns in the curtain batteries were triced up, and the whole of the guns, between thirty and forty, of calibres from 32-pounds to 8-inch, opened fire simultaneously. The fire was immediately returned, and the action became general. In a few minutes the *Opossum* had several of her crew killed or wounded. In the *Plover* the Admiral was severely wounded, and was compelled to entrust the more immediate command of the squadron to Captain Shadwell; her commander, Lieutenant Rason, and Captain McKenna, of the 1st Royals, doing duty on the Admiral's staff, were killed; and almost every man of the crew disabled. The *Haughty*, *Lee*, *Kestrel*, and *Cormorant* were so severely crippled that they were in a sinking condition. Nevertheless the bombardment was kept up with unabated vigour, and by seven o'clock the fire of the forts was altogether silenced, with the exception of that proceeding from some five or six guns. Shortly afterwards a landing was effected, but the moment the first boat touched the shore a heavy fire was opened from the batteries, accompanied by showers of shells, rockets, and ginal balls, which mowed down the men as they struggled through the deep mud to the ditches in front. One hundred and fifty officers and men reached the second ditch, and about fifty succeeded in getting to the further bank of the third ditch, close under the walls. It was found, however, impossible to storm without reinforcements, and the order was given to retire. "At least three-fourths of the officers who landed were more or less severely hit. In effecting the retreat even more lives were lost, perhaps,

than in advancing, as the Chinese, by lighting blue lights, were enabled to discover the exact position of our then reeling and thoroughly exhausted men, and so to shoot them down like birds. Even on arriving at the water's edge matters were not improved, as so many of the boats had been smashed to pieces by round shot that there were not enough remaining to take off the surviving men. Several were drowned in attempting to get off, while many had to remain for more than an hour up to their necks in water before they could get a place in a boat; and even then their dangers were not past, as the fire from the forts continued so heavy that several boats full of wounded were struck and swamped while putting off to the ships. The *Coromandel* was made the temporary hospital ship, and the scene on her upper deck was truly horrible. It was nearly one o'clock before the last boat-load of wounded was brought off to her, and long ere that hour she was crowded with the mutilated and the dying. Every exertion, however, was made by the medical staff, and long ere daybreak every sufferer had his wounds tended."* The total loss in this unfortunate affair amounted to eighty-nine officers and men killed, and three hundred and forty-five wounded. The French out of a landing party of sixty had fifteen killed or wounded. The *Plover*, *Lee*, *Kestrel*, *Haughty*, and *Cormorant* all sank, but the *Kestrel* and *Haughty* were recovered.

In consequence of this reverse the British Government determined to send out a fresh expedition to demand redress, and to secure the provisions of the treaty of 1858. The French also resolved to dispatch a force to act in conjunction with the British. The British troops amounted to about eleven thousand men, and those of the French to about six thousand seven hundred. The former were under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Hope Grant, and the latter under General de Montauban, afterwards Count Palikao. The British fleet was commanded by Admiral Hope, and that of the French by Admiral Page, afterwards superseded by Admiral Charnier. The English general's first proceeding on his arrival at Hong-Kong was the acquisition of the promontory of Kowloon, which he considered necessary for the defence of Hong-Kong Harbour. A lease of this was, through the exertions of Mr. Parkes, the British Consul at Canton, obtained from the mandarin governor for a yearly rent of £160. The Chinese having refused the demands of the two Powers, war was declared in April, 1860, and the island of Chusan, with the town of Ting-hai, occupied. On the arrival

* Correspondent of the *Ceylon Observer*.

of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, who had negotiated the treaties of 1858, and whose experience would prove valuable in connection with this expedition, the fleet got under way on the 26th July, 1860, from Ta-lien-wan, a magnificent bay to the west of a promontory in Manchooria, in the Gulf of Pechili.

The British and French forces arrived off the mouth of the Peiho on the 27th and 28th of July, and on August 1st they disembarked on a spit of land below the Peh-tang southern fort. It was arranged that the gunboats should shell the forts at daylight next morning; but during the evening it was discovered that the forts had been undermined and abandoned, three men and a few wooden guns being all that were left to receive the European barbarians. The troops were then quartered in Peh-tang, a small town at the mouth of the San-ho. On the morning of the 3rd a reconnaissance was made on the road to the Taku forts to ascertain the position of the enemy, when a skirmish took place between 2,500 British and French and a body of Tartar cavalry about four miles from the town. Fourteen of the allies were wounded, when the force was ordered to return. On the 12th, after a desperate resistance on the part of the Tartars, their entrenched camp in front of Sin-ho, a town about midway between Peh-tang and Taku, was taken and the town occupied. On the 14th Tang-ku, a fortified town about three miles from the Taku forts, was carried after a heavy bombardment, and forty-five guns were captured. On the 21st an attack was made on the northern Taku forts by a force of 3,000 men with a heavy siege train. At five in the morning a tremendous bombardment was opened on the fort farthest inland, while the gunboats in the river poured shells and rockets into the outer fort, which kept firing briskly on the British and French lines. At seven o'clock the magazine of the fort exploded with a terrific report, and a few minutes later the magazine in the outer fort was also blown up by a shell from the gunboats. The defence, nevertheless, was gallantly maintained by the garrison till the storming parties effected their entrance, when the defenders, disputing the ground inch by inch, were driven back step by step at the point of the bayonet, and hurled pell-mell through the embrasures on the opposite side. A destructive fire was opened upon them in their retreat, which was impeded by swampy ground, ditches, and two belts of pointed bamboo stakes, and the ground outside became strewn with their dead and wounded. An hour after this the whole of the forts on both sides of the river hauled down their war banners and hoisted flags of truce; but the

officers that were sent to ask their meaning and to summon them to surrender received an evasive and insolent reply, and were defied to come on to the attack. The outer north fort was then taken without a shot being fired by the Chinese, and its garrison of 2,000 taken prisoners. Towards evening the south forts were evacuated by the enemy and occupied by the English and French. Thus the whole of the forts and entrenched camps, with four hundred guns, many of them of large calibre, were in the hands of the allies. "It is difficult," says Sir Hope Grant, "to account for the confusion and uncertainty which seemed to pervade the enemy when the first fort fell; but it now appears that the general in command was killed, and the second in command either killed or missing; and the confusion caused by this, together with the severe lesson received in the first fort, rendered them incapable or unwilling of further resistance." The British loss was twenty-one officers wounded, and twenty-two men killed and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded, while the French lost about one hundred and thirty. The same evening the booms across the river were removed, but, owing to the firmness with which two double rows of iron stakes were fixed, a passage through was not opened until noon of the following day, when the gunboats passed up and anchored off Tang-ku. On the 23rd a force of English and French gunboats left for Tientsin, and, on arriving the next morning, the Admiral, finding the town destitute of troops, placed guards in the forts and on the gates, and hoisted the allied flags in token of its military occupation. A few days after Lord Elgin's arrival at Tientsin, Kweiliang and two other commissioners came from Peking, and negotiations were immediately entered into. Everything appeared to be proceeding most satisfactorily until the question of the indemnity came to be discussed, when the commissioners intimated that they had no power to sign the treaty. The allied forces, which had advanced by four marches to Tientsin, were now once more obliged to take the field. On September 8th Sir Hope Grant, leaving behind a garrison of 2,000 men, departed from Tientsin, and on the 13th arrived at Ho-si-wu, forty miles distant towards Peking. Here a halt was made while Messrs. Parkes and Wade went on to Tang-chow, twenty-five miles farther, to meet fresh imperial commissioners, whose approach had been notified. It was arranged with these new negotiators that the allied forces should halt at Chan-chia-wan, five miles short of Tang-chow, to which place the ambassadors were requested to advance with an escort to sign the treaty.

The army then advanced, and on the 17th encamped at Matow, five miles short of Chan-chia-wan. From this point Mr. Parkes rode on to Tang-chow to make arrangements for Lord Elgin's reception. He was accompanied by an escort of Fane's Horse, under Lieutenant Anderson; Mr. Loch, private secretary to Lord Elgin; Mr. De Norman, attaché to her Majesty's legation; and Mr. Bowlby, the *Times*' correspondent. Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, Acting Quartermaster-General, and Deputy-Assistant-Commissary-General Thompson also went at the same time to Tang-chow, the former to settle with the Chinese authorities the site of the camp, and the latter to receive the supplies promised for the force. They found everything quiet on the road, and the commissioners agreed to Mr. Parkes's arrangements. Leaving Lieutenant Anderson and his men at Tang-chow, Messrs. Parkes, Loch, Thompson, and Colonel Walker, with five men of the King's Dragoon Guards, went out to meet the army and point out the camping-ground, which was a mile and a half south of Chan-chia-wan. On arriving there they found the place occupied by a large Chinese force and batteries thrown up so as to flank the proposed site of the camp. Mr. Parkes, obtaining no satisfaction from the commanding officer, returned to Tang-chow with an orderly of the King's Dragoon Guards to ask the High Commissioner for an explanation. Mr. Loch went on to report the matter to General Grant, while Colonel Walker and Deputy-Assistant-Commissary-General Thompson, with four men of the King's Dragoon Guards and one sowar, remained on the ground to await Mr. Parkes's return. After communicating with the General, Mr. Loch, accompanied by Captain Brabazon, Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General, R.A., proceeded to Tang-chow under a flag of truce with orders for Mr. Parkes and his party to return to head-quarters. After a short delay in getting the party together they set out to return, and on nearing the spot where they had left Colonel Walker they were stopped by a large body of Chinese troops, whose commander refused them permission to pass without orders from San-ko-lin-sin, the commander-in-chief. Messrs. Parkes and Loch, accompanied by one Sikh orderly with a white flag, left the rest of the party, and went to speak with San-ko-lin-sin. While there they were surrounded and made prisoners by his order and sent to Peking. The rest of the party were afterwards seized and sent back to Tang-chow. Meanwhile Colonel Walker, while waiting for Mr. Parkes, was joined by a French officer, who was suddenly set upon and cut down by a Chinese soldier, and on

his riding up to prevent him being murdered, his own sword was snatched from its scabbard and an attempt made to throw him from his horse. He then set spurs to his horse and galloped out with his party under the fire of the Chinese lines. One of his men was wounded and one horse, and Mr. Thompson, of the Commissariat, had a spear-thrust in his back, but all reached the British lines in safety. By this time the allied forces had advanced to within a mile of Chan-chia-wan, and were almost entirely surrounded by the Chinese cavalry. General Grant had been extremely anxious not to engage the enemy, whose infantry poured down on his right front, for fear of compromising his officers who were in their lines, but on the arrival of Colonel Walker and his party "it was useless," he says, "to wait longer, and the attack was immediately formed.

"The action commenced simultaneously on all points, and it was now apparent that the Chinese had carefully prepared a very treacherous reception for our forces. An intrenchment, skilfully concealed by natural obstacles, extended on our right and left for several miles, and was armed with numerous guns." By a brilliant charge, the 1st Sikh Cavalry discomfited the Tartar horse on the left flank and drove them back for miles. The 15th Punjab Infantry turned the right of the enemy's intrenchment, on which they took to flight, and were pursued with much spirit by the infantry, who advanced through Chan-chia-wan, capturing several camps on the outside. The French, meanwhile, turned the enemy's left, consisting chiefly of infantry, who, on being driven back, were gallantly charged by a squadron of Fane's Horse. The enemy, who were estimated at upwards of 20,000, sustained a loss of 600 killed and 75 guns. This action took place on September 18th, and after two days' rest at Chan-chia-wan the allies resumed the march towards Peking. Soon after passing Tang-chow, the French, who were on the right, got under fire of the Chinese works thrown up to protect the fine bridge of Pa-le-chiao (whence General de Montauban afterwards derived his title of Count Palikao), crossing the canal which runs from the Peiho to Peking, and on the imperial high road to that city. Here the enemy's infantry appeared in considerable force, and the Tartar cavalry showed in large masses on the left. The latter advanced to within two hundred yards of the English guns, when they were driven off with a fire of canister. A heavy loss was inflicted on the cavalry, which hung in large numbers on the left front, and the Chinese right was effectually turned by the 1st Sikh Cavalry supporting Fane's Horse.

“The enemy, though defeated on the spot, yet still remained in front, in clouds of horsemen, who, though constantly retiring from the advance of any part of our cavalry, however small, never allowed more than a thousand yards to intervene between us, and showed a steady and threatening front.” Occasional shots were fired on their thickest masses with three Armstrong guns. “These shots, fired singly, at slow intervals, served admirably to illustrate the good qualities of the Armstrong gun; not one failed to strike the thick masses of the enemy, at once dispersing them from the spot. Thus advancing, the cavalry was brought to a check by the fire of a camp, which was taken by the 99th Regiment, under Major Dowbiggin, and which proved to be the head-quarters of some of the imperial princes. This, with several others in the neighbourhood, was burnt by our troops, and the Chinese army retired upon Pekin.” The French, meanwhile, had carried the bridge, and inflicted much loss on the enemy. During this action forty-three guns were taken, and the loss of the Chinese was very severe. The loss of the allies was two killed and twenty-nine wounded. The British troops finally encamped on some high ground on the right bank of the canal, and the French on the other side, near the Pa-le-chiao bridge. The next morning, September 22nd, a flag of truce arrived, with letters from Prince Kung, brother of the Emperor, stating that he had been appointed chief commissioner, and was anxious to come to terms. Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, however, declined to open negotiations until the captives were returned. Next day another letter was received from the Prince declaring that the prisoners were safe; that the only conditions on which they would be sent back were the restitution of the Taku forts and the evacuation by the fleet of the Peiho River; and that the Emperor had agreed to sign the treaty, but would not consent to Lord Elgin delivering to him in person a letter from the Queen of England. Lord Elgin replied that not a ship or any part of the army should leave the country until the provisions of the treaty had been carried out; and that, if the Chinese Government chose to break the law of nations with regard to flags of truce, they must abide by the consequences, and that the vengeance of the British and French would be visited upon their country for their perfidy. On the 5th October the march of the troops towards Pekin was resumed, and next day it was arranged with the French General that they should make for the Yuan-min-yuan, or Summer Palace, in the hope of finding there the Emperor or principal Government officials. The French, during the march, missed the

English track, and were the first to arrive at the palace. On October 7th, Lord Elgin and Sir Hope Grant rode over from their quarters, in a handsome old temple dedicated to Confucius, to see General de Montauban. “In the distance,” says Sir Hope Grant, “we at last perceived the palace beautifully situated amidst gardens and woods, and a range of large suburbs in front. We passed the park walls by a fine old stately gateway, and, proceeding up an avenue, came to a range of handsome dwellings roofed over with yellow tiles, turned up at the ends, Chinese fashion. In different parts of the grounds were forty separate small palaces, in beautiful situations. The park was carefully kept—the footpaths and roads clean and in excellent order, and there were various pretty pieces of ornamental water. We found that the French had encamped near the entrance of the Great Audience Hall, and it was pitiful to see the way in which everything was being robbed. The principal palace was filled with beautiful jade-stone of great value and carved in a most elaborate manner; splendid old china jars, enamels, bronzes, and numerous handsome clocks and watches, many of which were presents given by Lord Macartney and ambassadors from other countries. In a building close to the main palace were two mountain howitzers, which had been made at Woolwich, and likewise presented by Lord Macartney to the Emperor. They had apparently been kept as curiosities and never used. They were afterwards sent back to Woolwich. One room only in the palace was untouched. General de Montauban informed me he had reserved any valuables it might contain for equal division between the English and French. The walls of it were covered with jade-stones and with ornaments of various descriptions. General de Montauban and I agreed that all that remained of prize property should be divided between both armies. A quantity of articles were set aside for us, and I determined to sell them for the benefit of our officers and men. The French General told me that he had found two ‘joës’ or staves of office, made of gold and green jade-stone, one of which he would give me as a present to Queen Victoria, the other he intended for the Emperor Napoleon. In a stable we found eleven of Fane’s horses, two of Probyn’s and one belonging to the King’s Dragoon Guards, all of which had been taken from the escort sent with Parkes. The next day, the 8th October, a quantity of gold and silver was discovered in one of the temples of the Summer Palace, and a room full of the richest silks and furs. This treasure was divided into two equal portions between the

French and ourselves.”* It appears that the Emperor and all his grandees had taken flight only a short time previous to the entrance of the French, and had taken little or nothing with them.

On the day following the occupation of the Summer Palace, the loss of which seems to have had a great effect on the Chinese authorities, a note was sent to the Chinese Commissioner by the allied commanders, threatening to storm the city of Pekin unless the Chinese Government immediately sent into their respective camps the officers and subjects of Britain and France still in their hands. The allied ambassadors would then name a day for the signature of the conventions and the exchange of ratifications, but seeing that it would not be proper, late events being considered, that faith should be placed at random in the Chinese Government or its people, their Excellencies would not enter the city until one of its gates was occupied by an escort detached from both armies. As a result of this on the 8th Messrs. Parkes and Loch, with one Sikh sowar and five Frenchmen (one officer and four soldiers) were brought into the English camp, the Chinese declaring that these were all the prisoners who were in Pekin, the rest having been conveyed into the interior. These, however, would be sent for, and would be given up in the course of a few days. By the morning of the 13th everything was ready for an assault on the city in the event of the gate not being given up by noon. This, however, was done, the easternmost gate on the north side of the city being occupied by the allied forces; and a letter was received from Prince Kung announcing the readiness of the Chinese Government to agree to all their terms. On the evening of the 12th a French soldier and eight sowars of Fane's Horse were surrendered, and on the 14th two more Sikhs were brought back, the Chinese declaring that they were the last survivors of those that had been taken prisoners. They also produced the bodies of Lieutenant Anderson, Private John Phipps, King's Dragoon Guards, Mr. De Norman, Mr. Bowlby, and eight Sikhs. Messrs. Parkes and Loch, with their Sikh orderly were for several days laid in irons in the common prison of Pekin, and experienced the dread anxiety of being several times ordered out for execution, but they were latterly well treated under the orders of Prince Kung. A different fate befell the rest of the party. When Messrs. Parkes and Loch left them to speak to San-ko-lin-sin, the Chinese crowded round them in great numbers. They were then disarmed and taken to the rear. The next morning

Captain Brabazon and the Abbé de Luc, a French missionary, who spoke Chinese, were taken from them, and are believed to have been beheaded in the Tartar camp during the battle of Pa-le-chiao on the 21st of September. The remainder of the party were taken to the palace of Yuan-min-yuan, where one by one they were thrown on their faces and their hands and feet tied together behind their backs. In this state they were left, without food or drink, for three days. On the day after the battle of the 21st the Chinese, fearing their recapture, took them out, and dividing them into four parties, drove them off in carts, with their hands still bound, to four small hill fortresses, distant from twenty to forty miles from Pekin. Of those who died from the mortification that ensued from their hands being so tightly bound with cords, Mr. Bowlby succumbed on the seventh day of his captivity, and Lieutenant Anderson on the ninth, while Phipps and De Norman lingered, the former to the fourteenth and the latter to the seventeenth day. By permission of the Russian Minister, the bodies of the Englishmen were buried on the 17th October in the Russian cemetery, with military honours, in presence of General de Montauban and many officers of the French army, of the officers of the Russian Mission, and of the majority of the officers of the English army and embassy. Next day, as retribution for the barbarous treatment of the prisoners, the Emperor's Summer Palace was utterly destroyed by fire by Sir John Michel's division, with the greater part of the cavalry brigade. “It was a magnificent sight,” says Sir Hope Grant. “I could not but grieve at the destruction of so much ancient grandeur, and felt that it was an uncivilised proceeding; but I believed it to be necessary as a future warning to the Chinese against the murder of European envoys, and the violation of the laws of nations.” A sum of 300,000 taels or about £100,000 was then demanded by Sir Hope Grant for the families of his murdered countrymen, and as an indemnity to the survivors for the sufferings they had undergone, while the French General demanded 200,000 taels for a similar purpose. The money was paid on the 20th, and on the 24th the convention was signed by Lord Elgin and Prince Kung, and the ratified treaty of Tientsin exchanged. The following are the principal terms of the convention:—

“His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China expresses his deep regret at the misunderstanding and breach of friendly relations occasioned by the act of the garrison of Taku.

“Her Britannic Majesty's Representative will

* Knollys's *Incidents in the China War of 1860.*

henceforward reside permanently or occasionally at Peking, as her Britannic Majesty shall be pleased to decide.

“In lieu of the amount of indemnity specified in the separate article of the treaty of 1858, the Emperor of China shall pay the sum of 8,000,000 taels, two millions to be appropriated to the indemnification of the British mercantile community at Canton, for losses sustained by them, and the remaining six millions to the liquidation of war expenses.

“The port of Tientsin shall be open to trade, and it shall be competent to British subjects to reside and trade there under the same conditions as at any other port of China by treaty open to trade.

“Chinese choosing to take service in the British colonies or other parts beyond sea are at perfect liberty to enter into engagements with British subjects for that purpose, and to ship themselves and their families on board any British vessel at any of the open ports of China, and such regulations shall be framed for the protection of Chinese emigrating as the circumstances of the different open ports may demand.

“With a view to the maintenance of law and order in and about the harbour of Hong-Kong, the Emperor of China cedes to her Majesty the township of Kowloon as a dependency of her Britannic Majesty's colony of Hong-Kong.

“As soon as this convention shall have been signed, the ratifications of the treaty of 1858 exchanged, and an imperial decree respecting the convention and treaty promulgated, Chusan shall be evacuated by her

Britannic Majesty's troops there stationed, and her Majesty's force now before Peking shall commence its march towards the city of Tientsin, the forts of Taku, the north coast of Shang-tung, and the city of Canton, at each or all of which places it shall be at the option of her Majesty to retain a force until the indemnity of eight millions of taels shall have been paid.

“The convention to take effect from the date of its signature.”

After the settlement of these matters, ceremonial visits were exchanged at the Imperial Palace between Prince Kung and the English and French ambassadors, and on November 8th Mr. Bruce, the future Minister at Peking, was introduced to the Prince. Next day the allied army began its retrograde march from Peking, and by the 17th the greater part of it had arrived at Tientsin. Garrisons were left at Tientsin, the Taku forts, Shanghai, Hong-Kong, and Canton, and the remainder of the troops were embarked either to India or to England. During February, 1861, Admiral Hope, accompanied by Mr. Parkes and representatives of the commercial community of Shanghai, made an expedition up the Yangtse-kiang, which was declared navigable for vessels drawing twenty feet of water as far as Hankow. Chin-kiang, Hew-kiang, and Hankow were the ports selected for trade, and at these consular agencies were established. The British and French embassies took up their residence in Peking on March 26th. Canton was restored to the Chinese in October, and during the same month Tientsin was evacuated by the allied troops.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

LORD ELGIN'S VICEROYALTY

On the expiration of Lord Canning's term of service the Governor-Generalship of India was offered to and accepted by Lord Elgin, who had not long returned from dictating terms to the Chinese under the walls of Peking. His lordship assumed the government on March 13th, 1862. James Bruce, Earl of Elgin, was born in London in 1811. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he was first in classics, 1832; and became Fellow of Merton, and graduated Master of Arts, 1835. At the general election of 1841, he was returned as Lord Bruce for Southampton in the Conservative interest, but the election was declared void on petition,

and before a new writ could be issued he had succeeded his father as Earl of Elgin. By this succession to a Scotch peerage he was, as he himself said, “expelled from the House of Commons without being admitted into the House of Peers.” He was appointed Governor of Jamaica in 1842, and Governor-General of Canada in 1847. Under his successful administration, 1847-55, the revenue of that possession became quadrupled. He had been summoned to the House of Lords as a peer of the United Kingdom in 1849. In 1857 he left England for China as Plenipotentiary Extraordinary, but he had not many weeks left these shores when the Indian Mutiny

broke out. Without hesitation Lord Elgin, on the request of Lord Canning, dispatched to his assistance the Chinese expedition, and enabled the English in India to hold out until the arrival of reinforcements. His subsequent proceedings in China and Japan have already been related.

Lord Elgin's Indian administration was brief and uneventful. Early in 1863 he set out for Simla, holding durbars at Benares, Agra, Delhi, and Ambala, and in the autumn he proceeded on a tour of exploration through the mountainous region of the Punjab. Having overtaken his strength at the Rotaung Pass of the Himalayas, about thirteen thousand feet in height, which he had crossed almost the whole way on foot, he was prostrated from exhaustion and seized with the illness which brought him to his grave at Dharmsala, a secluded hamlet in the valley of Cashmere, on November 20th. Conscious that his life's end was near, he beheld its approach with Christian resignation and a calm heroism. He appointed Sir William Denison acting Governor-General until the arrival of his permanent successor, sent his last farewell and expression of his duty to his sovereign, gave directions respecting his burial, approved of the design of a simple monument to be erected over his remains, took leave of his afflicted wife, and quietly awaited his Maker's summons. During his short career Lord Elgin's exertions were unceasingly directed towards the development of India's resources, and by his judicious arrangements the financial and commercial prosperity of the country was greatly increased. He provoked no contests and attempted no acquisition of territory. His uniform courtesy and kindness of manner made him generally acceptable to the people of India, and if he had had a longer reign he would doubtless have been one of the most popular of Indian rulers. We have now to relate the principal occurrences during his term of office.

The close of 1861 and commencement of 1862 were marked by attacks by the savage mountaineers of the Cossyah and Jynteah Hills on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, especially in and about Cherra Punji and its neighbourhood. They were checked at first by Colonel Richardson, who with a small force marched to Jowai, fifty miles from Cherra, and released a party of sixty sepoys, who were stockaded there, and whom he found straitened for food and worn out with constant watchfulness to frustrate the attempts of the rebels to fire the place. In January, 1862, in conjunction with Major Rowlatt, Deputy Commissioner, he proceeded to the stockaded village of Jallong, where the insur-

gents had made their stand. The village was situated at a height of 1,000 feet, and was two hours' march from Jowai. They found the rebels entrenched in two positions, one at the summit of the hill and the other midway up the ascent. The attack on the first stockade was stoutly contested; and though the assailing party were but sixty-five strong, they succeeded in cutting down the gate and entering the village, from which the rebels, abandoning the upper stockade, fled into the jungle. Various other stockades were afterwards taken in different parts, but the rebels refused to yield. In March Colonel Richardson, being reinforced by a party of one hundred and fifty men under Captain Robinson, drove the rebels from their strongly entrenched position at Ouksae, and at Ralleang, a village about twenty miles north-east of Jowai, strongly stockaded on every side and doubly so at the narrow footpaths leading to it, some four hundred rebels were put to flight, and as usual escaped with a trifling loss, the deep ravines and heavy jungle preventing the place from being surrounded. It was hoped that the destruction of their stockades might induce the rebels to submit, but as soon as the troops were out of sight fresh stockades were built, from which, knowing they were safe in them for a time at any rate, they issued to plunder and destroy in every direction. Towards the end of March it was found necessary to proclaim martial law in the disaffected districts, and Brigadier-General Showers was appointed Commissioner of the Cossyah and Jynteah Hills. In April he took up his headquarters at Jowai, and issued a proclamation, offering a reward of a thousand rupees for the apprehension of the original instigator of the rebellion, and an amnesty to all who should at once return to their ordinary occupations, excepting only the head-men of three villages. A cordon of troops was then gradually moved forward, which swept every height and ravine, and drove the insurgents before them like wild beasts at a *battue*. During the campaign a few sepoys were lost, and but few of the enemy were killed. With their poisoned arrows, muskets, and showers of stones, and boulders, the savages proved by no means contemptible foes in a country covered with such dense jungle. The flattering hopes raised by General Showers' account of his progress through the hills and his report of the complete pacification of the country were speedily dispelled by the refusal of the chiefs of the hill tribes to accept of the amnesty and to attend the Lieutenant-Governor's durbar in September. In fact, General Showers had scarcely left Assam when the Jynteahs were again in revolt, and the whole hill-country

became infested with bands of these savages, who harried the villages and carried off their peaceable inhabitants into the jungle. All hope of bringing the rebel tribes to reason and submission by peaceful means being now given up, severe measures were at once resolved upon, and three strong regiments of Sikh infantry and one of Gurkhas, with mountain artillery, were marched into the hills, where the Commissioner of Assam was ordered to remain till the rebellion should be completely put down, and the authority of the Government effectually restored. As before, the war consisted in the destruction of the enemy's stockades, of which the attack upon that at Oomkoi will serve as a specimen. This stockade was constructed on the summit of a hill most difficult of ascent. In the absence of a sufficiency of muskets, bows and arrows, and other mechanical projectiles, the savages had recourse to stones and everything that could be seized and hurled down upon the troops. The mountain-train battery first made an attempt upon the stockade, but their shot and shell were wasted upon it, for it could not be reached. It was then determined to take it by assault, but in this the troops encountered a much stouter resistance than they had calculated upon. A number of sepoy fell badly wounded. Colonel Richardson, who led them, had a narrow escape from the bloodthirsty fury of a Jynteah, who charged upon him with a bamboo spike. At the critical moment a sepoy threw himself between his commanding officer and the Jynteah, and receiving the spike into his own body died instantaneously. After a good deal of most resolute climbing the troops carried the stockade; but when they reached it, it was found empty. The vigour with which the military operations were carried on soon told upon the rebels. Stockade after stockade was destroyed, and before the rains set in the Jynteahs, finding their elaborate defences untenable in the face of the mountain-train battery, threw themselves on the clemency of the Government. The government of the Jynteah territory was transferred to the British in 1835, the Rajah receiving an allowance of five hundred rupees a month. For a time the people, who objected to the transfer, in which they had taken no part, were left to their own method of government, a sort of village republic under head-men, who constantly quarrelled among themselves. The imposition, in 1858, of a house-tax as a recognition of British supremacy produced a rebellion in 1860, which was speedily reduced. The imposition of an income-tax in 1861 again led to revolt, but the real cause lay in the character of the people themselves. "Being

savages, they acted as savages; being turbulent and quarrelsome, they were only too glad to seek an excuse for quarrel, and so the income-tax and police grievances came opportunely to their hand."

On June 2nd, 1862, the spoil taken by General Whitlock's column at Kirwee, in December, 1858, was sold by auction at Calcutta. To the disappointment of many who had been looking for a million sterling the proceeds of the sale did not amount to more than £350,000. The following remarks which appeared in the *Friend of India* in anticipation of the sale will be read with interest:—"On Monday next, June 2nd (1862), a sight will be witnessed in Calcutta, without a parallel in the history of India, and most suggestive to him who would understand the career of the British in the East. The Kirwee spoil will be sold by auction. Of its former owners, the two foolish youths Narain Rao and Madho Rao who fled from Kirwee when Sir George Whitlock was as yet within two marches of their palace, one has since died as a state prisoner in Hazaribagh, and the other, a cousin of Nana Sahib, is now being educated in Bareilly. Too young to be responsible for the disloyalty of 1857, he is receiving from the British Government the best inheritance—a good education—and on arriving at years of discretion will doubtless be honourably treated as a pensioned feudatory. Meanwhile the wealth heaped up in the palace at Kirwee, such that one officer describes himself as literally wading among jewels and bricks of gold, will be brought to the auctioneer's hammer. The gold and silver coins, with the exception of such as are of value to the numismatist, and the bricks of solid metal, have been melted down into ingots. The whole booty is expected to realise for the army, who lighted upon it, a sum of not less than half a million sterling. But besides this, cash to the amount of fifty-two lakhs of rupees was captured in the palace and in the district, and at once made over to the Government, which, in those days of financial deficits, found it a seasonable aid. The prize agent holds a receipt for this sum with interest at five per cent., so that, if it is considered a prize, the whole of the spoil of Kirwee and Banda will be considerably above a million sterling. Not only so, but the State has confiscated the sum of £325,000, which the brothers had in the funds, as well as their estates, which yielded a rental of £80,000 a year.

"As we read the catalogue of the spoil to be sold on Monday and succeeding days, and gaze upon the wealth of gold and jewels displayed by Messrs. Hamilton and Co., we can

realise the not too extravagant words of the poet when he wrote of

‘The wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings Barbaric pearl and gold.’

To use the language of the catalogue writer, not too inflated in this case, ‘the superb display of precious stones, gold and silver ingots, gold coins, gold and silver idols, &c. &c., rivals in extent and surpasses in value the most celebrated collections that have ever been brought to public sale in India.’ The gem of the collection is certainly ‘the superb diamond and emerald necklace,’ consisting of ninety-two rose-cut brilliants set in emeralds of the richest green without a flaw, each stone of itself a study. Then there is the ‘magnificent necklace and diamond dhoo-dhookie’ of the highest and costliest order of jewels, comprising twenty-four large clear emeralds, eighteen beautiful pearls of uncommon size, four rubies of the deepest colour, twenty-five white table diamonds in the pendent, and three tassels of small emeralds and pearls. If the reader thinks the cataloguist has exhausted himself in this flight of fancy, what will he say of ‘the beautiful jeejah serpeche’ of thirty-six immense diamonds? This enormously precious ornament is remarkable for the lavish manner in which the most superb diamonds have been collected in such numbers and at such immense cost for the production of a single article of personal adornment. In Europe this *bijou* would have afforded material for a dozen ornaments, and each would have been a gem of rare value. Yet we read on till we become bewildered by ‘serpeches’ or frontlets, ‘dustbunds’ or bracelets, ‘kornapholes’ or earrings, ‘sirphools’ or hair ornaments, ‘ba-joo-bunds’ or armlets, ‘champakullies’ or necklaces, ‘dabunees’ or hair ornaments, ‘satnaries’ or breast ornaments, and other jewels with names still more rich and barbaric in their sound, which have decked the dusky forms of Mahratta girls and matrons, and have adorned the proud trappings of Mahratta chiefs and their followers. In solid gold or silver we see the most ordinary utensils of the household and the family temple, for no meaner metal would the Raos of Kirwee use. Rice plates, lotahs, candle-sticks, mirrors, spice-boxes, rose-water sprinklers, spittoons, truncheons, punkah-handles, caskets, pawn boxes, lamps, incense and sacrificial vessels, idols, models of temples, the trappings of elephants and horses, the livery of menials—all seem poured out together as they appear in Rubens’ paintings of conquerors on the battle-field receiving the

spoils of the vanquished. But the most interesting, if the least valuable part of the collection, is the long list of coins, with names familiar to Clive and his predecessors, but never met with now in our every-day prosaic life in the East. There are ‘pagodas’ and ‘boodkies’ and ‘hoons’ with gold mohurs coined by Ackbar, Jehangheer, Shah Jehan, and Aurengzebe; of Lucknow, Assam, Madras, Nepaul, beside which are a few despised English sovereigns. The coins, however, which most frequently occur are Venetian, pointing to days when Southern Europe fattened on the wealth of India, ere yet the Portuguese doubled the Cape. To this day the profusion and variety of European coins in the bazaars of Upper India astonish the traveller. Seldom is the English or Australian sovereign met, while there are no coins so common as Russian five-rouble pieces, pointing to trade with Central Asia. Nor are Belgian coins and French napoleons uncommon. As we look at these jewels and read the long catalogue of gold and silver ingots, and household furniture, all belonging to a comparatively modern and petty family, we cease to wonder that India drains Europe of her precious metals, and that a people who thus hoard up their capital unfruitfully, while their rulers squeeze from them their wealth only to be thus barbarously employed, make no progress.

“The spoil taken in 1857-58 by British armies, exclusive of the Kirwee prize, is estimated at fifty-seven lakhs of rupees. The widest estimate of the value of booty taken during the mutiny campaigns would not exceed two millions sterling. We are not extravagant when we say that much more than this has been restored to India by the British Government in the shape of kingly rewards for loyalty. What a contrast this offers to the conduct of our predecessors in the sovereignty of Hindustan!—a contrast, too, all the greater when we remember that our career has been indeed one of peace compared with their invasions, and that our task was that of putting down the rebellion of our subjects, not of meeting the justifiable opposition of lawful enemies. Taking the three most terrible invaders of India—Sultan Mahmud, Timur, and Nadir Shah—what do we find? After the twelve expeditions of Sultan Mahmud into India, in each of which he carried off enormous booty, when he spoiled Somnath the historian tells us that even Asiatic annalists are tired of enumerating the mass of gold and jewels. He stripped the cities of India to make a paradise of Ghuzni, and there, when dying, he ordered his most costly treasures to be brought before him, and

wept as he thought he was so soon to lose them all. Sadi tells the story of the Sultan's reappearance after death to a certain dreamer, with his body reduced to a skeleton, but his eyes—those organs of covetousness—still glaring from their sockets. It was he who, when he heard of the wealth of a former dynasty, which had accumulated jewels enough to fill seven measures, said, "Praise be to God, who has given me a hundred measures." Well may Elphinstone term him the richest king that ever lived, and his riches were chiefly from India. What Mahmud did for Ghuzni, Timur, four centuries after, made Samarcand. His booty is described as "spoils above measure." Long files of elephants and camels carried off the wealth of Delhi through the Hindu Kush, and not a worker in stone, wood, brass, or marble was left, all being taken to erect the great mosque, whose gigantic ruins even yet tell us what it must have been when in its glory. But still greater than Timur's was the spoil taken by Nadir Shah, not much more than a century ago, from the same doomed city. His boast was that he had exhausted every source of wealth in Hindustan. The lowest estimate of the mere money he took is nine millions sterling, and some English writers reckon it as high as thirty. The peacock throne alone is valued at two millions sterling.

"Against all this England has nothing of barbaric wealth to show but the solitary Kohinoor. Her wealth she finds in the developed resources of richest provinces and an annually increasing commerce—her spoil, in the civilisation of millions, and in the creation of Christian nations."

On November 1st, 1862, her Majesty's effigy superseded the symbols of the old Company's sovereignty on the silver and copper coinage of British India, and on the same day the Money Order system in connection with the Civil Paymaster's Office was introduced as an experimental measure. On November 10th of the same year a commercial treaty was signed at Mandalay between the King of Burmah and Colonel Phayre, Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, which formed a step towards opening up intercourse and trade between British Burmah and Burmah proper, and the states on the south-western frontier of China. Colonel Phayre was decorated on the occasion with the high Burmese order of the Golden Chain. A British consul was for the future to reside at Mandalay.

Among the eminent men removed by death in 1862 was Sir John Inglis, who so gallantly sustained the defence of Lucknow after the death of Sir Henry Lawrence. For his services on that occasion he was made a Knight

Commander of the Bath, and was subsequently appointed to the important command of her Majesty's troops in the Ionian Islands, a post which he held at the time of his death, September 27th, 1862.

During 1863 the old Indian navy, that had done good service in its day, was finally abolished, the officers receiving liberal pensions. Another event of some significance was the elevation of Sunboo Nath Pundip to a seat on the Bench in the Court of Bengal, which showed to the natives of India that their British rulers were determined to acknowledge their claims to a fair share of official distinctions and employments. It is interesting to observe that this year the native chiefs of Rajputana subscribed £5,000 for the relief of the sufferers in the manufacturing districts of the north of England. Ten thousand rupees were presented by his Highness the Thakore of Bhownuggur, and the sum raised in Calcutta was £27,000. The most celebrated names in the obituary of the year are those of the gallant Sir James Outram and the brave old field-marshal Lord Clyde.

Outram was born in 1803 at Butterley Hall, Derbyshire, the residence of his father, who was an eminent civil engineer. After being educated at Aberdeen, he commenced his career as an Indian cadet in 1819, and became lieutenant and adjutant of the 23rd Bombay Native Infantry. He took command of and disciplined the wild Bheels of Candeish, and led them successfully against the Daung tribes. From 1835 to 1838 he was occupied in re-establishing order in the Mahi Kânta. He went into Afghanistan as aide-de-camp to Lord Keane, and his ride from Khelat through the dangers of the Bolan Pass has ever since been famed. He was afterwards in succession political agent at Gujarat and commissioner in Sind, resident at Sattara and Baroda, and resident and commissioner in Oude on its annexation by Lord Dalhousie. His subsequent services in Persia and during the great mutiny do not require to be repeated. He returned to England in 1860, and honours were everywhere showered upon him. The winter of 1861-62 he spent in Egypt, for his health was gone, and after a short residence in the south of France he expired at Pau, March 11th, 1863. His remains were brought home, and were buried where so many of the mighty rest, in Westminster Abbey. "Outram was truly and emphatically what Sir Richard Steele would have called 'a Christian hero.' . . . He was not only the bravest of the brave on the field of battle when risking his life for his Queen and country, but the meekest and kindest of human beings in the hour of peace, or by the domestic hearth.

With the courage of the lion he had the gentleness of the lamb. Though considerate and kind to others, he was severe upon himself, and was ever ready to sacrifice life and fortune to his high sense of honour. His word was indeed his bond—as good security for the fulfilment of a promise as human ingenuity could invent. When he was really in need of pecuniary assistance he returned his prize-money of £10,000 to Government after the conquest of Sind because he disapproved of the policy pursued there.”* Notwithstanding his previous services, Sir James “would have been comparatively little known in England except for his connection with the first relief and final reduction of Lucknow. So unjust is fortune. For if he had never become known by these great services, he would still have been well entitled to the regard and esteem of his country. Had the revolt never occurred, he was still the man whose courage, truth, generosity, and kindly nature justified the felicity of phrase in which, years before, Sir Charles Napier so well expressed the thoughts of many men when he called Outram ‘the Bayard of India.’ And so he was indeed—a knight without fear and without reproach, and with that higher chivalry which Bayard never knew—a deep feeling for classes not only below the military and social orders to which he belonged, but those alien from his race and natural enemies to his faith. And chivalry higher still he had; for most covetous of honour as he was, and sickening with the last infirmity of noble minds as he was apt to be, he could resign the post of honour and ambition which was his right, leave Havelock to complete his task, and ride quietly in the advance of his column as the simple leader of a body of mounted volunteers. Sir James Outram represented the old Company’s officer, whose past, present, and future were represented by India. There are many survivors of the peculiar race to whom their friends ascribe so many virtues, and their foes so many faults. But to the last he stood forward in earnest advocacy of the service with which his whole life had been associated; and it is his singular praise to have it said that he has left none envious of his fame amid those of longer service who survive him, for they all feel he was true to their cause, and never sought a ray of Imperial favour by the slightest concession of their rights.”†

A few months later the remains of Outram’s late chief and companion in arms were borne to the same resting-place. Colin Campbell, the son of a cabinet-maker named Macliver, was born in Glasgow in 1792. He afterwards

* *Allen’s Indian Mail.* † *Times.*

assumed the name of Campbell to please an uncle on his mother’s side. He entered the army as an ensign in 1808, and fought with distinction through the war in the Spanish Peninsula. He served as captain in the 60th Rifles during the expedition to America in 1814. He became colonel in 1842, and in that year served in China. In 1851-52, when brigadier-general commanding the Peshawar districts, he was constantly engaged in operations against the hill tribes surrounding the valley, including the forcing of the Kohat Pass under Sir Charles Napier, and numerous other actions. He next commanded the 3rd division of the Punjab army, and for his conduct in the battle of Chillianwallah he received the highest praise from Lord Gough. Returning home, he commanded the Highland Brigade throughout the Crimean campaign of 1854-55, and took a prominent part in the battles of the Alma and Balaklava, for which he was created a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, and received the Cross of the French Legion of Honour. His services in reducing the Indian mutiny, for which Sir Colin was raised to the peerage as Lord Clyde, have already been related. Lord Clyde returned to England in 1860, and was made a field-marshal in 1862. He was colonel of the Coldstream Guards at the time of his death, which took place at Chatham, August 14th, 1863. One of the chief characteristics of Lord Clyde’s generalship was the care he took of the lives of his men, all his victories being won with the minimum expenditure of the blood of his soldiers.

During this year a decision was given in the case of Lord Clive’s Fund, which is thus referred to by the *Times*:—“One of the least known, perhaps, of Sir Walter Scott’s novels is the ‘Surgeon’s Daughter,’ though the story is told with characteristic power, and the scene laid in a country of peculiar interest. Many readers, however, will doubtless have a lively recollection of the tale, and to these we need offer very little explanation of the extraordinary case just brought by appeal to the House of Lords, and there decided. The novel turns on the devices employed for drawing ‘Europeans’ into the service of the East India Company, and the trial turned entirely on a provision made by the great Lord Clive for recruiting this service in a more eligible way. Whatever may be thought of India in the present day, and whatever might have been the visions opened by its name a hundred years ago, it is certain that in the days of Clive the service of the Company was regarded with anything but predilection. The higher and more lucrative places were eagerly shared by a few privileged

families, and here and there a more humble adventurer would shake the 'pagoda-tree' to good purpose, and return home with fabulous wealth and exorbitant pretensions. But in the eyes of the public the service was a desperate one. India was then thought so far off, and was a country so little understood, and invested in popular imagination with such strange and fearful attributes, that few cared to go there except on some distinct and powerful attraction. Mere enlistment in the Company's service was considered a far more desperate step than enlistment in the royal army, and recruiting was carried on upon a system which in Sir Walter Scott's pages appears little better than kidnapping. Even the officers felt themselves in a subordinate and but half-recognised profession, with only equivocal rank and disputed position to recompense them for lifelong exile in a distant region and fatal climate. With these facts before his eyes, Lord Clive, who understood India and its affairs better than any other man, established in the year 1770 a certain fund for the support of officers and soldiers disabled in the Company's service, and the widows of such as should lose their lives in it. His motive in thus acting he put distinctly on record in the deed itself. He wished 'to induce fit persons to enter the service, and encourage the bravery of the soldiery employed therein;' and these results he thought to promote by the prospect of pensions. The method of proceeding takes us back to days and names which now seem almost mythological. Every student of Indian history will recollect a certain Meer Jaffier, 'Subahdar,' Governor, or 'Nabob,' as he is styled in this deed, of the province of Bengal under the Great Mogul. This Meer Jaffier, after playing a prominent part in the scenes of those times, died at the beginning of the year 1765, having bequeathed to Lord Clive a very handsome legacy. The bequest represented the various contents of an Oriental treasury. It consisted of three lakhs of 'rupees,' one lakh in 'gold mohurs,' half a lakh in 'jewels,' and another half-lakh in 'money.' These five lakhs, computed to be worth upwards of £60,000 in British currency, Lord Clive paid into the Company's Exchequer at Calcutta, and stipulated by indenture, between the Company and himself, that the Directors should appropriate the interest of the money to the purposes described above. But he did something more than this. Gazing into futurity, he foresaw the day when a Company might no longer exist to be served either by soldiers or sailors, and the deed, therefore, included a condition that if ever the Company should cease to employ a military force and

ships for carrying on their commerce, then the five lakhs of rupees, subject to the satisfaction of existing interests, should be returned to him or his representatives. It seems almost incredible that this contingency should now actually have come to pass, and the fulfilment of the condition have been exacted, yet so it is. Sir John Walsh, the legal representative of Lord Clive, has sued her Majesty's Secretary of State for India as representing the old East India Company, and did on Thursday last obtain a judgment for the recovery of the five lakhs of sicca rupees taken from the hoards of Meer Jaffier ninety-eight years ago.

"Two pleas were urged against the suit. The first was that the 'service' of the Company, strictly speaking, expired in 1833, and that Sir John's claim, therefore, which should have been prosecuted at that time, was now void by the Statute of Limitations. This argument, however, was overruled, and it was held that the contingency specified by Lord Clive did not occur in 1833, but in 1858, at the transfer of India from the Company to the Crown. The second plea was at first sight plausible, but not to be sustained upon close inquiry. It was urged that though the East India Company had expired, the Crown occupied its place, and that the officers and soldiers of her Majesty's Indian forces were genuine representatives of that very class for whose benefit the provision was originally made. The trust, in short, had been transferred with the transfer of everything else, and its execution had simply devolved on a new set of authorities. But is it true that at the present time any European troops in India do really occupy the exceptional position of those for whom Lord Clive designed to provide? It is as clear as possible that his intention was to do something for the advantage and encouragement of a service to which the advantages of a royal service did not attach. He desired to provide some compensation for the disabilities under which the Company's troops laboured, and to make up for the drawbacks which their peculiar position involved. He would no more have provided these funds for a royal army than he would have shared them with a royal regiment. When once the military forces employed in India formed part of the regular service of the kingdom, and stood on the same footing as other forces, the necessity for Lord Clive's subvention ceased, and the time which he anticipated must be held to have arrived. The 'Company' has ceased to employ either soldiers or seamen, and though soldiers and seamen are still employed on Indian service, the employment is no longer that which Lord

Clive contemplated, nor the service that for which he provided this private recompense and encouragement. Her Majesty's Indian army requires no such compensation for professional disadvantages as was due to the 'Europeans' in the pay of the Company a hundred years since.

"The Lord Chancellor paid Lord Clive the compliment of supposing that the contingency which he had in view was exactly that which actually occurred—namely, the intervention of the Imperial Government, and its assumption of a dominion too great to be left to a company of merchants. Perhaps that was really the case; but, if so, Clive probably looked for an earlier return of his money. It is not unlikely that he thought the Company could not long occupy the position to which he had raised it, whereas in reality it became infinitely more powerful than he had ever known it before the time came for its extinction. We may say, indeed, that the Company's troops had long ceased to be in much need of Lord Clive's benefaction before the old 'service' was exchanged for that of the Crown. The curious part of the case is that the condition of revocation, after being so long unfulfilled, should have come into operation at last at a time when the annals of a most eventful century separate us from the days described. The year 1770 is no very remote period; and yet, if the interval is measured by the events which it brought to pass, the date seems of extraordinary antiquity. In reality the termination of this trust is no more than the termination of a ninety-nine years' lease, but it was a trust established by the founder of our Indian Empire for purposes incidental to the weakness of its infancy, and it is now brought to an end by the establishment of that empire on the foundation of assured and undisputed dominion."

Amongst the events of 1863 we cannot well omit to notice the famous court-martial upon Colonel Crawley, which occupied a considerable amount of attention both in India and at home. We must not, however, load our pages with the details of this affair, which were in no way creditable to any of the parties concerned. The following extract from *Allen's Indian Mail* retrospect may be taken as a sufficient record of the matter:—"One of the noisiest events connected with the history of India at the commencement of the year 1864 was the court-martial at Aldershot upon Lieutenant-colonel Crawley, of the 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons. He was fully and honourably acquitted of the charges brought against him. The court-martial at Aldershot was forced upon the authorities at home in

consequence of the general feeling throughout India that Colonel Crawley had been guilty of extreme inhumanity towards Sergeant-major Lilley, who died under close arrest, and of outraging the feelings of the officers under his command by unbearable rudeness and unnecessary severity. This famous court-martial excited extraordinary interest, not only on account of Colonel Crawley and his officers personally, and the important question of whether a non-commissioned officer or private could be placed entirely at the mercy of his commanding officer without any chance of redress for the most vindictive injuries, but because the reputation for judgment and good conduct of the very highest military authorities both in India and at home was more or less involved in the manner in which the Crawley case had been managed at Mhow. It was thought by some that Sir Hugh Rose and Sir William Mansfield, and even his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, had all acted inconsistently and indiscreetly in relation to the various circumstances connected with the case. The decision, however, of the court-martial at Aldershot brought the whole question to an end, and relieved the authorities from a rather awkward position."

Towards the close of 1863 war broke out with the Eusufzaies, or hill-tribes on the Upper Indus. Of these mountaineers the *Friend of India* gives the following description:—"The Eusufzaies, using that term generally, number about thirty thousand fighting men. They are, perhaps, the most daring of all the frontier tribes, and when nominally the subjects of Runjeet Singh they used to boast that they never paid tribute to the Sikhs. Their home is the upper portion of the Peshawar valley, where it borders on the Swat Hills. The people called Swatees have become so mixed up with them as to lose their specific designation, and it is to be feared that we are fairly at war with the whole of these thirty thousand mountain warriors. To mad courage they add the sternest Moslem fanaticism, the ruler of the Swatees being a priest called Akhoond, who has now declared against us. They are fighting not only for the inviolability of their country and the lawfulness of rapine within our border, but for the faith of which they have been the depositors since the Bareilly Syud, a descendant of Ali, the cousin or nephew of Mohammed, led them against the infidel Sikhs forty years ago. On the right bank of the Indus rises the hill called Mahabun, and near its base, at the village of Sitana, the Syud's followers found a welcome. There, in 1857, they were joined by the miserable sepoys who escaped the vigilance of the Pun-

jab authorities, and ever since they have so annoyed us that the frontier has generally been blockaded. As soon as the land had rest, in April, 1858, Sir Sidney Cotton, accompanied by Colonel Edwardes, led against them a force not much less than that which is now in their country. With great ease this little army burned down the villages of Punjtar, whose chief had roused the fanatics against us, ascended Mount Mahabun, where English foot had never before rested, destroyed its fort, and completed their work by razing to the ground the Sitana villages, slaying several of the fanatics, and making their country over to two friendly tribes. The Hindustanis, balked in their attempt to establish a Mohammedan empire, of which the Peshawar valley should be the centre, sought an asylum at Mulka, but the Judoon and Oothmanzaie clans forgot their engagements, and invited the fanatics to return to Sitana next year, when they began their old work of kidnapping Hindu traders and killing Sikh peasants. These were days when the flash of an English bayonet was thought to be synonymous with annexation, and so we have gone on since 1860 content with an ineffectual blockade, and fanning by our policy of weakness the little spark of a few hundred fanatics into a war with thirty thousand desperate highlanders. We are at war, not merely as was at first supposed, with the descendants of the Bareilly Syud, their sepoy protégés, and Judoon and Oothmanzie defenders, but with the Bonair clan, the Akhoond of Swat, who realises the novelist's sidea of the Old Man of the Mountain in crusading days, and, in fact, with the whole Eusufzaie people." An expedition under Sir Neville Chamberlain was dispatched against these tribes, who were found to have strengthened the Umbeyla Pass. Notwithstanding the difficulties presented by the pass, which is eight miles long, and so narrow that in some places only one man or beast could make way, it was taken possession of on October 21st without much opposition; but two days after Probyn's Horse and the 20th Regiment, patrolling about sixteen miles out from the Chumba Valley, were attacked by the Bonairs, a tribe hitherto supposed to be friendly. The latter were charged, cut up, and dispersed, but they mustered again at night, and fired at random into the camp. For several weeks repeated encounters took place with the enemy until November 20th, when the mountaineers attacked our troops with such gallantry and resolution and partial success that two officers and twenty-five men were lost. Up to this date the loss to the British amounted to no less than six hundred and fifty-nine killed and wounded. The loss

of the enemy was, however, very much more serious. From this date until the middle of December there was no more fighting. About December 10th the Bonair chiefs intimated to Major James, the commissioner, their desire to come to terms, and professed that they would not molest the British troops on their march to Mulka, the stronghold of the Hindustani fanatics on Mahabun. But on their return to their own camp they came again under the influence of the Akhoond of Swat, and were persuaded to renounce their engagements, and soon afterwards collected in large numbers in front of our force, and made threatening manifestations.

On the 15th Lallu, about five miles from the camp at Umbeyla, was attacked by our troops, and the enemy were gallantly driven from all their positions with a loss of three hundred. Next day the village of Umbeyla was taken possession of, and in a hand-to-hand fight with the enemy, two hundred more of them, chiefly Hindustanis, were slain. After this defeat the Bonairs surrendered unconditionally, and gave up their chiefs as hostages, under an engagement to assist the British with two thousand men in the expulsion of the Hindustanis. A force under Colonel Taylor then marched to Mulka, the stronghold of the fanatics, and completely destroyed it. The destruction of this place put an end to the war, and the fanatics of the hills remained quiet for a time. As a specimen of the cool pluck exhibited by some of these hill frontier fanatics, it is related that on one occasion, when our men were in line with fixed bayonets and loaded barrels, one of the priestly leaders presented himself within thirty yards, and actually went through certain religious ceremonies in cool defiance of the well-prepared foe before him. A number of his followers did full justice to the example he set them, and, after this performance, turned towards our men, and slowly retired with waved swords and signs of mockery and defiance.

By far the most important, most interesting, and most memorable event in India of 1863 was the opening of the works on the Bhore Ghaut Incline. "This gigantic and noble undertaking by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company was commenced in January, 1852, and completed in March, 1863, at the cost of £1,100,000 sterling, or one crore and ten lakhs of rupees. It was formally opened, with appropriate ceremonies, by his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay. This grand scientific conquest, far nobler and more impressive than the bloodiest military victory, furnishes one more substantial and complete reply to the com-

plaint of Burke, uttered some fourscore years ago, and so often echoed by others almost to the present day, to the effect that the English in India had erected 'no stately monuments, no hospitals, no palaces, no schools, built no bridges, made no reservoirs, and that, were we suddenly driven out of India, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by anything better than the orang-outang or the tiger.' Our sportsmen in India have left but few hyænas, or leopards, or lions, or tigers to tell a tale against us; while the Anglo-Indian Government and many enterprising private companies and independent British settlers of all sorts have cleared vast jungles, and have cultivated and variegated, adorned and enriched, the country from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya Mountains with profitable and beautiful plantations, and roads, and railways, and electric telegraphs, and bridges, and aqueducts, and canals, and harbours, and tanks, and palaces, and hospitals, and colleges, and schools, and Christian temples. The Ganges Canal, 525 miles in length (nearly equal to the aggregate length of the four greatest navigable canals in France), and this Bhore Ghaut Incline, would alone be sufficient to disprove the sneering remark of men rather less eloquent than Burke, that, if we were compelled to resign our Eastern possessions, we should leave nothing behind us but empty beer bottles. The Bhore Ghaut Incline is a work of which any country might be proud. The length of the Incline, from the base to the summit, is upwards of 15 miles. The level of its base is 196 feet above the sea, and of its summit 2,027 feet, so that the total elevation surmounted by this Incline is 1,831 feet, the average gradient being 1 in 48, and the steepest gradient 1 in 37 for 1 mile and $38\frac{1}{2}$ chains. Sir Bartle Frere, in his reply to the address from the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, said very strikingly, 'Were I to tell you that the bulk of so many pyramids was contained in the earth-work and masonry of the embankments, that it would take so many times all the bridges of London to equal the viaducts—or were I to compare the bulk of the stone quarried with the breakwaters of Plymouth or Portland—I could give you but an imperfect idea compared with that which we have all derived from traversing the Incline this day. Nor could any description give to the uninitiated a notion of the difficulties you have had to overcome. Military men, who know what it is to organize and feed an army of 10,000 men, may have some knowledge of the difficulties of organizing, feeding, and working a multitude of labourers, averaging for years together 25,000,

and rising to the enormous number of 42,000; but most of us must be content with the impression we have this day received, and it is, I am sure, an impression which can never be effaced, of that which may, I believe, without exaggeration, be described as the greatest work of the kind in the whole world.' Such magnificent and truly useful works as these, connecting so conveniently the capital of India, cannot but add materially to the strength and security of the Government, enlarge our commerce, develop the vast resources of India, preserve public peace and order, advance the prosperity of the people, and increase to an almost indefinite extent the value of our Oriental possessions."*

By the close of Lord Elgin's too brief administration, India was in a condition of prosperity such as it had never before enjoyed. The revenue was flourishing, and deficits were no longer known, and the commerce of India, which twenty years before did not exceed fifteen millions sterling, amounted to one hundred millions.

The Hon. Sir C. E. Trevelyan, K.C.B., who succeeded Mr. Laing as Indian Finance Minister, made his financial statement on the last day of April, 1863. Mr. Laing estimated that there would be a surplus in the year 1861-62 of £239,896. The Secretary of State was of opinion that two sums had been improperly omitted from the charge side of the account, by the insertion of which the surplus was converted into a deficit of £595,513. The actual result was that there was a deficit of £150,628 only, which it was hoped would be the last of the long series of Indian deficits.

The financial year 1862-63 opened a new era. Mr. Laing estimated that there would be a surplus at the end of the year of £179,814. The Secretary of State again objected that certain omissions and deductions had been made, by the correction of which this estimated surplus was converted into a deficit of £284,086. The result, however, was that, after providing for the whole of the expenditure, there was a clear surplus on the year 1862-63, terminating on April 30th, of £697,168, according to the regular estimate, which was afterwards increased by reductions in the home charges and guaranteed interest to £936,925. The gross revenue of India for 1862-63 amounted to £45,105,700, and the gross expenditure added to the net expenditure in England, including railways, to £44,168,775, leaving the surplus just mentioned. That there was reason to expect a sustained progress in the receipts will be seen from the following

* *Allen's Indian Mail.*

statement of the annual revenue since the mutiny:—

1858-59	£36,060,788
1859-60	39,705,822
1860-61	42,303,234
1861-62	43,829,472
Regular estimate for 1862-63 .	45,105,700

These figures show—

1st. That the increase in 1862-63 over 1858-59 is £9,044,912.

2nd. That the average revenue of the last three years exceeds that of the first three years by £4,389,520.

3rd. That the aggregate increase in four years upon the income of 1858-59 is £27,301,076; and

4th. That there has been an average annual increase in each succeeding year of £2,730,107.

The total expenditure which had to be provided for 1863-64 was £44,490,425, and, as the total estimated revenue was £45,306,200, the estimated surplus was £815,775.

“The Secretary of State,” said Sir Charles, “being strongly impressed with the public importance, in the present state of India, of expediting the construction of reproductive public works, and especially of roads subsidiary to the new railways, or opening direct communication with the coast, authorised, by a dispatch dated August 30th last, the appropriation for this purpose of any sum that might be required out of the cash balances not exceeding £3,000,000 sterling. The resources of Indian finance have proved greater than they were at that time expected to be, and we have been able to make, out of the revenue of the year, ample provision for all the public works of every kind that can be carried on within the year, leaving a clear surplus, after doing this, of upwards of £800,000. It is a matter of congratulation that the Secretary of State’s object has been accomplished without the necessity of departing from the good old rule of English finance, that the whole of the expenditure of the year should be provided for out of ways and means raised within the year, leaving a surplus of income besides to meet contingencies. To use Lord Elgin’s words, the exhibition of a

surplus, ‘tangible, palpable, and incontrovertible,’ at the present turning-point of Indian finance, is a matter of much public moment, and, if we had drawn upon our cash balances for any portion of our current expenditure, some doubt might still have remained on this point. The Secretary of State has since directed six millions sterling to be remitted to England from the cash balances for the payment of debt. The matter has thus been replaced on its right footing. Our available capital is to be employed in extinguishing permanent charges upon revenue, and every demand of the year is to be met, as heretofore, from the surplus of income over expenditure.” The surplus was reduced to £480,775, by the reduction of the income-tax from four to three per cent., of the import duty on iron from ten to one per cent., the duty on beer, “the most wholesome of stimulants and the best suited to the climate,” from two annas, or threepence per gallon, to one anna, and by the substitution for the duties on different kinds of wine a uniform duty on every kind of one rupee per gallon, equivalent to an *ad valorem* duty of about thirteen per cent.

At the same time a great boon was given to many millions of poor Hindus by the abolition of the grievous salt monopoly, which was established by Lord Clive, in 1765, for the purpose of substituting sufficient salaries for the presents and other irregular gains which had up to that time been received by the servants of the Company. A select committee of the House of Commons in 1836 recommended that the import trade of salt should be thrown open, and that the Government should confine itself to a monopoly of the local manufacture, and should sell its salt at the cost price, with the addition of a modified fixed duty, which was to be equally charged upon Government and upon private salt. This plan was adopted, and the Government soon after permitted salt to be made, subject to an equivalent excise duty. Since then there had been a constant struggle between the Government manufacture and the private trade, and the Government now entirely and finally abandoned the salt manufacture.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

SIR JOHN LAWRENCE'S VICEROYALTY.

DURING the brief interval that elapsed between the death of Lord Elgin and the arrival of his successor the duties of Governor-General were performed by Sir William Denison, Governor of Madras, who reached Calcutta in time to arrest the proceedings of the Council, who were on the point of ordering the retreat of the force from the Umbeyla Pass, and to order Sir Hugh Rose to reinforce Chamberlain's successor, with the happy results already narrated.

Sir John Lawrence, who assumed the government of India in January, 1864, was the first Bengal civilian who had been appointed to the office of Governor-General of India since the time of Sir John Shore, who held the position from 1793 to 1798. Sir John Lawrence, a younger son of Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Lawrence, who served in the Mysore campaign and at the capture of Seringapatam, was born at Richmond, in Yorkshire, in 1811, and in 1827 obtained a presentation to Haileybury, where he carried off the chief prizes. His first years in the Indian Civil Service were spent in Delhi and its neighbourhood, and on the annexation of the Punjab he was appointed Commissioner, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor. During the great mutiny he rendered such services as gained for him the title of "the saviour of India," and on his return to England he received the thanks of Parliament, the order of G.C.B., and a pension of £1,000 a year. In 1858 he was made a baronet, and appointed a member of the Council of India. In 1859 he became a privy-councillor, and in 1861 a Knight of the Star of India.

After spending the summer months at Simla, Sir John, on his way to Calcutta, held a grand durbar at Lahor, which had a most potent political influence, and greatly strengthened the prestige of the British Government in India. About six hundred chiefs and rajahs were in attendance, amongst whom were the Maharajahs of Cashmere, Patiala, and Kapurthala, the last of whom was invested with the insignia of the Star of India. The Maharajah of Cashmere presented a nuzzer of five gold mohurs, and received a princely present in return from the hands of his Excellency. Many other princes and chieftains presented nuzzers of five gold mohurs, and received khilluts of considerable value. The Maharajah of Patiala received a khillut valued at Rs.17,000. Nineteen khilluts in all were conferred upon distin-

guished rajahs and chieftains. The Viceroy addressed the assembled princes and chiefs in Hindustani as follows:—

"Maharajahs, Rajahs, and Chiefs,—Listen to my words. I have come among you after an absence of nearly six years, and thank you for the kindly welcome you have given me. It is with pleasure that I meet so many of my old friends, while I mourn the loss of those who have passed away.

"Princes and Chiefs,—It is with great satisfaction that I find nearly six hundred of you assembled around me in this durbar. I see before me the faces of many friends. I recognise the sons of my old allies, the Maharajahs of Cashmere and Patiala; the Sikh Chiefs of Malwah and the Manjha; the Rajput Chief of the Hills; the Mahomedan Mulicks of Peshawar and Kohat; the Sirdars of the Derajat, of Hazara, and Delhi. All have gathered together to do honour to their old ruler.

"My Friends,—Let me tell you of the great interest which the illustrious Queen of England takes in all matters connected with the welfare and comfort and contentment of the people of India. Let me inform you, when I returned to my native country, and had the honour of standing in the presence of her Majesty, how kindly she asked after the welfare of her subjects in the East. Let me tell you, when that great Queen appointed me her Viceroy in India, how warmly she enjoined on me the duty of caring for your interests. Prince Albert, the consort of her Majesty, the fame of whose greatness and goodness has spread through the whole world, was well acquainted with all connected with this country, and always evinced an earnest desire to see its people happy and flourishing.

"My Friends,—It is now more than eighteen years since I first saw Lahor. For thirteen years I lived in the Punjab. For many years my brother, Sir Henry Lawrence, and I governed this vast country. You all knew him well, and his memory will ever dwell in your hearts as a ruler who was a real friend of its people. I may truly say that from the day we exercised authority in the land we spared neither our time, nor our labour, nor our health in endeavouring to accomplish the work which we had undertaken. We studied to make ourselves acquainted with the usages, the feelings, and the wants of every class and race, and we endeavoured to improve the condition of all. There are few parts of this

province which I have not visited, and which I hope that I did not leave in some degree the better for my visit. Since British rule was introduced taxation of all kinds has been lightened, canals and roads have been constructed, and schools of learning have been established. From the highest to the lowest the people have become contented, and have proved loyal. When the great military revolt of 1857 occurred they aided their rulers most effectually in putting it down. The chiefs mustered their contingents, which served faithfully, and thousands of Punjabi soldiers flocked to our standards, and shared with the British troops the glories as well as the hardships of that great struggle.

“Princes and Gentlemen,—If it be wise for the rulers of a country to understand the language and appreciate the feelings of its people, it is as important that they should have a similar knowledge of their rulers. It is only by such means that the two classes can live happily together. To this end I urge you to instruct your sons, and even your daughters.

“Among the solid advantages which you have gained from English rule I will now only advert to one more. It has given the country many excellent administrators. Some of the ablest and kindest of my countrymen have been employed in the Punjab. Every man, from the highest to the lowest, can appreciate a good ruler. You have such men as Sir Robert Montgomery, Mr. Donald M’Leod, Mr. Roberts, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Colonel Lake, and Colonel John Becher—officers who have devoted themselves to your service.

“I will now only add that I pray the Great God, who is the God of all the races and all the peoples of this world, that He may guard and protect you, and teach you all to love justice and hate oppression, and enable you, each in his several way, to do all the good in his power. May He give you all that is for your real benefit! So long as I live I shall never forget the years that I passed in the Punjab, and the friends that I have acquired throughout this province.”

In November, 1864, the Viceroy was reluctantly compelled to declare war against the rulers of Bhotan, in consequence of the utter failure of a pacific mission sent to that court towards the close of 1863, and the insults heaped upon the envoy, the Hon. Ashley Eden, whose objects were to negotiate for the liberation of British subjects who had been kidnapped by the Bhotias, and the restoration of stolen property, and to arrange measures for the future security of the frontier. The independent territory of Bhotan is situate on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal,

among the mountains which form the southern slope of the Himalayas. Between the hills which traverse the state from east to west and the British frontier the country is divided by mountain torrents into a number of strips called *dooars*, from the passes through which these torrents rush down, and which in the dry season become the roads to Upper Bhotan. Eleven of these dooars are on the frontier of Bengal, and seven on that of Assam. The capitals of the country are Tassisudan and Punakka. The state is divided into three provinces, each under a *pillo*, or lieutenant-governor, and these again are subdivided into districts under *soubahs*, or commissioners. The nominal head of the country is called the Dherma, or Dhurm Rajah, who is looked upon rather as a god than a sovereign, while the actual head is the Deb Rajah, whose proceedings are controlled by a council of eight. The religion is a form of Buddhism. “What with soubahs,” says the *Friend of India*, “who care little for the pillos—pillos who quarrel with each other and scorn the Deb Rajah, a Dhurm Rajah, who is a more boy kept as a state prisoner, and Lhasa priests, who constitute half the population and help the civil rulers to grind the rest to the dust, Bhotan may be pronounced the most ill-governed country in the East, not excepting the independent Malay states of the Archipelago. To increase the scantiness of the population, thinned by misrule, polyandry prevails; while chastity is as unknown as cleanliness of life, the Bhotia, and all the more if he is a priest, considering clean water his greatest enemy. Cowardice, treachery, falsehood, ignorance, and petty insolence are declared by all who have visited the country to be the prevailing characteristics of its people, and the priests are the worst of all. The only beings who work are the women. Over them the labourers tyrannize, over them those whom we should in Japan term the retainers of the Daimios, or governing class, and over the whole the priests and rulers. The lower a man is, the more cheerful and honest he seems to be, for the best safeguard in Bhotan is poverty. Living in a country which for a breadth of a hundred and twenty miles is one succession of snowy hills and malarious valleys rising from a thousand to twenty-five thousand feet high, the religion of the people consists of a belief in hosts of spirits, to which they offer flowers and rags, with incantations loudly uttered as they pass the haunted spots, and in counting Buddhist beads while they utter the everlasting mystery, ‘Oom mainee paimee oom.’ They live on the lowest kinds of grain, and a favoured few use the flavourless brick tea of Western

China. Their drink is 'chong,' a sort of bad gin made from rice, which they gulp down in enormous quantities from large horns." Of the difficulties Mr. Eden had to encounter on his way to the capital of Bhotan an idea may be gained from the following extract from a letter written by a member of the mission:—

"We have not yet arrived at Punakka, and have had great trouble and many difficulties to overcome, and I, for one, wish I was back in the civilised world again. Two or three of our marches were unusually full of hardships; the first one was going over a pass 13,000 feet high, and the snow on the ground two feet deep. We had to encamp one night on this; luckily the weather remained fine. The very day after we crossed snow began to fall, and continued incessantly for four days. Captain Austen remained behind us in the pass one day, in hopes of having a clear view to enable him to put in some details in his map. On coming down the following day, he had to force his way through snow three feet deep, and two of his coolies died from exhaustion and cold. They sat down on the snow, and no exertion could induce them to move. They remained, and died. We were detained nearly a week in a place called Ha, the thermometer at night 11°, and snow two feet and a half deep around our wretched tents. At last it was determined to push on, and cross the pass which divides Ha from Paro. Two of us, with twenty coolies, formed the advance guard, clearing the way for the coolies laden with our baggage, who followed. We started at eight A.M., and reached the top of the pass, about 13,500 feet high, about four P.M., after terrible fatigue, the snow being never less than knee-deep, and we frequently sank to the waist. When we began to descend, however, much to our disappointment, our real trouble began. We crawled along at the rate of half a mile an hour; our coolies had had no food all day, ourselves only a scanty breakfast before we started. As the sun began to sink, so did the temperature; the snow on the drifts increased, and was never less than three feet. We were warned that to stop there was certain death, so we forced ourselves on, twenty in advance—forced our bodies through the snow, though we were so exhausted with fatigue and want of food. We took the work by turns, and so laboured all night. I never knew such a night of fatigue and anxiety in my life; in fact, I never even imagined it. The lives of two hundred men being in the balance, the whole four of us had to work like coolies. I had myself to carry a coolie for some distance on my back to save his life, and again a load to relieve another. We were hoarse and speechless at

last with shouting and encouraging the poor coolies. We—I mean the four European gentlemen—stood it out wonderfully. We did not reach the village at the foot of the pass till one A.M., and, thanks to Providence, all the coolies safe, though some were badly frost-bitten. It was, after all, extremely fortunate we crossed when we did, as the Bhotias had sent men to stop us. This they were always trying, and the soubahs, as a rule, have always refused assistance. Nevertheless, in the face of all obstacles, we have now reached Paro, and we start tomorrow on our march to the capital, three marches more. We have had a most difficult journey, and the absence of all assistance from the people of the country added to our hardships. We all wish it over, but our chief is sanguine that all will be satisfactorily arranged. The people of this country are profoundly suspicious, but the soubahs we have met have admitted their belief in the good intentions of our Government. We think that when Mr. Eden appears in the durbar, and explains matters personally, all difficulties will be smoothed over."

After having been delayed sixteen days at Paro, waiting for an answer from the capital, although it is only one day's journey between the two places, and no answer arriving, Mr. Eden resolved on marching without further reference to the authorities, and at length arrived at Punakka. The following is a statement by Dr. Simpson, the medical officer of the mission, of what took place at the durbar:—

"The durbar at first agreed to the principal clauses of the treaty originally submitted by Mr. Eden, and sent a message to him through Cheboo Lama to that effect, and requesting him, at the same time, to use dispatch in having it copied out, as the season was advancing.

"On our visit to the durbar for the purpose of having this treaty signed, indignities of various kinds were heaped upon us, and the Tongso Penlo insisted that a clause should be inserted restoring the Assam dooars to him, although it had been previously agreed upon that this question was not to be discussed, as Mr. Eden had no authority to do so. Upon the positive refusal of the latter to treat upon this subject, we were summarily dismissed.

"Shortly after this a draft treaty (nearly the same as that subsequently signed by the envoy) was sent by the Tongso Penlo, accompanied by a threat that if it were not signed in its integrity, both Cheboo Lama and Mr. Eden would be imprisoned and otherwise ill-treated.

"Threats were also made of seizing numbers of our coolies and several of our Sikh

guard, on the pretence of their being runaway subjects of Bhotan. All these threats, we had good reason to know, they were prepared to put into execution.

"For a time Mr. Eden positively refused to sign, distinctly telling them that he had not power to do so, and that he felt quite sure the Government of India would never ratify such a document, even if it bore his signature.

"Had the envoy still refused to sign, the life of Cheboo Lama, the dewan of Sikhim, an independent state, would certainly have been sacrificed, as the Bhotias firmly believed he had incited us to enter their territory, whereas in reality he accompanied us at the solicitation of the Indian Government.

"Arguments were, however, of no avail; and at last Mr. Eden, with the fullest concurrence of every member of the mission, consented to the course subsequently followed. Captains Austen and Lance and myself of our own accord drew up and signed a document expressing our views on the subject, and fully agreeing with Mr. Eden that, considering all the circumstances of the case, the people with whom he had to deal, and that the liberty, if not the lives, of the mission and its followers hung in the balance, the only sensible course to pursue would be to yield to their ridiculous demands, and so avoid placing the Government in a situation of extreme embarrassment.

"On the occasion of signing the treaty, Mr. Eden again, in presence of the whole Council, and in the presence of every member of the mission, declared that he signed the treaty under compulsion; that he had no power to grant them what they insisted on; and that he felt perfectly sure the Government of India would not ratify such a treaty. Tongso Penlo at the same time warned Cheboo Lama to interpret exactly Mr. Eden's words, as he had people amongst his followers who understood Hindustani, and that if he did not render exactly the meaning of what was said, he would be immediately detected and made to suffer for it.

"The sole reason for adding the words 'under compulsion' was a fear on our part that they would at once dispatch messengers to collect the Assam revenue, producing the treaty as their authority, and that it might be paid before intelligence of the treatment we had received could reach the Government. We had no other means of communication at our disposal, as the several soubahs had been forbidden to forward any letters, either to or from us, on pain of death in case of disobedience."

The history of our previous intercourse with Bhotan is succinctly given in the Vice-

roy's proclamation. The treaty of 1774 referred to in its text has already been mentioned, vol. ii. pp. 344, 345.

"Fort William, *November 12th*, 1864.

"For many years past outrages have been committed by subjects of the Bhotan Government within British territory, and in the territories of the Rajahs of Sikhim and Kuch Bihar. In these outrages property has been plundered and destroyed, lives have been taken, and many innocent persons have been carried into and are still held in captivity.

"The British Government, ever sincerely desirous of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring states, and especially mindful of the obligations imposed on it by the treaty of 1774, has endeavoured from time to time by conciliatory remonstrance to induce the Government of Bhotan to punish the perpetrators of these crimes, to restore the plundered property, and to liberate the captives. But such remonstrances have never been successful, and, even when followed by serious warning, have failed to produce any satisfactory result. The British Government has been frequently deceived by vague assurances and promises for the future, but no property has ever been restored, no captive liberated, no offender punished, and the outrages have continued.

"In 1863 the Government of India, being averse to the adoption of extreme measures for the protection of its subjects and independent allies, dispatched a special mission to the Bhotan Court, charged with proposals of a conciliatory character, but instructed to demand the surrender of all captives, the restoration of plundered property, and security for the future peace of the frontier.

"This pacific overture was insolently rejected by the Government of Bhotan. Not only were restitution for the past and security for the future refused, but the British envoy was insulted in open durbar, and compelled, as the only means of insuring the safe return of the mission, to sign a document which the Government of India could only instantly repudiate.

"For this insult the Governor-General in Council determined to withhold for ever the annual payments previously made to the Bhotan Government on account of the revenues of the Assam Dooars and Ambari Falakotta, which had long been in the occupation of the British Government, and annexed those districts permanently to British territory. At the same time, still anxious to avoid an open rupture, the Governor-General in Council addressed a letter to the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs, formally demanding that all

captives detained in Bhotan against their will should be released, and that all property carried off during the last five years should be restored.

"To this demand the Government of Bhotan has returned an evasive reply, from which can be gathered no hope that the just requisitions of the Government of India will ever be complied with, or that the security of the frontier can be provided for otherwise than by depriving the Government of Bhotan and its subjects of the means and opportunity of future aggression.

"The Governor-General in Council has, therefore, reluctantly resolved to occupy permanently and annex to British territory the Bengal Dooars of Bhotan, and so much of the Hill territory, including the forts of Dalinkot, Pasakha, and Devangiri, as may be necessary to command the passes, and to prevent hostile or predatory incursions of Bhotanese into the Darjiling district, or into the plains below. A military force, amply sufficient to occupy this tract and to overcome all resistance, has been assembled on the frontier, and will now proceed to carry out this resolve.

"All chiefs, zemindars, munduls, ryots, and other inhabitants of the tract in question are hereby required to submit to the authority of the British Government, to remain quietly in their homes, and to render assistance to the British troops and to the Commissioner who is charged with the administration of the tract. Protection of life and property, and a guarantee of all private rights, is offered to those who do not resist, and strict justice will be done to all. The lands will be more moderately assessed, and all oppression and extortion will be absolutely prohibited.

"The future boundary between the territories of the Queen of England and those of Bhotan will be surveyed and marked off, and the authority of the Government of Bhotan within this boundary will cease for ever."

A field force was now prepared for operations against Bhotan. It was divided into four columns—the right, right centre, left centre, and left. The right, commanded by Brigadier-General Mulcaster, was stationed at Gowhatty, on the south bank of the Brahmaputra River, in Assam, in a plain to the north of the Cossyah Hills. The right centre, under Colonel Richardson, was posted at Goalpara, an important commercial town about eighty miles west of Gowhatty. The left centre, under Colonel Watson, had its position at Kuch Bihar, on the other side of the Brahmaputra, eighty miles west of Goalpara. The left, under Brigadier-General Dunsford, was at Jalpaiguri, about sixty miles to the west of Kuch Bihar. Each of the columns was pro-

vided with mountain-train guns and Sappers. On December 1st, 1864, the four columns advanced simultaneously. On the 7th the strong fortification of Dalinkote, on the hill slopes about forty miles due north of Jalpaiguri, was taken by the left column after stout opposition by the Bhotias, who poured upon them showers of stones and arrows. Having succeeded in arriving at the fort, which stood on a hill about two hundred feet high, and was surrounded by a thick wall of the height of twenty feet, the mortars were rapidly brought into position, and shells and carcasses were being thrown into the fort at two hundred yards' range, when an accident checked the fire of the artillery and damped the ultimate triumph of the day. A fuse having been cut too short, the shell burst in the muzzle of the mortar, and exploded a quantity of powder which was being weighed out for the charges, and in an instant three officers and seven artillerymen were blown to pieces, the General himself having a narrow escape. With great difficulty an Armstrong gun was then brought up, and the buildings within the fort were set fire to. This being considered an opportune moment for an assault, the signal was given, and the place was carried without further resistance, the Bhotias escaping on the opposite side. This affair, which lasted from ten in the morning till six in the evening, involved the loss of about twelve killed and upwards of fifty wounded. Meanwhile the right column marched, without striking a blow, into the stronghold of Devangiri; while the left centre penetrated into the Buxar Dooar without seeing any traces of the enemy except an abandoned stockade. On the last day of December Dunsford's column stormed a strongly stockaded position at Chamurchi, with the loss of two sepoy killed and fifteen wounded. The bodies of thirteen Bhotias were found, and one elephant was captured. It was now fully expected that the Bhotias would offer no further resistance; but, on the contrary, they commenced a series of attacks on the positions held by our troops. On January 26th they attacked the entrenchment commanding the Baxa Pass, and were repulsed. A vain attempt to surprise the garrison at Chamurchi was made about the same time. On the 29th a large force attacked the detachment at Devangiri, and one of our officers and five men fell; while one officer and thirty-eight men were wounded by arrows. As the Bhotias had cut off the supply of water and stopped the surrounding passes by stockades, Devangiri was no longer tenable, and the garrison had no other alternative but to steal out under cover of the night, and take their

chance of getting down into the plains. This was done by means of an almost impassable road, each one scrambling down as best he could. The wounded and the guns were carried by the artillery, until they were deserted by their escort of the 43rd native infantry, when the guns were spiked and thrown down a ravine.

On the 27th a formidable attack was made on the stockade at Bala, taken by Colonel Watson in December, and since occupied by a small and inadequate garrison. Situate a thousand feet above the Tursa River, this position was difficult of access from the plains, but was commanded by the higher ground in its rear. Just before dawn on January 27th the sentries round the stockade were suddenly driven in by the Bhotias, who attempted to enter the position, but the garrison, springing to their feet, succeeded in shutting the gate in their faces. The Bhotias then attempted to cut it down with their knives, but a heavy fire compelled them to retire to a short distance, from which for a time they kept up a continuous shower of arrows on the stockade. On the approach of day, finding the garrison firm, they retired to the jungle after a persistent attack of an hour and a half. The British loss consisted of one killed and five wounded; and the side of the stockade on which the attack was made is described as presenting the appearance of a hedgehog's back, so closely was it stuck over with arrows. Two days later, information was received that the Bhotias were stockading themselves on the neighbouring heights, and a party of sixty men was sent to reconnoitre. They had not marched far when their progress was opposed by a barricade, which was carried by assault; but a little farther on they were brought up by a second and a stronger one, from which they were repulsed, with the loss of two officers, and six men wounded and one man killed. To avenge this disaster, Colonel Watson, with a stronger force, on February 4th, attempted to drive the enemy from the stockade they had held so well; but this also proved a failure. The Bhotias, armed only with bows and arrows and crooked knives, fought gallantly from behind their stone-works, and our men were forced to retire with the loss of one officer killed, and one officer and upwards of a dozen men wounded. The Bhotias now began a course of plunder in the Durrung district, and ran up stockades in all directions. It became evident that more prompt and vigorous measures were necessary in order to put an end to so inglorious and troublesome a campaign. General Mulcaster was superseded by General Tombs; and the field force, instead of being broken up into small

detachments, was divided into two brigades—the right and the left. The former was commanded by General Tombs, with Major Sankey, R.A., as his brigade-major; and the latter by General Tytler, with Captain Macgregor as his major of brigade. A proportion of European troops were now for the first time employed. On March 15th the Bala Pass was recaptured by the force under General Tytler, the Bhotias losing a chief and thirty-four men; while the loss on the British side was five killed and a dozen wounded. On April 2nd Devangiri was retaken by General Tombs after an obstinate fight. Every man in the stockade was either killed or taken prisoner. About one hundred and thirty were slain, and forty taken prisoners; among them Jugar Penlo, the next in authority to the Tongso. The British loss was thirty killed and wounded. The places thus gallantly retaken were soon after evacuated, as it was not considered expedient to hold them permanently, and the troops were withdrawn to nearer positions for the rainy season, where they remained to defend the possession of the dooars. Brigadier-General Tombs then resigned his command, and the field brigades were united in one under General Tytler. The Bhotias were understood to be desirous of peace; but the wet season was spent in contentions between the Tongso Penlo, a subordinate governor who was at the head of the war-party in the Bhotan durbar, and the Deb Rajah. Meanwhile our troops were decimated by cholera and fever, and the remnant were left with scarcely any officers to command them. It soon became evident that another expedition must be dispatched to Bhotan, or the country abandoned altogether. Accordingly a force, complete in every respect, was got in readiness, while reports of peace were rife, and negotiations were from time to time attempted by the Deb Rajah; but the Tongso still held out. At length, on the approach of the cold season, a portion of the troops were sent forward, and had reoccupied Devangiri, when it was announced that peace had been concluded. The peace was signed at a place some miles in advance of Buxar, on November 11th, by Colonel Bruce on the one side, and two envoys of the Deb Rajah on the other. The following are the articles of the treaty:—

Perpetual peace between the two nations.

The eighteen dooars ceded to the British for ever.

All Bengali and Assamese prisoners to be delivered up.

The British Government to make an annual allowance to the Bhotan Government of

Rs. 25,000, to be increased gradually to Rs. 50,000; the British to retain the right to stop payment of the whole or a portion of the allowance.

Rendition of criminals. Free trade. Disputes with Sikhim and Kuch Bihar to be settled by the British Government.

The Bhotias have made a full apology for the insults offered to the Hon. Mr. Eden.

Government will not pay up the first instalment of Rs. 25,000 until the Deb Rajah makes Tongso give up the two guns lost at Devangiri; and, if the Deb Rajah wishes it, the Government will render aid in compelling him to do so.

The treaty was received with almost universal condemnation in India and by several of the London press, some of whom, however, assumed a different tone. The following is an extract from the *Times*' article on the subject:—

“Such are the conditions of the treaty now condemned. It is said that the Bhotias, instead of losing anything, are actually gainers of £2,500 a year in the shape of increased ‘tribute;’ that the chief who had been foremost in insulting us, and who retains our guns, is no party to the treaty; and that, if we are compelled to move against him ourselves, it will be when the two months of the year most favourable to military operations have gone by. In short, the Bhotias, after offering us the most scandalous offence, are left better off than before, while all India and Central Asia will naturally imagine that we have been discomfited in our attempt to coerce and chastise them. That the expedition would have been attended with the greatest difficulties, and could have resulted in no profit, is not disguised; but it is urged that much of the expense had been already incurred in the organization of the invading force, and that the great, and to us invaluable, fruit of the war would have been the establishment of our prestige and the maintenance of our honour. This honour, it is said in India, we have now jeopardised to save ourselves the cost and trouble of a mountain campaign.

“It is not difficult to discover from the terms of the treaty what its promoters really designed. We can state on good authority that the terms now accepted by the Bhotias are precisely those which would have been proposed had the first expedition penetrated to the capital of Bhotan, and there dictated peace. They were the terms which had been framed and decided upon from the very beginning of the affair, nor have they been, except in the clause concerning the captured guns, either reduced or enhanced. The policy

of the Indian Government was directed to security for the future, rather than revenge or punishment. These Bhotias are utterly uncivilised; they had little knowledge of the consideration due to an envoy, and were scarcely, in a political sense, responsible people. The object was to get the peace kept on our borders for the longest time and at the smallest cost, and the only effectual instrument in our hands was the rent which we paid them. This money was nothing to us; it was everything to them, and it has been made the machinery for working on their minds. The promise that the payment should not be stopped induced them, beyond doubt, to come to this agreement now; and the prospect of an increase, conditional on their good behaviour, is more likely than anything else to insure the conduct we desire. We are applying this machinery at the very outset, for the first instalment of the money is not to be paid until the Armstrong guns are given up. It is, we think, extremely probable that this policy is well calculated to secure its object, and that our territory on the Bhotan border will, at an expense not exceeding £5,000 a year, be protected in future from the attacks which have hitherto disturbed us.

“The only question is, whether in these obvious considerations of prudence we may not have lost sight of what our position demands. We may have taken excellent measures for the preservation of peace on the Bhotan frontier; but if we have allowed the Bhotias to think themselves victorious, and other people to draw their inferences from the example, our loss may be greater than our gain. That is a point on which it would not be easy to pronounce an opinion, but it is also a point on which the Indian Government would be most competent to decide, and on which we need not suppose that Sir John Lawrence would be improperly biased.”

The war with Bhotan was not, however, at an end until the spring of 1866. The restoration of the guns, which was a *sine quâ non* of the treaty, not having been made at the expiry of the time appointed, a portion of the Bhotan force advanced from Devangiri with the intention of proceeding to Tongso, should the guns not be given up. The first detachment marched on February 4th along the bed of the Deea Nuddee towards the north; a second, starting next day, pushed on for Sulika; and a third on the 7th began a march into the valley of the Monas River. At Sulika the advanced guard was fired upon, and two men wounded. The fire was returned, and a rush made upon the enemy, who, after firing the Rajah's dwelling, fled precipitately. They were so hotly pursued

that they had to drop their loads, and most of them were cut off from the river. The square-linked chain suspension bridge which spans the Monas was then secured. Here the force encamped for several days, receiving repeated assurances that the guns were coming. After some days' endurance of this trifling, it was determined once more to advance. Accordingly, on February 23rd, a forward movement was made, but the troops had scarcely crossed the bridge when news was brought of the arrival of the guns close to camp. The political officers, with a suitable escort, then pushed forward about a mile, and met them on the road to Kinkur. Considering the difficult nature of the road, exceedingly narrow and winding round the breasts and sides of lofty and precipitous mountains, often enveloped in dense fogs, through which our column, with its *impedimenta* of porters, mules, bullocks, elephants, all heavily laden, and fighting their way against heavy blinding rain and wind, was expected to push its way, the news of the restoration of the guns, which rendered unnecessary any farther advance, must have been exceedingly welcome. Previously to this the treaty had been ratified by the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, the compulsory treaty signed by Mr. Eden had been returned, and the Assamese, Bengalese, and others who had been detained captives in Bhotan released. This troublesome war was, therefore, at an end. During the campaign 677 officers and men died from disease, and only 54 from wounds, the proportion of officers being 6 in each case. Of men 2,175 were put *hors de combat*, and of officers 67.

On October 5th, 1864, Calcutta was visited by a hurricane or cyclone of terrific violence, which caused a most extensive destruction of shipping and property, as well as considerable loss of life in the city and harbour. The hurricane appears to have originated in the neighbourhood of the Andaman Islands, and to have travelled in a north-westerly direction, striking the mainland somewhere near the Balasor Roads and Hidgeli. From this point, where it raged furiously during the night of the 4th, it rushed up the right bank of the Hugli (Hooghly) at a rate varying from eight to twenty-six miles an hour. From ten A.M. to four P.M. on the 5th the storm raged in full force at Calcutta, and seven hours later it reached Kishnagar. Between Rampur, Boliya, and Pubna it crossed the Ganges and swept over the district of Bograh, and about 25° north latitude it turned back toward the east, and finally spent itself on the Garrow Hills. At Calcutta the gale came on with a noise like distant thunder, in two or three minutes tearing up trees by their roots, carrying off the roofs of

the houses, overturning walls and buildings, and heaping up masses of ruin in the streets and roads, where neither foot nor carriage passengers could make their way. In the course of two or three hours the suburbs of the city were more or less a wreck. Hardly a tree was left standing, and scarcely a house in Calcutta escaped without injury, while the native huts, especially in the suburbs, were almost all blown down. One hundred houses built of masonry, and upwards of 40,000 tiled and straw houses, were totally destroyed, while serious damage was done to nearly 600 substantial tenements and 4,600 slighter erections. The loss of life in the city and suburbs was 49 natives and 2 Europeans, besides 16 persons seriously wounded by the fall of their houses. But it was on the river that the storm was attended by the most disastrous consequences. The storm-wave overthrew the embankments, inundated the country, damaged the crops, and overwhelmed men and cattle in a common and sudden death. Had not the embankments given way, it is believed that the capital of British India would have been completely destroyed. On the morning of the 5th 195 vessels were lying off Calcutta; at sundown not more than 23 had passed unharmed through the double ordeal of wind and water. As the terrible bore came roaring up the river tier after tier of vessels broke adrift, taking moorings, buoys, and tackle with them, and drove about in clusters of from four to eight that had become entangled together, carrying with them everything that came in their way. Of the drifted ships many went down, many on the retirement of the flood were left aground at a considerable distance from the river, and many more received greater or less damage. Thirty-six vessels were entirely lost, of which 10 went down bodily, 97 were severely damaged, and 39 sustained more or less injury. The *Gobindpore*, a newly built vessel of 1,200 tons, capsized and sank off the Custom House, her crew being saved only by a seaman swimming off to the wreck with a line. The *Hindustan*, an old hulk of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, went down at her moorings, and the hospital ship *Bentinck*, lying off Diamond Harbour, was lifted up and carried bodily on to the top of the embankment. The *Ally*, bound for the Mauritius with 335 coolie emigrants, foundered, and of those on board only 29 were saved. The Burmah mail-steamer *Persia* was literally swallowed up, with all her passengers and crew, except two of the latter, by an enormous wave that struck her from the stern. These are a few instances of the more serious disasters on the

river. At Howrah, on the opposite side of the Hugli, the hurricane raged more furiously than in Calcutta, the populous villages of Shampur and Utubariah being completely overwhelmed by the storm-wave. Almost 2,000 individuals lost their lives, while 300 masonry and upwards of 150,000 mud houses were utterly destroyed, and nearly 13,000 head of cattle were drowned. "In what may be called the county of Calcutta, or, as it is generally termed, in the Twenty-four Pergunnahs, the mischief wrought by the great wave amounted almost to annihilation, so far as Saugor Island was concerned. Of a population of 6,000 souls only 1,488 are known to survive, while 7,000 head of cattle and 3,565 houses were swept off the surface of the land. The wave rose fifteen feet above the level of the island, and cleared away everything that opposed its advance, cutting the very island into two halves. Indeed, from Saugor to Atchipur, the storm passed like a knife over a ribbon of land, varying from one to eight miles in breadth. Everything disappeared before it. Within a mile of the river 80 per cent. of the entire population perished, and between that distance and the outer edge of the storm-stricken area from 30 to 40 per cent. The total loss of life in this district probably exceeded 12,000. It was still greater, however, in that of Midnapur, where upwards of 20,000 human beings are still missing, and not less than 40,000 head of cattle." As the storm-wave passed over this district it varied in height from five to thirty feet. To relieve the distress caused by this terrible calamity, the Government and the European and Parsee residents came promptly forward, and in a very short time pecuniary assistance was afforded to the amount of £10,000, and immense quantities of provisions and clothing were distributed among the sufferers.*

A month later the hurricane swept over the Madras coast, and at Masulipatam 5,000 persons are said to have perished.

In the beginning of 1865 the Waghirs of Kattiawar again became troublesome, and a small force having been sent against them, they retired to their mountain fastnesses. During the year repeated brushes took place between them and our troops. Towards the close of the year another small force was sent against the marauding wild tribes in the neighbourhood of Peshawar, where life had become unsafe, and robberies were of common occurrence. The three offending villages of the Upper Loudkhar Valley were destroyed, and their head men secured. The Khans of three independent villages beyond the frontier apolo-

gized, and returned the money they had taken from British subjects, and a British subject who had been imprisoned was released. No sympathy was expressed by the independent chiefs with those who had been punished.

During the year 1865 the deepest indignation was excited in India by the fatal march of a detachment of artillery from Mhow, in which, out of a body of one hundred and twenty, twenty-one men, one woman, and four children lost their lives. About the 17th of February, when Sir William Mansfield was leaving to take up the chief command, an order from home was received in Bombay for the reduction of the B Battery, 21st Brigade. Before his departure Sir William made the necessary communication on the subject, and Lieutenant-Colonel Phayre, the Quartermaster-General, who accompanied him, also left directions with his deputy that all such details should be attended to in his absence. On Colonel Phayre's return, he found that nothing had been done in his department, and was surprised at receiving, on April 7th, a communication from Major-General Green, asking if the detachment should be sent to Kirki. He directed that orders should be given for the march of the detachment to Nargaum. Major-General Green replied deprecating the march of the men at that time of year, as great heat had set in, and there was cholera on the road. Colonel Phayre then directed that the Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals should be consulted on the subject; but this intimation arrived too late, for the march of the detachment had already taken place.* The detachment arrived at Bulwara, three marches from Mhow, on April 15th, and the men were then apparently in excellent health and spirits. On that day two cases occurred, one of which proved fatal after a few hours. The next morning the detachment marched to Barwai; one man died, and another was attacked on the road. The heat in the tents having been found excessive on the previous day, the men were placed in the large buildings of the Barwai iron-works, a detached building being set apart for the hospital. Several cases were admitted into the hospital, two or three of which proved fatal, and some five-and-twenty more were treated for diarrhœa. During the night admissions and deaths were numerous. Next morning the men were moved into tents under a tope of trees two miles off, only the sick being kept in the buildings. On this day three men, one child, and two camp-followers died. The same evening the women and children were started off to Sinawud, a village about four miles south of the Nerbudda, and the detachment followed during the night,

* *Bengal Government Official Report; Allen's Indian Mail.*

* *Official Documents.*

arriving at daybreak on the 18th. Here it was joined by a second medical officer and an apothecary sent from Mhow. The attacks at this place were more numerous than ever; seven men and three children died; and with few exceptions the whole detachment suffered from diarrhœa. Discretionary powers having been given by the general commanding at Mhow, it was determined to return to the top of the Ghauts, and from the time of the promulgation of this order the spirits of all ranks rose. Arrangements were at once made for procuring carts for all the men, but owing to the apathy and indifference of Holkar's officials at Sinawud, the men were obliged to go on foot back to Barwai (in British territory), at which place a sufficient number of covered carts were immediately forthcoming. In these the men were carried back to the foot of the Ghauts, where they rested during the heat of the day on the 19th, very few being admitted into hospital. The return march was resumed the same evening, and the next morning the detachment arrived at Hursora, a village about three miles from Mhow, at which place the Mhow authorities had made every arrangement for their reception, fresh tents having been pitched, and everything necessary supplied. During this last march four died. The stores of medicine that had been sent with the detachment proved insufficient, and the medical officer originally sent in charge was himself an invalid.* Lieutenant-Colonel Phayre, who drew up a minute respecting this misfortune, threw all the blame upon Major-General Green, who, he declared, did not give explicit warning of cholera until too late to save the detachment. The same view of the case was taken by Sir Charles Van Straubenzee, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army, and was indorsed by the Governor, Sir Bartle Frere, the result being a severe censure upon Major-General Green, who was told that it was his duty to have exercised discretion in the matter, and that he appeared to have overlooked the general order prohibiting the removal of troops in the hot season. It was the general opinion, however, of the public and the press that Major-General Green had been unjustly censured and made the scapegoat. The Major-General having protested against the decision, some time afterwards another official document was issued on this subject, which plainly exonerated Major-General Green. "Upon a careful review of all the evidence bearing on this point, the impression produced on his Excellency the Governor in Council is this:—That the season was an exceptional one; that the heat and the danger of cholera were greater

than usual, but that there was nothing so striking in what could have been known at Mhow at the time the detachment marched as to render the marching clearly unjustifiable. Every precaution appears to have been taken to enable the detachment to march in safety in an ordinary season; and, though the season proved an extraordinary one, there appears to have been little known at the time of marching, which it was incumbent on General Green to notice as a clear warning that the detachment ought not to march. It is just possible that an officer possessed of unusual foresight, or unusual knowledge of the state of the country last season, might have foreseen unusual risk, and either stopped the detachment, wholly or in part, on his own responsibility, or represented the case to head-quarters, and asked for instructions. But, under all the circumstances, the Governor in Council does not think that Major-General Green can be fairly blamed for letting the detachment march." His Excellency, however, proceeded to complicate matters by considering whether the General was to blame for the subsequent loss of life. He would be entirely acquitted of any such responsibility, said the Governor, but for his letter, in which "he cuts from under his own feet all ground of justification by claiming to have foreseen the danger, and seeking to throw the blame, as of a risk which should have been foreseen and provided against, upon the head-quarters of the army." For persistence in this position in opposition to the opinions of superior authority, and not accepting their ideas of the responsibilities of a divisional command, his Excellency intimated that the Major-General was open to censure; and, under these circumstances, the Governor in Council did not feel justified in retaining Major-General Green in a command so important, and requiring so much judgment and such sound views of military discipline, as that of Mhow. The Major-General was then told that, if he resigned, his resignation would be immediately accepted; but that, should he decline, his supersession would as certainly follow.

Towards the middle of 1865 commercial affairs began to cause much anxiety. The alarm took its rise in Bombay, where an apparent state of unexampled prosperity received a sudden check, principally on account of the news of the approaching issue of the struggle in America, and the consequent uncertainty of cotton prospects. The great demand for Indian cotton which had sprung out of the American war had opened up new sources of wealth to many classes in Western and Central India. Whereas in 1860 the cotton exported brought to India only £2,500,000, in

* Letter to the *Times of India*.

1864 it brought £34,000,000, and about as much in 1865. "Cotton and railways brought untold plenty to millions who had hitherto earned their three or four rupees a month. The poorest Rayat became suddenly rich. His old mud hut was replaced by a roomier dwelling of brick or stone. His wife and daughters decked themselves in jewels of price. Earthenware pots gave way to vessels of brass, copper, and even silver. Every coolie—said one who lived among them—'took to dressing like a Brahman.' In many cases old caste-distinctions were broken down by the growing self-esteem that comes of growing wealth. Bombay itself went mad over new schemes for making money; and the great commercial crash of 1865, the natural result of reckless gambling in trade matters, dealt sudden ruin among many households."* Though the other Presidencies suffered from the general crash, and Calcutta more than Madras, the worst results of the panic were confined to Bombay, which fell from the height of prosperity to the lowest depth of adversity with a swiftness unparalleled in the history of any commercial nation. The loss caused by depreciation in the value of shares during the months of February, March, and April, and which speculators would have to make good, amounted to not less than £30,000,000 sterling. In June all business was completely paralyzed, companies collapsed, and failures of private individuals on a gigantic scale became common. Exposures followed of more serious delinquencies, and several native gentlemen of high commercial standing were convicted of fraudulent transactions. Non-speculators and persons with fixed incomes found the high prices so oppressive that living became a difficult matter. Those with but moderate salaries were said to be obliged to reduce the number and quality of their meals; and it was a common jest that the Governor could scarcely hold his own in Bombay Castle, and that the members of Council could not pay their weekly bills!† Notwithstanding all this, "Bombay itself, when the storm blew over, could still export more than a million bales of cotton in one season, and point to a foreign trade worth about forty millions a year."

The failure of the Agra Bank, and notably that of the Bombay Bank, demands a special paragraph.

The commercial crisis in England of 1866 produced its natural effect in India, resulting in the temporary failure of the Agra and Masterman's Bank, the fall of the Bank of Bom-

bay, and the collapse of house after house and company after company, all caused by the reckless trading and over-speculation which characterized the times. The stoppage of the Agra Bank occasioned great distress to those who had invested or deposited their savings in it, and these consisted chiefly of old officers, widows, and private families. Still the disastrous effects were not so bad as was at first anticipated, and a scheme for the resuscitation of the bank having been approved of, it was soon again in working order. In the Bank of Bombay the Government were large shareholders, and the direction of its affairs was to a great extent in their hands. It consequently possessed a greater share of public confidence than would have been given to any private concern, people imagining that the Government were responsible for their deposits and investments. The fall of the bank was due, to begin with, to the fatal clauses of the Act of 1863, which empowered the bank to accept securities in any public company in India, even if the calls on shares were not all paid up, to advance money on a promissory note signed by one person only, and to lend out more than three lacs on such security to any one firm for a longer period than three months. But to this cause are to be added the ignorance, negligence, recklessness, and dishonesty of the management, the disclosures of which astonished and shocked both Indian and English society. During 1867 various schemes were proposed and rejected for the resuscitation of the bank, which at length was put in liquidation. Yielding to the clamorous demands of the shareholders for an investigation into the affairs of the bank, the Home Government in 1868 appointed a Commission of Inquiry, consisting of Sir Charles Jackson, Major M'Leod Innes, and Mr. Maxwell Melville. Their report was issued in 1869, and from it we glean the following particulars regarding the decline and collapse of the bank. With regard to the fatal clauses in the Act of 1863, to which we have referred as the principal cause of the bank's failure, the Commissioners ascribed the chief share of the blame to the Bombay Legislature, and the rest to the bank directors who framed the measure, and the Bombay Government who disregarded the directions of Sir Charles Wood, who had specially warned them to regulate the bank's operations by the principles followed in the Bank of Bengal, there being no such provisions in its charter: The Bombay Government, with the Government of India and the Secretary of State, are further censured in that they "either failed to detect, or failed to expose, the dangers with which the Act was pregnant." There were no bye-laws for the

* *History of India.* By J. L. Trotter. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

† *Allen's Indian Mail.*

regulation of the bank's practice. Mr. Blair, the secretary, without consulting any of the directors, made cash advances on promissory notes alone signed by one or more borrowers. He also discounted promissory notes signed by a single borrower, and backed by no other security. During the bubble-share period of 1864-65, when everybody went financially mad, lacs upon lacs of rupees, with the sanction of the directors, were advanced on the mere promissory note of the borrower for much longer periods than three months. Mr. Birch, a Government director and president of the bank, had shares allotted to him in the best companies, on which he made handsome profits, but he ignored the irregularities and reckless proceedings perpetrated by the secretary in the name of the directors, the rest of whom knew nothing whatever of the business that was going on, or how to do it. The secretary, Mr. Blair, himself, says *Allen's Indian Mail*, "became a supple tool in the hands of Premchund Roychund, the luckiest speculator of the day, and the most widely courted of bank directors. This moneyed Mephistophiles 'was not slow to fathom the imbecility and weak moral character' of his obliging Faust, whom he or his father, Roychund Deepchund, supplied with large and frequent loans, as well as allotments of shares in the many companies he helped to call into brief existence. The two went partners in several large speculations." "The result was," says the report, "that the bank became Premchund's. If Premchund had a friend to oblige who wanted money, he recommended him for a loan. If Premchund had shares to sell, he would suggest to an acquaintance that he should buy, offering at the same time to finance the purchase-money by procuring him a loan from the Bank of Bombay. If Premchund wanted money for a speculation, he would suggest to some friend to join him in it, and then procure a loan in his friend's name for the money required." Premchund on his own account owed the bank £420,000. In the name of friends wanting to buy shares from himself he borrowed £669,000, of which £434,547 was never recovered. For partners in speculation he borrowed £295,893, of which £130,240 was lost. During Mr. Blair's absence of about three months, his deputy, Mr. Robertson, followed in his steps, and when the former retired at the close of April, 1865, the bank was involved in a maze of unsettled accounts, of which a balance, including the advances made by the branch banks, of upwards of £1,500,000 was never recovered. The manager of the Kalbadevi branch by his advances involved it in an ultimate loss of more than nineteen lacs. Mr.

Birch resigned the presidentship at the close of February, 1865, and for "his long and valuable services" was asked to sit for his portrait at the expense of the bank. Mr. Blair was succeeded as secretary by Mr. Robertson, who "was not much more scrupulous than his predecessors." A sudden panic in June was allayed by the timely interference of the Bombay Government. In April, 1866, the bank's evil genius, Mr. Premchund, required more money, and a last sum of £250,000 was advanced to prop up his tottering credit. Under the management of Mr. Robertson the sum of £515,558 was added to the bank's previous losses. The end was now at hand. With the close of the American war and the fall in cotton the Bombay bubble burst, and the ruin of the bank was complete. The Commissioners found that the causes of the bank's failure were—1st. The Act X. of 1863, which allowed the bank to transact business of an unsafe character. 2nd. The way in which "weak and unprincipled secretaries," spurred on by "a designing native director, Premchund Roychund," abused the powers conferred by that Act. 3rd. That the presidents and directors from 1863 to 1865 were nearly all "negligent, and failed to do their duty" in respect of by-laws and other things. 4th. That the times, being so exceptional, "required more than ordinary vigilance and care" on the part of all concerned. 5th. That the presidents and directors were neither "conversant with banking business" nor equal to the particular occasion. 6th. The absence of sound legal advice and assistance. It is interesting to note the opinions of some of the Indian authorities. Thus Sir John Lawrence: "I submit that the circumstances which have led to the ruin of the Bank of Bombay resulted from the neglect of obvious and reasonable precautions at a time of unprecedented temptation, and that if care had been taken in the selection of the Government directors, as well as in their supervision, that bank would have surmounted all its difficulties, just as those of Bengal and Madras have done." "To Sir Bartle Frere," says the *Friend of India*, "or to his sanction, we owe that charter of 1864 which, by doubling the capital of the bank, added fuel to the flame which allowed advances on bubble shares, and, by permitting more than three lacs of rupees to be lent to individuals on personal security, created the scandals with which Bombay is still ringing." Again: "If Sir Cecil Beadon is responsible for the Orissa disaster, the late Governor of Bombay, is more directly so for the moral and pecuniary ruin of Bombay." Sir William Mansfield confesses: "Having myself been a member of

the Bombay Government during the years immediately preceding 1865, I am able to bear personal testimony to the manner in which a local government can hardly fail to be carried along by such a movement as was witnessed in this year. It is too much to expect from human judgment that when placed in the midst of such circumstances it should not be influenced by the swelling tide around, which is felt alike by every man and in everything, and to take advantage of which in the public interest cannot fail to be the object of every Government." Mr. Massey says: "It would be understating the case to say that the position of the Bank of Bombay was and is that of an insolvent whose liabilities are covered by a responsible guarantor. A guarantee would extend only to the debts of the partnership. But the Government, by the course it pursued, went much further than this. In the summer of 1865 the bank was hard pressed; its shares fell below par. But no sooner was it announced that the bank was supported by the unlimited credit of Government than the depositors brought back the balances they had withdrawn, and the shares rose to sixty per cent. premium. At that time the bank had absolutely lost half its capital, and had two millions sterling of outstanding debts, which have since proved to be worthless. Thus, in consequence of the action of the Government, the public were induced to repose confidence in an establishment which was unworthy of confidence, and to give £160 for property which was not worth more than £25. But could the Government have refrained from interference? Could they have taken any other course than they did take? I think not. They were partners in the bank; they were directors in the bank. The difficulties (since ascertained to have been the ruin) of the bank had been mainly caused by the culpable remissness of those Government directors. Sir William Mansfield admits this to be the fact. But when his Excellency blames the Government directors, he blames the Government itself, which must be responsible for the acts of officers and nominees." Numerous attempts were made on the part of the unfortunate shareholders to obtain from the Indian Government or from the Home Government compensation for their losses, but these proved useless. A new bank was opened in 1868, into which had been paid by the middle of March a capital of more than thirty-five lacs. The Government deposits amounted to sixty-eight lacs, kept in the Mint under public guards, and the cash deposits to one hundred and twenty-two lacs. By August, 1869, the profits of the bank were said to equal nearly thirteen per cent.

In 1866 the Order of the Star of India was reconstituted in accordance with the subjoined notification:—

"India Office, *May 24th*, 1866.

"The Queen taking into her royal consideration the expediency of making certain changes in the constitution of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, as well by altering the designation of the present Knights of that Order as by adding thereto two additional classes, so as to enable her Majesty, her heirs and successors, to reward a greater number of persons of conspicuous merit who have rendered, or may render, important services to the Crown in India, has been graciously pleased, by letters patent under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, bearing date the 28th day of March last, to revoke and abrogate so much of the letters patent, bearing date the 23rd day of February, 1861, by which the said order was instituted, as limits the same to the Sovereign, a Grand Master, and twenty-five Knights, and as is inconsistent with or contrary to the provisions of the now recited letters patent.

"And to ordain, direct, and appoint that the said order shall be henceforth, as heretofore, styled and designated in all acts, proceedings, and pleadings, as 'The Most Exalted Order of the Star of India.'

"And to ordain, direct, and appoint that the said order shall consist of the Sovereign, a Grand Master, and one hundred and seventy-five ordinary Companions or Members, which last shall be divided into three classes, together with such extra and honorary members as her Majesty, her heirs and successors, shall from time to time appoint.

"And to ordain, direct, and appoint that her Majesty, her heirs and successors, Kings or Queens Regnant of the said United Kingdom, shall be successively the Sovereign of the said Order, and that the Viceroy and Governor-General of India for the time being shall be the Grand Master of the aforesaid Order, and shall in virtue thereof be the first and principal Knight Grand Commander of the Order.

"And to ordain, direct, and appoint that the said one hundred and seventy-five ordinary Companions or Members shall be divided into three classes, and that the first or highest of the said three classes shall consist of twenty-five members, to be styled and designated Knights Grand Commanders of the said Order; and that the second class shall consist of fifty members, to be styled and designated Knights Commanders of the said Order; and that the third or lowest class shall consist of one hundred members, to be styled and designated Companions of the said Order.

“And to ordain, direct, and appoint that the said Order shall continue to be governed by statutes and ordinances to be from time to time made and ordained by her Majesty, her heirs and successors, Sovereigns of the same.

“In pursuance of the power so vested in the Queen, as Sovereign of the said most exalted Order of the Star of India, her Majesty has also been pleased to issue new statutes for the government of the said Order, and therein to ordain, direct, and appoint that it shall be competent for the Sovereign of the Order to confer the dignity of a Knight Grand Commander of the same upon such native Princes and Chiefs of India as shall have entitled themselves to the royal favour, and upon such British subjects as have by important and loyal services rendered by them to the Indian Empire merited such royal favour; and that, as regards the second and third classes of the said Order, no person shall be nominated thereto who shall not, by their conduct or services in the Indian Empire, have merited such royal favour.”

An important Act passed in the beginning of 1866 was the Christian Converts' Marriage Act, which legalised, under certain circumstances, the re-marriage of native converts to Christianity. It provided for the dissolution of the former marriage in all cases where the petitioner obtained a decree permitting re-marriage. As the difficulties attending compulsory private interviews where the convert was a female were found to be insuperable, the male respondent was simply to be interrogated by the magistrate, and upon his reiterated refusal to live with his wife, a decree was to be made dissolving the marriage. Infant marriages were not to be touched by this Act, the parties being left to select their own course when they came of age, when the action of the magistrate would be regulated by the answer of the unconverted partner. Roman Catholics and Mahomedans were declared exempt from the operation of the Act. As regards the custody of children, the general law of India was left to decide all questions of guardianship, and of the right to custody of the persons of the children. The following comments by the *Friend of India* on the remarks of the Hon. Mr. Maine in the discussion of this subject are deserving of reproduction :—

“There were uttered in the Imperial Legislature of India, from the chair of her Majesty's Viceroy, by an English jurist, who expressly put from him all considerations of theology or ecclesiastical prejudice, on Saturday last, words which, for the first time since England possessed a foot of ground in Asia, declare

the true doctrine of toleration, and the only just and dignified basis of our policy as a governing race. The words have an historical importance which it is impossible to over-estimate. They are an authoritative corollary to the opening passage of the Queen's Proclamation to her Indian subjects, and the commentary is as important as the text. So fair are they, so cautiously tolerant of the religions of our subjects is the weighty address which they sum up, that the most prejudiced Hindoo, the most fanatical Mussulman, cannot misrepresent them without falsehood :—‘We will not force any man to be a Christian; we will not even tempt any man to be a Christian; but, if he chooses to become a Christian, it would be shameful if we did not protect him and his in those rights of conscience which we have been the first to introduce into the country, and if we did not apply to him and his those principles of equal dealing between man and man, of which we are in India the sole depositaries.’

“The principle contained in these pregnant words is that for which this journal has never ceased to contend in season and out of season. Rarely has it fallen to the lot of a public writer to feel such pleasure as we do in this triumphant recognition, on the spot, and not merely, as hitherto, in a distant Parliament, of the truth which lies at the basis of all civil as well as religious liberty, of the corner-stone of the rights of conscience. After all, to the mere Englishman who cannot comprehend the bigotry of priestcraft in all countries and ages, its perpetual intolerance and frequent cruelty, it may seem a little thing which Mr. Maine said. For what do his words amount to but this, that Christianity shall be tolerated in India, just as much as the licentiousness of Hindoo idolatry, the fanaticism of Mussulman sensuality, the materialism of Buddhist apathy, and the savage rites of Fetichism? No man shall suffer loss at the hands of the law for changing his religion—whether it be of his property, his personal security, his civil status, or, as this Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act now declares after years of agitation, his wife and children. To those who know not the history of the East India Company our intense satisfaction at this Act, which breaks the last fetter of the Native Christian, may seem unintelligible. It is so just because the intolerance of that company, dictated by the most cowardly, mercenary, and, in many cases, sensual motives, lasted for centuries. That intolerance added to the miseries of him who in India forsakes father and mother and wife and child for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, the ban of civil death, the wrong of the loss of property, the cruel injustice of the

denial of the rights of marriage and paternity. From the day when, in 1707, the first Protestant convert was baptized, to the present time, when the Government of India has confessed its error and has striven to make atonement, Christians have been as really, and in many cases as cruelly, persecuted by England as in the half-century from Gallienus to Constantine. Hear Mr. Maine's confession, the justice of which no honest idolater or Mussulman will deny:—"Contingencies on which not a thought could have been bestowed if another native race had been in question have to be carefully weighed and taken into account; the very molehills of Hindoo prejudice are exaggerated into mountains, and difficulties which in every day of Indian life crumble away at a touch are assumed to be of stupendous importance. I know, of course, that we do this because the converts are of our own faith, and because we are tender of our character for impartiality. But I do not know that we are entitled to be unjust even for the sake of seeming to be impartial." Henceforth the principle for which we have so long contended is a recognised part of our political system in India. Some years ago we thus expressed it:—"It is Hindooism which is to be tolerated, and not Christianity, which, as the creed of the British Empire, requires in her Majesty's dominions no toleration. This theory, in short, reverses the existing position. Christianity, instead of occupying the status of Catholicism in England,—not persecuted, but not liked; tolerated, but only from a sense of justice,—is to be raised to the status of Protestantism in the same country, not persecuting, but owing only forbearance towards all other forms of religious action."

In the beginning of October, 1866, India mourned the loss of Dr. George Edward Lynch Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta, who was drowned in the Ganges, while proceeding to go on board a vessel. About nine weeks before the Bishop had proceeded in Sir Cecil Beadon's yacht to visit Assam, in order to ascertain the actual condition and requirements of the people, and he had gathered a vast amount of information concerning a province which, notwithstanding its real importance, was but little known. On his return to Calcutta, he stopped at Kushtea to consecrate a new cemetery there. The yacht was moored alongside the flat *Gunduk*, and communication effected with the shore by means of two long springy planks. After the performance of the consecration ceremony, the Bishop returned to go on board the flat. He had just stepped on the plank pathway, and was feeling his way with his stick, when he suddenly reeled and fell into the water. It is supposed

that he must have trodden heavily on one plank, and that the other, springing suddenly up, tilted him over into the stream. Dr. Powell, who was a little way off, hearing the splash, immediately flew to the spot, and, thinking he saw the body, rushed into the water, but found himself mistaken. The water was deep, and the stream full of eddies and very swift, and the Bishop was never seen again. During eight years of unwearied labour Bishop Cotton had organized new and most important agencies for the benefit of the Christian and non-Christian inhabitants of India. His greatest scheme was the establishment of schools, both on the hills and plains, for the education of those whose parents had not sufficient means to send them to England, and who were fast growing up in ignorance, irreligion, and vice. A memorial fund has since been got up for the permanent establishment of those schools, the foundation of which the good Bishop had so much at heart. Dr. Cotton was a man of a large heart and universal sympathy. He was ready to enter upon any good work that presented itself. He cheerfully helped Christians of other communities as brethren, and readily lent himself to any effort of any kind that promised to benefit the natives of the country. He was the founder of the Cathedral Mission College, and the Calcutta University owes much to the wisdom of his counsels. When the news of the Bishop's death became known at Simla, the Governor-General issued a notification, afterwards republished by the Governor of Bombay, in which he said, "There is scarcely a member of the entire Christian community throughout India who will not feel the premature loss of this prelate as a personal affliction. It has rarely been given to any body of Christians in any country to witness such depth of learning and variety of accomplishments, combined with piety so earnest, and energy so untiring. His Excellency in Council does not hesitate to add the expression of his belief that large numbers, even among those members of her Majesty's subjects in India who did not share in the faith of the Bishop of Calcutta, had learned to appreciate his great knowledge, his sincerity, and his charity, and will join in lamenting his death." Dr. Cotton was educated at Westminster School, and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1836, being eighth in the first class of the classical tripos, and forty-first senior optime in mathematics. After being for some years an assistant-master in Rugby School, under the late Dr. Arnold, he was, in 1852, appointed to the head-mastership of Marlborough College, which position

he held until 1858, when he was consecrated to his Indian see. Dr. Cotton was the sixth Bishop of Calcutta. The previous five were Dr. Middleton, the first bishop, appointed in 1814; Dr. Reginald Heber, 1822; Dr. J. T. James, 1827; Dr. J. M. Turner, 1829; and Dr. Daniel Wilson, formerly Vicar of Islington, 1832. Dr. Cotton was succeeded by the Rev. R. Milman, Vicar of Great Marlow, a son of the late Very Rev. Dr. A. H. Milman, Dean of St. Paul's. He was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, where he took his B.A. degree in 1838. In the following year he was admitted into holy orders by the Bishop of Peterborough. He has held in succession the following livings: the vicarage of Chaddleshworth, Berkshire, 1840—51; the vicarage of Lamborne, Berkshire, 1851—62; and the vicarage of Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire, 1862—66. The diocese of Calcutta embraces an area of 306,000 square miles, and comprises the Presidency of Bengal, with the North-west Provinces, Oude, the Punjab, Assam, Aracan, Tennasserim, Pegu, and the Straits Settlements. The number of the clergy in the diocese is about 200, and the income of the Bishop is a Government allowance of £4,600 a year.

During 1866 the attention of the Anglo-Indian public was taken up with what was called the "Simla scandal." Captain Jervis, aide-de-camp to Sir William Mansfield, the Commander-in-Chief, was accused of appropriating his master's stores, and of conducting himself insubordinately while under the accusation. The captain was tried by a court-martial, which found him guilty of insubordination, but acquitted him of the charges that led to it, and recommended him to mercy. The Commander-in-Chief, however, who was the judge as well as the prosecutor in the case, would not listen to the recommendation, but ordered the formal sentence of cashiering to be carried out. The captain was afterwards allowed the value of his commission, and Sir William Mansfield received a severe reprimand from the Duke of Cambridge.

The year 1866 witnessed a famine in Bengal, which caused a loss of life amounting to double that occasioned by the famine that wasted Upper India in 1861. A variety of causes working for years combined to bring this about. First of all, the population of several districts was decimated by an epidemic fever which reduced them to a deplorable condition. Then came the cyclone of 1864, the effects of which remained visible in all the places where it appeared with any degree of violence. To mitigate its consequences, Bengal was drained of almost all the

extra quantity of grain which in some districts remained in store. Then the rivers overflowed their banks, and destroyed the crops in many places; and, last of all, there was a failure of the rainfall in 1865, followed by the consequent scarcity and high price of food. Before the next rainy season no fewer than a million persons are said to have died of hunger or disease. Much of this loss might have been prevented if, as was the case in the Madras Presidency, which also suffered, prompt and energetic measures had been taken by the Government; but, at the outset, the local government refused to listen to the warnings of impending danger, and led the Governor-General to believe that the pressure was of an unimportant and merely passing character, and such measures of relief as were adopted were intrusted to the Board of Revenue, which showed its utter incapacity to meet the emergency. By the month of May the districts of Orissa, Kishnagurh, and Tirhut were in the grasp of a severe famine, which afterwards spread to Behar. The people were dying by hundreds, and local subscriptions proved inadequate for the relief of the famishing population. The very worst rice sold for eight seers the rupee, which put a full meal quite out of the reach of the lower classes, who endeavoured to sustain life by feeding on roots, leaves, and berries. Acts of violence were being perpetrated under the influence of hunger. People were waylaid by the starving wretches, in the hope of obtaining by plunder the means of sustaining life; while the police were powerless to prevent incendiarism and robberies of granaries, which daily increased in frequency. It was only after repeated remonstrances that the Government was induced to place two lacs of rupees from the unexpended balance of the Relief Fund of 1860 at the disposal of the Board of Revenue for the relief of the famine-stricken districts. In June the famine invaded Calcutta itself. Crowds of sufferers from Cattaek, Monghir, Kishnagurh, and other parts found their way to the capital, and wandered about the streets in a helpless manner. To such a height, indeed, had the distress arrived, that fathers and mothers, in a dreadful state of debility, sold their emaciated children to passers-by for three or four shillings a child. Some were seen searching about among the refuse cast out at the doors for a few grains of food. The rind and stones of mangoes were eagerly caught up and sucked, and offal, such as a dog would reject, was devoured with avidity. Great exertions were made in the capital on behalf of these famishing creatures; even the natives bestirred themselves to relieve the misery that met them at their

doors, and several native firms distributed cooked food and grain among the hungry crowds that every morning besieged their residences. At one time the number of destitute that were being fed in Calcutta by native charity exceeded 20,000. In July the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Cecil Beadon, who had returned from Darjiling, presided at a meeting of the Board of Revenue, and arrangements were made for pouring rice into Orissa at every possible landing-place; but while the people were dying by hundreds, the rice lay long at the ports, or rotted on the beach from the want of means for landing and carrying it. The Lieutenant-Governor soon afterwards returned to the hills. By the end of August the total sum collected in Calcutta for the relief of the famine amounted to upwards of 99,000 rupees, and the native community had agreed to feed 8,000 of the distressed for two months. Upwards of £24,000 and 1,102,287 maunds of rice had been assigned to the famine districts by the Board of Revenue, and the Public Works Department had been commissioned to expend £82,500 in carrying out works of improvement in the distressed districts, £52,500 being allotted to Bengal generally, and the remainder to special districts whose need was greatest. In addition to this, a sum set apart for the Cattack Trunk-road had been supplemented by £10,000, and £61,500 had been provided for ordinary expenditure in Midnapur, Cattack, Balasor, and Puri. Notwithstanding all these efforts the famine and distress remained widespread. "Reports of the most harrowing nature," writes the *Friend of India* in September, "continue to reach us from the famine-stricken districts around Cattack. Death appears to be the solitary escape of thousands and tens of thousands. Whilst it seemed that the lowest depths of human endurance and suffering had been reached, another and lower deep presents itself. Floods, and the partial failure of the biah crops, have destroyed to a great extent the only ray of light which has been permitted to touch the picture in Orissa. Whilst rice a few weeks back was selling at Khunditta for two seers the rupee, this poor and little nutritious food is now said to sell at Damnuggur, some few miles from Jajipur, at one shilling per pound. In the wealthiest countries of the world this simple fact would tell its own story, but applied to the poverty-stricken and inert peasantry of India, its meaning can only be guessed at by the missionary and district officer. Jackals and vultures grow sleek, and an ominous silence rests upon villages half depopulated, fields untilled, roads marked by human bones. All

the truth will never be realised; how many fell who might have been saved by timely succour, or how much of the aid furnished was never permitted to reach its destination." In the beginning of October Sir Cecil Beadon addressed a letter to the chairman of the Calcutta Relief Committee, explaining his reasons for having refused to appeal at any earlier stage to the public for contributions in aid of the sufferers. So long as a balance of the North-western Provinces Relief Fund remained available, he did not think it would have been proper to ask the public for more, whilst the monetary depression which generally prevailed in Calcutta only strengthened this reluctance. He was, moreover, misled by official reports from the afflicted districts as to the real character of the crisis. "The answer to all this," says the *Hurkaru*, "is that Sir Cecil Beadon was himself in Cattack in February 1866, at the very time that famine was tightening its hold all over the province. He has just been severely rebuking an official who ventured to dilate on the terrible scenes of distress which he witnessed. To an urgent request that further medical aid might be afforded to the overtasked medical officer at Cattack a harsh rejoinder was vouchsafed." The Calcutta Relief Fund Committee now found it necessary to appeal a second time to the public, as the unexpended balance at their disposal would barely suffice for the wants of Calcutta alone. Soon after this a report on the famine was sent to the Bengal Government by the Commissioner of Orissa, in which the loss of life among the four and a half millions of Orissa alone was estimated at from 500,000 to 600,000, and in some places at three-fourths of the whole population, and the deaths were still going on at the rate of 150 a day. The mortality was not less severe proportionally in the adjoining district of Midnapur. In Ganjam and Chota Nagpur thousands were swept away. If to these be added the deaths of paupers from the famine-stricken districts in Calcutta, and the mortality in the other districts of Bengal from Saugor Island to Patna and the borders of Nepaul, we have a record of loss of life which exceeds in horror and extent that of any one of the six great droughts of India during the last century. From a resolution of the Commissioner on the state of the Cattack district, we find that during the last five weeks of 1866 the East India Irrigation Company employed daily 25,000 labourers in the whole of Orissa, and the number of paupers fed daily amounted to 20,000. In Cattack district alone no less than forty people died every day within the Relief Committee's own observation. The resolu-

tion contains the following remarkable passage:—"The Commissioner is aware that numbers of the natives pinch themselves through many days of slow starvation, struggling to avoid the horror of losing caste, and of thereby entailing on themselves and their forefathers and their descendants the imagined terror of a *chadala's* fate in this and the other world. Thus on religious grounds they defer resorting as casuists to the relief houses until all the feelings are swallowed up in the animal craving for food, and most of them who surrender even to this, the last of all the instincts, are too much emaciated to receive much benefit from the food distributed to them. The Commissioner knows and records with much pain that, however the committee might deal with hunger, they are comparatively powerless to contend with these superstitions." It was not till the middle of 1867 that Orissa could be said to be once more free from sharp suffering. Thousands had been kept alive for months by the relief committees, and the sickness that follows famine had been met and alleviated by a prompt supply of medicines and medical skill. By the middle of November the famine and scarcity were officially pronounced at an end, and the relief establishments were withdrawn. The land revenue, due in October, was remitted in the case of all zemindars the loss on whose estates exceeded eight annas of the crop, on condition of their remitting rent in the same proportion as they received a remission of revenue. The people were everywhere in good condition, well clad, and cheerful. The lands were fully cultivated, the houses neatly repaired and newly thatched, and the gardens re-enclosed and well stocked. A commission appointed by the Government of India to inquire into the causes of the famine, and the measures taken for the relief of the sufferers, reported that timely measures had not been taken to meet the evil either when threatened or when it became a reality, and expressed their opinion that valid reasons could not be adduced for this neglect. The conduct of the Bengal Government was thus characterized by Colonel Durand: "It is clear that the appalling nature of the famine was as little realised as was the principle that the first duty of a government is the preservation of the lives of its people. A visitation of this awful character is not to be met by recourse to the local charity of the Mofussil stations, nor by that of the capital of the presidency, but by the free and timely application of the revenues of the Empire. The measures of relief can only thus be proportionate to the magnitude of the catastrophe, which in this case demanded imperial, not petty exertions.

To this fact the Bengal Government and its subordinate officers awoke too late, although practically, to quote the words used by the Governor-General in the Council at Simla in April, his Excellency had given the Government of Bengal *carte blanche* in the matter of expenditure, and was prepared to sanction calls on the imperial revenue to any amount." Sir Cecil Beadon, several of the subordinate officials, and the Board of Revenue were sharply censured by the Viceroy, which censure was confirmed by the Home Government. Respecting the Board his Excellency said, "It appears to the Viceroy impossible to acquit the Board of Revenue of serious errors in their management of affairs in Orissa from the very commencement of the crisis even to the end. The members of the Board at the outset set their faces against the wish of the officers of districts to go about, and ascertain the real state of things and the actual out-turn of the harvest, under the delusion that inquiry was useless, and even pernicious, unless followed by remission of revenue, which they had determined not to grant or recommend. And the Board, having once taken up the opinion that importation of grain by State agency was inexpedient, adhered to that conclusion, it may be said, to the last. Even when the Lieutenant-Governor, on the 10th and 17th of May, suggested to them the expediency of reporting, the Board declined to do so, and nothing, therefore, was done until the 29th of that month, when his Honour directed that grain should be imported. Thus, at a very critical time, nearly a fortnight of time, that it is difficult to value, was lost. On the 9th of June, in like spirit, the Board thought it unnecessary to send down more grain. Hence it was that the importation of food in all June was quite inadequate to the urgent demand."

In the Madras Presidency the greatest amount of suffering was in the northern district of Ganjam; but, in striking contrast to the supineness of the Bengal authorities, everything possible was done by the executive for the relief of the sufferers. The Governor, Lord Napier, himself visited Ganjam, and witnessed the distress, and the measures taken to relieve it. Though the area over which the famine extended included a population of 250,000, the portion in which the scarcity rose to the pitch of starvation did not embrace more than 120,000. The ryots were the most deeply afflicted class, as they could not accept charity at the relief houses; but they showed, nevertheless, great resignation and self-respect. His lordship visited some of their cottages, "where destitution and starvation might be seen in every pathetic

and terrible form." The roads, he says, were full of wretched creatures prostrate on the earth, and in many places he was pursued by clamorous crowds, which he likened to flocks of skeletons or ghosts. The other districts that suffered were chiefly North and South Arcot, Salem, Trichinopoly, Belary, and Karnul. In consequence of the extreme scarcity of wholesome food, the people had recourse for sustenance to various vegetable products of an injurious kind, which necessarily caused much disease, and led to great mortality among the lower classes. In addition to the sad loss of human life, immense numbers of cattle perished. In two of the Salem taluks alone 100,000 beasts died, and similar losses were sustained in other parts of the presidency—misfortunes which most seriously affected the unfortunate ryots; for, however abundant the water supply may be, the extent of tillage must depend on the number of cattle available for the plough. The Hon. Mr. Ellis, who was sent to report on the afflicted districts, emphatically pointed out in his report that this terrible calamity could have been greatly mitigated, if not altogether avoided. "There are," says he, "in the records of the Board of Revenue and of the Public Works Department, plans of irrigation-works, which, if they had been executed, would not only have been highly remunerative, but would have this year made the serious failure of rain result in only a partial instead of an entire loss of crops. It is beyond my province to do more than allude to this question; but it was impossible that it should not be constantly a subject of thought and regret, for there was scarcely a village through which I passed, in company with the district officers, where there was not the same complaint of breached tanks and channels out of repair; while in many places great natural reservoirs were pointed out to me, which only required a comparatively moderate outlay of money to bring into cultivation large tracts of country now lying waste. Considerable rivers and streams are allowed to flow into the sea, carrying away the drainage of thousands of square miles of country; which, if retained by a carefully improved system of dams in the river valleys, with connected channels, might store water sufficient to carry the crops through even as severe a season as that which we have recently experienced." Famines and scarcities are, for the most part, not the consequence of Heaven's denying its bounties, but of man's neglect to make a proper use of them when granted. Soon after this the Secretary of State gave his sanction to further measures for the improvement of the hydraulic system of the presidency, and

a scheme was promptly adopted by the Governor for the enlargement of certain great tanks lying westward of Madras, which would largely increase the means of water storage. A contract was also executed between the Secretary of State and the Madras Irrigation and Canal Company, by which funds were to be lent to the latter, as they might require them, up to a total of £600,000, to enable them to prosecute the works with vigour, and complete a section of the undertaking. In September, 1866, the scarcity and high price of grain occasioned serious riots in Madras, which obliged the civil authority to call in military assistance, as the police force was no longer able to restrain the growing violence of the mobs which gathered simultaneously in different parts of the town and suburbs. About 130 shops and houses were looted, the value of the property plundered amounting to nearly Rs. 25,000. It consisted chiefly of grain, but included also money, jewels, and other articles. Upwards of 300 persons were arrested, many of whom were convicted and punished. Similar disturbances happened at Vellor, Palikat, and in other districts around Madras. Serious food riots also took place in October at Colombo, Ceylon.

Before the famine had altogether disappeared, and just as the last mouthfuls of public food were being doled out to the more helpless sufferers, another cyclone burst over the luckless region, killing upwards of 3,000 persons and many thousands of cattle, destroying millions of property, rendering 30,000 families houseless, and blighting the newborn promise of an abundant harvest. The storm broke out at Calcutta on the night of November 1st, 1867, after a few days of preliminary squalls, and was at its height from about ten P.M. to two A.M. next morning. Fortunately the hurricane swept down the river, and had to contend with the tide coming up, instead of bringing with it the dreaded storm-wave which did so much damage in the cyclone of 1864. The shipping, consequently, suffered much less injury, although about 500 native boats of various sizes, many of them laden with grain and jute, were sunk or destroyed, and upwards of 600 lives were lost. But in the city and its suburbs, and in the whole district between Calcutta and the mouths of the Ganges, there was a fearful destruction of life and property.

In November, 1866, Sir John Lawrence visited Agra, where a series of pageants was held, which exceeded in brilliancy anything of the kind ever known in India, even when under the sway of the imperial Ellenborough or of the royal Dalhousie. On the 16th the

Viceroy held an investiture of the Star of India, when the Maharajahs of Jodhpur and Kerowli were installed Knights Grand Commanders, and many other persons were invested with the dignity of Knights Commanders and Companions. On the previous day a grand review of the troops took place, followed by races. After the ceremony of investiture on the 16th, a ball was given by the Viceroy in the large durbar tent, and next evening the wonderful Taj was brilliantly illuminated by Sindia. From the outer gateway, by which the courtyard is entered, all the way up the garden, where the glare of tens of thousands of lamps was reflected in the still clear water of the reservoir, up to the Taj itself, which glistened amid an ocean of light, and to the edge of the old carved stone trellis-work overlooking the Jumna, was all one blaze. On the 20th the Viceroy held a grand durbar, when he addressed the assembled chiefs in Hindustani as follows:—

“Oh! Maharajahs, Rajahs, and Sirdars!

“It is with great satisfaction that I see you all assembled before me this day. I bid you all a hearty welcome to this famous city, renowned for its splendid Taj; and, above all, as having been in former days the seat of government of the great Emperor, from whom it derives its name of Akbar-a-bad.

“It is good for us thus to meet together: it is advantageous for me, as the Viceroy of the illustrious Queen of England and India, to see and become acquainted with so many chiefs of rank and reputation; and, for you all, it is right that you should be able to speak face to face with me, and hear my views and wishes regarding the management of your respective territories.

“The art of governing wisely and well is a difficult one, which is only to be attained by much thought, and care, and labour. Few kings and chiefs in Hindustan have possessed the necessary qualifications, because they have not taken the precaution in their youth to learn to study and to act for themselves; nor did they care to have their sons—those who were to succeed them—well instructed and carefully trained. Hence it has so often happened that, after the chief has passed away, he has not been remembered as a good and wise ruler. Great men, when living, often receive praise from their friends and adherents for virtues which they do not possess; but it is only after this life is ended that the real truth is told. Of all fame that such men can acquire, that alone is worth having which is accorded to a just and beneficent ruler. The names of conquerors and heroes are forgotten, but those of virtuous and wise chiefs live for ever.

“The days of war and rapine, it is to be hoped, have passed away from Hindustan, never to return. But perhaps some of the chiefs now present can recollect the time in India, and all must have heard of the times, when neither the palace of the ruler, nor the cottage of the peasant, nor the most sacred edifices of Hindu or Mahomedan, were safe from the hands of the plunderer and destroyer. In those days whole provinces were one scene of devastation and misery, and in vast tracts of country scarcely the light of a lamp was to be seen in a single village. English rule in India has put all this down. No longer is the country a waste and a wilderness, the abode of savage animals. Now it is to a great extent covered with populous villages, and rich with cultivation; and all the inhabitants are living in comparative safety under the shade of English power.

“But while such, no doubt, to a great extent is a true picture of the state of India, still, when we inquire closely into the condition of different parts of the country, we cannot but perceive that much tyranny and oppression are still practised; that much individual suffering still exists; and that much crime escapes unpunished. That peace and that security from outward violence which the British Government confers on your territories you must extend to your people. None but the rulers of their own lands can accomplish this; and they only can do it by constant care and supervision. They have plenty of time to do all that is necessary, if they have only the will. Chiefs have abundant time for their own pleasures and amusements; indeed, many of them have more leisure than they can employ, and are often weary from want of something to interest them. Others, again, waste their time in disputes with their neighbours, in quarrels with their feudatories, and even in still less satisfactory ways.

“If a chief will neglect his proper duty—the care of his state—how can he expect that a deputy will perform it properly for him? Good laws, and well-selected officials carefully supervised, are necessary to insure good government. An efficient police and a well-managed revenue are equally desirable, so that people may live in safety, and enjoy the fruits of their industry. Schools for the education of the young, and hospitals for the cure of the sick, should also be established. Some chiefs are perhaps in debt, and would find it difficult to do much in the way I have sketched. But other chiefs have abundant revenues; and all I ask is that every ruler should act according to his means. Some among you vie with each other for precedence, and feel aggrieved at the position which they

occupy. How much more to the purpose would it be if all would try which can govern his country in the wisest manner! In this way there is abundance of scope for all. The British Government will honour that chief most who excels in the good management of his people; who does most to put down crime and improve the condition of his country. There are chiefs in this durbar who have acquired a reputation in this way. I may mention Maharajah Sindia and the Begum of Bhopal. The death of the late Nawab Ghous, Khan of Jowra, was a cause of grief to me, for I have heard that he was a wise and beneficent ruler. The Rajah of Satamow, in Malwah, is now ninety years old; and yet it is said that he manages his country very well. The Rajah of Ketra, in Jeypoor, has been publicly honoured for the wise arrangements he has made in his lands. It is to me a very great pleasure when I hear of the meritorious conduct of any chief; and I try and make this known, so as to encourage other rulers to follow his example.

"Kings and chiefs in former times had no idea of opening out their countries. They often lived in difficult and almost inaccessible positions, surrounding their palaces with all kinds of fortifications, out of which they seldom ventured to any distance, and then only when attended by as many soldiers and armed followers as they could muster. As to travelling to see the wonders of other countries, such an idea never entered their minds; or if it did, it was dismissed as utterly impracticable. Now the princes of Hindustan have little hesitation in moving from one place to another at a distance from their own territories; and some chiefs have become so enlightened and far-seeing as to be willing to have roads made through the length and breadth of their lands, and some have contributed annually considerable sums for this purpose. I hope that others will follow their example, and do all they can to construct roads, canals, and wells in their country, thus enriching themselves and their people.

"I will now conclude by wishing you all again a welcome to Agra, and trust that what you will have seen and heard, and the general reception you have received, may make you long remember this durbar.

"I have but one object, namely, that you should try and govern your people well, and thus conduce to your own good name and their happiness."

In April, 1867, was held at Hurdwar the most famous of those great religious gatherings called fairs, which periodically attract millions of people to some central spot, generally the banks of a river, for devotional pur-

poses. In the present year the collection was unusually large, owing to the return of a sacred cycle which recurs every twelfth year, and is called the Coombha fair, so named from the planet Jupiter being then in the sign of Aquarius, at which season the pilgrimage to the sacred river and bathing in it are supposed to be accompanied by especial and peculiar blessings. Every one hundred and forty-fourth year the sanctity of the ceremony is increased in proportion to the rarity of its recurrence, and the cycle fell in 1867. In addition to this, a belief had gained ground in all parts of the peninsula that the sacred character of the Ganges was being interfered with, and that ere the time of another gathering could arrive it would be entirely destroyed. This idea, it is suggested, arose on the completion of the Ganges Canal, which it was supposed would eventually dry up the river by exhausting its waters. The notion may also have a deeper signification, indicating that the advance of intelligence, the result of British rule and education, is destined to undermine the influence of the Brahminical priesthood and the sanctity of the holy stream.

Some particulars of the great Coombh, as related by an eye-witness, may not be uninteresting. It is necessary to premise that, owing to the immense concourse of people which was expected, and the certainty that it would be attended or followed by the outbreak of some epidemic, the Government had taken every precaution possible to secure attention to sanitary arrangements, as well as to preserve the peace, for bands of devotees assemble in thousands under rival spiritual guides, and not uncommonly enact the same sort of scene that might be witnessed in former years at the church of the so-called Holy Sepulchre, where pilgrims who came to pray remained to fight.

"The gathering of the people from different parts of India commenced about the 10th of March, and increased steadily up to the 7th of April. From that day till the 11th the rush of pilgrims pouring in upon the sacred spot was immense. It is supposed that there were not less than from two and a half to three millions collected in the place. On the 12th, the sacred day, this mighty concourse of human beings arose as one man for the ceremony of purification.

"One of the first objects of the authorities had been to erect ten bridges across the river at certain intervals, which were placed under the charge of police, and marked off with different-coloured flags, in order to prevent collision between streams of people crossing over bridges in different directions. One of the most striking features of the fair is the

assembling of the different sects or followers of various 'faquirs' or 'mahunts,' who are noted for some peculiarity in their religious teaching. In 1843 a very serious collision took place between the followers of two opposing sects regarding precedence in bathing, which was attended by loss of life. On the present occasion measures were taken to bring them in under an escort, which both acted as a guide and prevented any breach of the peace. It was a curious sight to watch these processions of devotees, under the leadership of their several faquirs, marching with a cavalry escort headed by the magistrate, a road being made for them through the surrounding mass of human beings by the foot police. After performing the seven prescribed immersions in the sacred water, the processions returned as they came across the bridges to their respective encampments."

The writer, whose account was published in the *Delhi Gazette* of the 18th April, proceeds as follows:—

"I must here make prominent mention of the admirable arrangements made by Major Watson, Superintendent of Police, for checking the progress of the overwhelming crowd approaching the 'sacred ghaut' (bathing-place) at the time when the sects of faquirs were in the water. These were executed by means of red flags placed in the hands of policemen stationed on prominent localities at intervals of three and four hundred yards all along the main road appointed for the people, and where strong bodies of police were posted, and barricades erected. When each set of faquirs approached the bridge of boats to cross over to the sacred ghaut, the red flag at the ghaut would be exhibited, a signal for all other flags to be waved, indicating that the ghaut was occupied by the faquirs. The police at the barricades immediately drew up in line, and stopped the onward progress of the multitude. The communication was so rapid and effective, that the mass was simultaneously broken into divisions, and stopped without the dread of the people falling over one another and being crushed. When these flags were withdrawn it was a signal for the crowd to be allowed to proceed again. Had this method not been adopted, great loss of life would inevitably have occurred during this momentous day. But one death happened on the Dehra Dhoon side, owing to the giving way of one of the barricades through the immense weight on it, and by which a few persons were injured.

"The greater portion of the crowd took up their position on the vast tract of land opposite the river, familiarly called the Island of

Roree. This part of Hurdwar was marked off into bazaars, 'mohullas,' and marts for cattle of all kinds, and placed by Major Watson under the superintendence of Captain Bramly, who worked it as a district with six police-stations, composed of 140 constables, irrespective of officers. The sanitary arrangements of this island, together with those for the whole fair, were conducted by Dr. Cutcliffe, F.R.C.S., the civil surgeon of Saharunpore. To these the officer's unremitting exertions the total absence of sickness was attributable; his close supervision and directions to the police respecting the keeping clean all latrines, and the burning and reducing to ashes all filth in furnaces erected for the purpose, effectually checked the birth of any disease. No epidemic or infectious diseases showed themselves. Hospitals were erected in different parts of the grounds to accommodate the sick, but happily they were but little used. It would only take up too much space were I to detail the sanitary arrangements; suffice it to say that, had irregular squatting been permitted, as was too well experienced at the late Agra durbar, cholera would to a certain extent have made its appearance in so dense a crowd.

"I cannot mention in language too high the commendable exertions of the police of the North-west Provinces and Punjab. They have as a body worked hard and with a will; their exertions at the sacred ghaut were the theme of praise. Young and old, infirm and blind, alike received their needful help in pulling and assisting them up the wooden steps at the water's edge. Women in hundreds rushed frantically into the water with babes in their arms, which in the immense crowd were torn from them, but none lost their children; people who had accidentally lost their wives and children found them after a short time at an adjoining police-station, where all were conveyed and kept till owned. It is wonderful that no loss of life occurred.

"It would have been impossible to have made anything like a correct estimate of the crowd which assembled at this fair, but calculating by the Oriental system of one lac of souls to every square 'coss,' it was judged that there were no less than three millions of people at this Coomb fair. For miles round Hurdwar, and on the Dehra Dhoon side, a vast encampment as far as the eye could reach was seen. Most conspicuous of all was that of his Highness the Maharajah of Cashmere. His Highness the Rajah of Bhurtpore offered up his orisons to the shrine of Mahadeo, but in quite a different way from the pomp and show displayed by the Maharajah of Cashmere. Various people of note and respecta-

bility were here, among them Sir Deo Narain Singh, K.S.I., with bare head and the customary small winding-sheet; but now all, poor and rich, are wending their way homewards.

"This fair will long be held in remembrance, chiefly and solely for the completeness of the arrangements that were adopted for the convenience and well-being of the crowd, both as regards the sacred ghaut and in a sanitary point of view. Certainly some little confusion and discontent made themselves apparent at the onset, but a little trouble soon made the people acquainted with the different routes appointed to take them to and from the ghaut, as well as the object of the latrines which had been prepared for them on different parts of the ground. The names of Major Watson and Mr. Robertson, the magistrate of Saharunpore, with those of other officers, will long be remembered, and will spread far and wide, as the 'pundits' have made a note in their books of all officers' names. This vast crowd is fast dispersing, praising the *British raj*, and crying out, 'Watson, sahib ke jye,' for the ease and convenience they little expected to find, as it is notorious that no Coomb fair has yet taken place that has not been attended with loss of life and sickness."

Though disease was prevented as long as the vast concourse remained subject to the arrangements made by the authorities, the moment the fair came to an end and the pilgrims commenced their homeward routes cholera broke out, and the whole of Upper India was threatened with the scourge. Up to the 11th of April the health of the immense crowd was remarkably good. There were no cases of unusual sickness, and not one of cholera. The temperature had been kept pleasantly cool by slight squalls of wind and rain, but on the night of the 11th a severe thunder-storm set in, with heavy rain, which lasted to the following noon, causing a fall in the temperature of 14° in one day. About noon on the 12th the great bathing-rite took place, and after that the cholera broke out. "The bathing-place was a space 650 feet long by about 30 wide, shut off from the rest of the river by rails. Into this long, narrow enclosure the pilgrims from all parts of the encampment crowded as closely as possible from morning till sunset. The water within the space was during the whole time thick and dirty, partly from the ashes of the dead brought by surviving relatives to be deposited in the sacred waters, and partly from the washing of the clothes and bodies of the bathers. The custom is for the pilgrims to dip themselves three times into the liquid

filth (water it can no longer be called), and then, oh, horror! to drink it! This part of the ceremony is never omitted; and when two or more members of a family bathe together, each from his own hand gives to the other water to drink. And the reciprocal offerings of water take place between friends as well as relatives, the drinking being accompanied by vows of love and fidelity and friendship. The quantity of water thus imbibed varies, but it is never less than about as much as can be taken up by the palms of two hands held together so as to form a cup, and *usually several cupfuls are drunk.*"

Next morning there were eight cases of cholera in the hospital. The assemblage now began to disperse, and by the evening of the 15th the ground, so lately covered with human dwellings, shops, and stores, was once more a bare silent plain. Four main lines of road lead from Hurdwar, and at each of the first halting-places on these cases of cholera were recorded on the 13th. As the pilgrim streams proceeded the roads became lined with victims, "whose funeral pyres studded the surrounding fields, or whose bodies were thrown into the canal or collected by the police and buried. The disease was communicated to the neighbouring towns and villages, and the pilgrims carried it with them to their homes over the whole of Hindostan." The improved modes of travelling, too, helped to convey the disease to places formerly free from its attack. At Multan, for example, where cholera had been unknown for nearly a quarter of a century, the epidemic was spread by pilgrims returning by rail from Lahor as early as the last days of April. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the Government officers to arrest or abate the evil, it continued until the end of the rains, during which period reports were received of more than 42,557 deaths, a number considered far short of the reality.*

In November, 1867, a magnificent durbar was held by the Viceroy at Lucknow. On this occasion his Excellency entered the city in state, accompanied by a procession four miles in length, in which five hundred tall elephants carried three thousand natives of rank and distinction, all blazing alike in gold and silver and precious stones and bright colours. In the durbar the Maharajah Maun Singh praised the Viceroy for completing the generous policy of Lord Canning, and promised all just and kind behaviour on the part of the talukdars towards their tenants; and his Excellency in reply reminded his hearers of their responsibilities, exhorted them to

* Prichard's *Administration of India*; *Allen's Indian Mail*.

justice and tender care for the people, and assured them that much more depended on their good sense and fairness than on the laws.

The measure by which the completion of Lord Canning's policy, referred to by Maun Singh, was effected, was the settlement by a compromise in 1866 of a difficulty regarding so-called tenant and sub-proprietary rights in Oude, which had been the subject of discussion for upwards of two years. By an inquiry conducted by Mr. Davies, the Financial Commissioner, it was proved, by those who had an eager desire to discover the opposite, that the tenants had no right of occupancy which could be successfully maintained against the will of the landlord. The conclusion was accepted by Sir John Lawrence, who declared that no rights of occupancy would be created by the Government. An arrangement was then come to of such a nature as to satisfy all parties. As regards sub-settlements, the basis upon which the opposing claims and conflicting interests of the two classes were adjusted was that the State should make some sacrifice of its ordinary and legitimate dues in favour of the talukdars wherever, under the rules of assessment hitherto in force in such cases, an inadequate profit would have been left to the sub-proprietors; and that the talukdars on their part should, under the same circumstances, resign a proportion of their rental equal to that given up by the State, or that they should allow a moderate maintenance to the excluded sub-proprietors in the shape of land to be held rent free, or on light rent rates, in lieu of all further claims of a proprietary nature in the soil. It was further agreed that the sub-proprietor and the talukdar should be encouraged to buy out each other's rights, on the principle of the enfranchisement of copyhold in England, thus enabling each to retain a complete right of property over part of an estate instead of unequally sharing an incomplete and conflicting right over the whole, and giving a legitimate effect to capital in connection with the soil. With regard to tenant right, the talukdars, in consideration of the above settlement and the advantages accruing to them from it, voluntarily agreed to recognise the right of occupancy on beneficial terms in a large body of the ex-proprietary class—tillers of the land once owned by themselves or by their ancestors. The concession, likewise, embraced the interests of such cultivators as had settled hamlets, had reclaimed wastes, or had added by improvements to the selling value of their fields. The terms thus settled embraced in their aggregate a large body of the cultivators of the province, and of those classes especially which

claimed most strongly the sympathy and interest of the British Government. His Excellency in Council felt assured that the liberal policy thus inaugurated by the talukdars themselves would, in the long run, redound to their own interests by the important impetus to the improvement of their estates which would follow on the acquisition by the ryots of a better title, while it would tend to the contentment and the comfort of the cultivators themselves. The concession granted was that the tenants in question should pay $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or two annas in the rupee less than the market rate of rent. Rent was not to be enhanced more frequently than once in five years, and the right of enfranchisement was provided for, so that tenants at will who were ousted would be able to claim either a cash compensation for unexhausted improvements, or a lease on terms sufficiently favourable to indemnify them for their expenditure.

In Burmah the year 1866 was one of trouble and commotion. A fire that destroyed some ten thousand houses in Mandalay, the capital, was succeeded by an insurrection headed by two sons of the King, who murdered their uncle, supposed to be the intended heir to the throne, while he was sitting in the council-hall in the enclosure of the King's palace. At the same time a party of their followers rushed into the palace, and killed many of the principal ministers and officers of state. Captain Sladen, the British Political Agent, who was in the palace at the time, would, it is said, have been cut down, but for the timely interference of one of the conspirators. The King had to fly from his palace and stand a siege in the city. Some time afterwards, however, the rebel princes, finding resistance vain, gave themselves up to the British authorities, and Colonel Phayre, Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, proceeded to Mandalay with a view of restoring peace, and obtaining some better guarantee for the maintenance of British interests. Colonel Phayre's mission, however, proved unsuccessful, and he resigned his Commissioner-ship, which he had held for twelve years, and was succeeded by Colonel Fytche. The latter in October, 1867, arrived at Mandalay, and obtained a treaty from the King of Burmah, in which he granted all the concessions which the year before he had refused to Colonel Phayre. The embassy was received with a magnificence never before known. The following account of its reception is abridged from the *Indian Daily News*:—

A long array of elephants, on which the envoy and suite and a crowd of Wondouks and other high Burmese officials were mounted, escorted by 3,000 Burmese foot-soldiers and

500 cavalry, proceeded along a road three miles and a half in length from the river-side to the residency. Golden umbrellas, scarlet and white uniforms, glistening spears and swords, and the strange uncouth grandeur of Burmese notions of ornament and magnificence mingled with the white faces and varying forms of the envoy and suite, and the rare flutter of a silken dress as the European ladies who happened to be of the party were carried in handsomely gilded tonjons along the swarthy crowd, rendered the spectacle as striking, if not as imposing, as any that had been lately witnessed in India. The party—consisting of Colonel Fytche, the Chief Commissioner; Captain Duncan, Inspector-General of Police; Mr. Edwards, Collector of Customs; the Rev. Mr. Crofton, Chaplain of Rangoon; the officers of the escort, which consisted of eighty-four men; and two ladies, Mrs. Fytche and Mrs. Lloyd—left Rangoon on the 20th of September. After a slow progress up the river, they ultimately met four war-boats, with some of the deputation who had been sent to meet the party; and these, consisting of the Papopa Wondouk, the head of the mission from Mandelay, a venerable and well-affected gentleman, who bore his part with much self-composure and dignity; the Padein Won, also from the capital, a young intelligent Burman, who spoke English well, having been educated in Calcutta; lastly, the ex-Won of Isingo, an elderly and pleasant-mannered officer of the court, who had frequently been employed on like duties, and who had similarly received the first mission to the court of Ava in 1855, and had accompanied the Burmese ambassadors to Calcutta when they visited Lord Dalhousie, were ceremonially received on board the *Nemesis*. Provision had been made at all the towns along the river for the reception of the Commissioner, so that delays were frequent, and progress slow. At most of these stations—Menlah, a town of 700 houses; Marne, of 800 houses; Yaynankhyoung, a somewhat larger town; Tsilleinyo, a prettily situated town on a hill surmounted with pagodas; Pagan, a place famous for its pagodas; Myneegyan, the locality from which the eldest prince of the blood derives his title, and which is one of the few towns that supply a good deal of freight to steamers plying between Mandelay and Rangoon—reception sheds were prepared; the envoy or party was welcomed ashore, where guards of honour, consisting of from fifty to one hundred and fifty men armed with old flint muskets, received them; and the Pooay or Burmese plays were carried on all day. At last, on the evening of the 6th of October, or about

sixteen days after departure, the fleet, consisting of steamers and flats, and a large number of war-boats, slowly sailed up the Irawady as it narrows towards Mandelay, and anchored at their destination at three p.m. On the evening of the 9th the party were safely located in the residency, which had been enclosed by a strong post and mat fence and within which enclosure all the buildings for the mission had been erected. Presents of all kinds flowed in abundantly from the King and his ministers; and all day long Burmese plays were being performed. Two days after—a very brief interval for Burmese ceremonials, and consequently a mark of condescension on the part of the King—Colonel Fytche went in state to visit his Majesty. The procession was somewhat similar to that in which he entered Mandelay; the number of troops, however, having been increased by about 5,000 men specially recruited and somewhat absurdly dressed, and armed with swords, spears, and old muskets, who formed a street of honour into the palace. At the eastern gate the party dismounted, and swords and umbrellas were dispensed with. The palace is enclosed first by a strong wooden stockade; then, at an interval of one hundred feet, by a brick wall; and at a further interval of one hundred feet by another brick wall. At the side of the gate of the inner wall there was a wicket through which the embassy passed. About twenty yards intervened between this wicket and the steps of the palace, where the party took off their shoes, and were then led through the Mayaynan, or principal hall of audience, in which is the throne. Leaving the throne to the left, and passing out of the Mayaynan, a smaller chamber just behind the throne was reached; here it was that the audience was given. It was an open hall or portico, supported by white chunamed pillars, and was about thirty feet square; at the western side, before a golden folding door, was placed a low couch for his Majesty; immediately in front of this, at a distance of four or five yards, the envoy and party sat down. They were flanked by numerous Burmese officials, who on either side reached up close to his Majesty's couch. Some fifteen or twenty minutes elapsed, and then the doors were thrown open. The King was seen approaching from a considerable distance up a vista of gilded doors of various succeeding chambers. He was preceded by two officers carrying *dhas* (Burmese swords), and accompanied by a child of five or six years of age, one of his little daughters. He took off his shoes at the further side of the couch, and sat down reclining on one side. Silence prevailed

for some time, and then the King opened the conversation. . . . After the reception, up to the 23rd, visits were exchanged with the principal ministers, each visit being a pretext for general festivity throughout the city, and an unusual display of golden umbrellas, elephants, presents of fruit, sweetmeats, nuts, and Burmese delicacies, conveyed in procession on rich golden salvers, and a constant succession of plays. One of the most interesting of these was by an amateur ballet corps, composed of the young ladies attached to the household of the Queen, whose performance the mission, by special invitation, witnessed on the 23rd of October. It commenced by the entrance of about thirty young girls in single file, who arranged themselves in a semicircle, and, kneeling down, bowed to his Majesty. They wore the ordinary tamine, or Burmese petticoat, but the jacket was more of the fashion of that worn by princes in the plays. The tamines were all red and green, the jackets white satin, with circular pieces of silver stitched on, so as somewhat to resemble armour. On the head the girls wore peaked helmets, also usually worn by male performers in the ordinary plays. The girls rising, first performed a slow graceful dance round the theatre to the accompaniment of the band, varying the step and pace from time to time, and again knelt down; one of the number, taking up her position in the centre, then sang or chanted a slow hymn in honour of his Majesty, describing his greatness and goodness. The dead silence of the whole assembly, the clear and exceedingly sweet tone of the girl's voice, and the peculiar measure of the air, half recitative, half hymnal, made the whole scene most striking and beautiful. The hymn consisted of three verses; and, at the end of each, the girls, still kneeling, bowed low to his Majesty. They then resumed the dance, which they accompanied with a low chant, and varied it by beating time with two ornamental sticks which they now carried. This, too, being ended, the King rose and left. The famous white elephant was on this occasion visited, and found to be a brownish animal, with hair not so coarse as the ordinary elephant, and with a few light points, but only to be called white by courtesy. His stable companion was a very black female, which tended to a certain degree to suggest his lighter colour. A small mint, working out about Rs. 15,000 per diem, was also visited, as well as a large yard, where the King was having the whole of the Burmese scriptures engraved on marble slabs, which were to be fixed around his temple in the neighbourhood of Mandalay. The only visit after this was

that on which the treaty was signed, when, with the distribution of a few presents, and the expression of a desire that Colonel Fyche would again visit him, the King left. On the 28th of October the mission returned.

Under the administration of Colonel Phayre British Burmah made remarkable progress, which is sufficiently shown by the following results:—During the ten years from 1854-55 to 1864-65 the population increased from a million and a quarter to upwards of two millions; the area of cultivated land spread from 1,075,374 acres to 1,641,403, showing an increase of 566,029 acres; the revenue was almost doubled, having increased from 5,317,922 rupees to 10,300,620; the value of exports increased from 23,241,866 rupees to 44,224,832, and that of the imports from 26,222,219 rupees to 48,125,559, the total increase in trade thus amounting to 43,886,306 rupees. In his dealings with his troublesome Burmese neighbour Sir Arthur Phayre proved equal to every need. More than once he visited Mandalay, and strenuously endeavoured to establish the mutual relations of the two countries on an equitable basis, in which the advantages of both sections of the people should be equally consulted, and even so late as the rebellion of 1866-67 his action turned the scale in favour of the King.

One result of the treaty with Burmah was the permission granted by the King to Captain Sladen to lead an exploring party from Bhamô to the Chinese frontier, in quest of a railway route to connect Yunnan with British India. All Sanbwas, officers, and Sitkas within the realm were enjoined to aid the English party to the uttermost, helping them forward as far as in them lay. The expedition started from Mandalay on January 13th, 1868, in the King's steamer, and arrived at Bhamô on the 21st. After more than a month's detention, caused by hindrances thrown in their way by some minor officials fearful for the fancied interests of themselves or of their countrymen at large, and the necessity for awaiting the arrival of a new governor, the exploring party left Bhamô on February 26th, and arrived on March 6th at Ponsi, a point on the Kakhyen Mountains fifty miles from Bhamô, and ten from the Shan town of Manwyne. The day after their arrival, the mulemen, who had agreed to go on to the latter place, deserted in a body, having received instructions from several chiefs in the Shan states not to render any further assistance under pain of death. A large party of Shans and Kakhyens barred the progress of the mission eastward, and a Chinese robber-chief lay in wait for the travellers if they attempted

to pass his stronghold at Manphu, on the high-road from Ponsi to the frontier city of Momien. The residents were under strict orders neither to assist nor hold intercourse of any kind with the members of the exploring party; nevertheless, Captain Sladen succeeded in getting letters conveyed to Momien, asking for the co-operation and assistance of the chiefs. Satisfactory replies were returned, and the Shans and Kakhyens were ordered to render assistance when required. They then altered their tone, and no longer offered any active opposition. The Panthay chiefs further dispatched a force against Manphu, which was taken, but the robber-chief escaped. They also sent an escort to meet the expedition, which afterwards arrived in safety at Momien. On the return journey Captain Sladen crossed over from Manwyne to Botha, and thence over the Kakhyen Hills by the principal route, which has always been the one taken by royal embassies between Burmah and China. Another route was also surveyed, so that the three routes leading across these hills were so far explored and surveyed as to enable Government to form an opinion as to which should constitute the through route to China.

In 1867 another assurance was given to the natives of India of the desire of their rulers to act, as far as they honestly could, up to the spirit of Lord Canning's famous proclamation, by their policy with regard to the semi-dependent principality of Mysore. After the death of Tippu, and the fall of his capital, Seringapatam, in 1799, part of his conquered kingdom was divided between the English and the Nizam, and the rest was reserved under English commissioners for the present Maharajah, then the child-heir of the former Rajah, who had been dispossessed by Hyder Ali, Tippu's father (see vol. ii. 480). It was now declared by Lord Cranborne that on the death of the Maharajah his territory would not be annexed by the British Government. This announcement, says the *Times of India*, produced a feeling of relief, as if India had escaped an interminable period of political unrest and danger; and the news spread through India as a happy omen, having a far wider moral and political significance than anything pertaining to the small territory of Mysore. Lord Cranborne's declaration was followed by the recognition of the child whom the Maharajah had adopted as his son in 1865 as the rightful heir to his dominions. The ceremony observed on the occasion of the adoption was not without interest. On Sunday morning, the 18th of June, 1865, the Maharajah held a *levée* in the principal hall of his palace, which was thickly thronged with

courtiers, ministers, and other functionaries, distinguished pundits, and people of all races and descriptions. After a quarter of an hour's silence the Maharajah rose from his seat, and thus addressed the assembly:—

“Friends and relations, ministers and courtiers, countrymen, and all present:

“My object in having you all here this day is expressly to make you distinctly understand my deliberate resolution. You all well know that my expectations and your prayers, that I should be blessed with a son, have unfortunately not been realised. It deeply concerns me to reflect that the ancient families of Mysore, which uninterruptedly continued for three-and-twenty generations, may cease to exist with me; that the time-honoured throne of my house may become vacant; and that all my subjects may be deprived of the protection they have from time immemorial enjoyed at the hands of this dynasty. My fear is, that if no remedy be speedily contrived to prevent this calamity, an everlasting infamy may attach to my person in this world, and eternal torments in that to come.* The expedient that strikes me to prevent these calamities is, that I should immediately adopt a son. I wish, therefore, you all would freely express your respective thoughts and sentiments on the subject. Should you all approve of my resolution, I also particularly desire you to furnish me with your suggestions as to the family from which my heir should be chosen.” The assembly, with one voice, left the selection entirely to his Highness's choice, and unanimously expressed their agreement with him. They said that his Highness enjoyed their unbounded gratitude, they had been longing for him to adopt for some time past, and that their fervent prayers were to see rites of adoption performed at once, provided his Highness had no objection. Then the Maharajah, taking the child by the arm, declared as follows:—“As the family to which this child belongs and my family have been closely allied to each other from time immemorial, and as the immaculate virtue of this child's noble house has all along been distinctly known to myself and you all, it is my wish to adopt this child, with its mother's assent and yours.” The selection was greatly applauded by every one present as being the fittest that could be made. The Maharajah then obtained the sanction of the priest called Perkal Guru, and the ceremony was concluded. A royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired in honour of the occasion. After this the courtiers were introduced to the little

* The Hindu Shasters declare that unless a man begets or adopts a son he cannot go to heaven, but suffers eternal punishment in a hell called “put.”

prince, presented nuzzers, and paid their humble respects. Every one in attendance received garlands of flowers and betel-nut; and pagodas and sovereigns were given away for charity in thousands. A few hours afterwards the adopted prince was led through the principal streets of the fort in a splendid gold palanquin, the courtiers marching along with it, together with a large escort of cavaliers and footmen, pikemen and musketeers, musicians and trumpeters. The delighted population displayed their rejoicings in many ways. Regular feastings were kept up in every house for three days. Congratulations were circulated in every direction. Numerous carts laden with sugar for distribution were driven through all the streets of the city. From every quarter the people were heard to say that at last Divine Providence had been graciously pleased to send down upon them the most precious boon; that the existence of their native sovereignty was prolonged; that the clouds, which the threats of annexation had gathered around their heads, had by this remarkable deed been scattered and dissipated; and that British justice would bless them with the pride and honour of being governed continually by sovereigns of their own race.* Having lived to see his adopted heir recognised as his successor, the old Maharajah died March 27th, 1868, and the new Rajah was installed in the September following.

Another instance of the same regard for native interests which directed the policy of the Government towards Mysore was the official proclamation by Sir John Lawrence of the urgent political necessity that the progress of education had created for opening up to natives of ability and character a more important, dignified, and lucrative sphere of employment in the administration of British India. This was occasioned by a remark occurring in Mr. Davies's report on the revenue administration of Oude during the year 1865-66, to the effect that there was no greater administrative evil in our system than the manner in which many native officers of ability were, at an early period of life, shorn of all incentive to exertion by the bar set to their promotion. The Viceroy recognised the eligibility of natives of approved character for promotion to the rank and emoluments of Assistant Commissioners and Small Cause Court Judges in the Punjab, Oude, the Central Provinces, British Burmah, Assam, Curg, Mysore, and Berar, and the local administrations were requested to report the proportion which natives should bear in these appointments relatively to civilians,

* *Madras Athenæum.*

military men, and uncovenanted Englishmen. In Mysore the recent orders for the preservation of a native dynasty had rendered the more general employment of natives an immediate necessity. In another resolution respecting the constitution of the Police Establishment in India, his Excellency directed the attention of local governments to the expediency of increasing the native element in the higher ranks of the police, believing that in no department could the ability and local knowledge of native servants of the State of approved fidelity and character be turned to greater advantage. At home the interests of the natives were now being upheld by a body of gentlemen forming the East India Association, whose objects are to bring before Parliament and the public all subjects affecting Indian interests, whether of Europeans or natives.

In a debate on the Mysore question during the session of Parliament of 1867, Lord Cranborne demurred to the wholesale condemnation of the native system of government, which, he asserted, "had a fitness and geniality which we could not realise, and which compensated in some degree for the material evils its rudeness often induced." Similar sentiments were expressed by Sir Stafford Northcote.

On perusing these opinions, the Viceroy of India expressed it as his own opinion that the natives were incontestably more prosperous, and, *sua si bona norint*, far more happy in British territory than under native rulers; and he called on selected officers, holding high posts in India, for opinions bearing on the subject.

The following is a brief summary, by R. Montgomery, late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, of the opinions for and against the systems of the British and native Governments:—

"In favour of the British Government.—The people are more prosperous; there is greater security of life and property; there is religious liberty; there is better protection from open and daring crime; our revenue system confers a better title; the Government demand is limited; merchants and bankers are more prosperous; the agricultural classes are better off; trade is free, and there is greater facility for traffic; and our power, our success, and our moderation have raised the reputation of the British Government.

"On the side of the native Government it is asserted that the following classes are opposed to the rule of the British Government:—The nobility and courtiers, native chiefs, native gentlemen, the sacerdotal classes, the military

classes, the political and ambitious, and the producers of Indian manufactures—such as goldsmiths, brocaders, &c.

“As militating also against the British rule, there is the fact that we are aliens in everything—strangers in the land—and that there is a great gulf between us and the governed.

“Our judicial system is most unpopular, with its long delays, its niceties, and complicated system and legal technicalities, and is very costly. It has been prematurely raised to a standard suited to European requirements, and uncongenial to the people, whose simple idea of justice is that it should be prompt, cheap, and vigorous.

“The natives are bewildered with the number of departments—our constant changing, and altering, and modifying of law and procedure. The mass do not understand our rapid and restless legislation, nor the necessity for it. They are perplexed, and suspicious of designs to subvert their customs and religion.

“They dislike our sale of land for arrears of revenue, imprisonment for debt, our system of taxation, our exemption of women from punishment for adultery. Our continued interference in the every-day concerns of life, especially in statistics and sanitary arrangements, entailing constant visits from overbearing and extortionate native officials, is very distasteful to them.

“Another cause of popular dissatisfaction is our constant call for witnesses from their remote homes, their delay and their scant compensation, or often no compensation at all.

“Our resumption laws have given great offence, especially in the way of endowments. The most minute grants are inquired into with rigour, and the holders of nearly all grants, small or large, are presented with the certainty of an immediate fall or a slow extinction.

“The populace like the pageantry and prizes of life and the liberal display of native chiefs. There is nothing of this in our Government. We, indeed, discourage it, and hold all the prizes. Our rewards are few, and given grudgingly.

“When we annex a country all men of rank are thrown out of employment. The nobles have no lucrative or honourable posts. The old aristocracy are impoverished. Cadets of old and good families have no career to look forward to. Except in rare cases, there is a want of sympathy and consideration shown them by our officers. They feel it keenly.

“As a rule, we are unsympathizing and uncompromising. Our Government does not

accommodate itself to the tastes and genius of a simple and more imaginative race.

“If the balance be fairly struck, it will undoubtedly be found in favour of our rule, as regards the material prosperity of the country and the progress of civilisation. But the point still remains—Do the natives feel themselves happier under our rule than under that of a native Government? Would those now living under a native Government prefer it to being annexed to the British territory?

“I unhesitatingly affirm that they would not elect to change their condition, and to forfeit their nationality.

“It is well, I think, that this reflection of popular sentiments should be held up against the temptation of annexation, for the supposed good of the people, although it is but fair and due to ourselves that we should justify the continuance of our dominion by the many material advantages it has conveyed.

“The discussion will have been very valuable if it should disclose the real views of our Asiatic subjects, and lead us to consider in what manner and by what means our defects can be remedied, and our rule be made more popular.

“Our officers are young, and few and scattered, and have much to learn. To administer the mass of law imposed on them, they are chained to their courts and offices from morning till night. They have no leisure for personal intercourse, to mix with the people, to gain their trust, to disabuse them of unjust prejudices, to make known our motives of real benevolence, and to ascertain their views.

“An acute observer of one of our most recently annexed provinces informs me that the gulf is increasing, the people are disheartened.

“This result may in a great measure be attributed to the passion for change and centralisation, which has increased of late years, and, under what is termed the non-regulation system, has disappeared.

“The common error lies in our insular proneness to contract and generalise—to embody in one class all the many separate nationalities and distinct races which have been successively added to the rule of England. In an empire made up of such differing languages and distinct customs, it must be popular, as it is politic, to encourage to a great extent a local administration and a local adaptation of laws.

“There can be no doubt, as is stated by Sir Donald M'Leod, that where an Englishman has shown a warm and rational sympathy with the people, they stretch towards the sunshine, and invariably respond in a

manner which is unmistakable, regarding him with feelings akin to affection; and, in the case of Government, the same result would follow from the same cause.

"The people should be more largely employed in all social and municipal affairs, which they are most competent to manage. Till quite recently this was neglected, and even now it is very partially done. The appointment of honorary magistrates, municipal committees, zaildars, &c., only three or four years ago met with opposition from many officers. They made no allowance for the crudeness of decisions. They seemed to expect the precision and correctness of trained officers.

"I believe that, to do full justice to the people, it is indispensable that we legislate with the aid of a native council assembled by each local governor, so as to admit of the existence of an authorised machinery for administering to the wants and requirements of the natives in matters, both judicial and administrative, connected with the soil and their every-day transactions.

"It is not suggested that this council should be permanent, or consist always of the same members, for to that constitution there would be obvious objections, and there are obvious advantages in its elasticity; but the intention is to unite the landed gentry and men of wealth and ability in the administration of their country; to bring to bear, through the local governments, the utmost light and the fullest information on important measures; and to secure, as far as possible, a check against precipitate or unsuitable innovation.

"At present we know little or nothing of the current of native feeling. There are the greatest difficulties in testing it. We need an enlightened native opinion, and for our rulers to know what it is. The few native gentlemen in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy—collected from different parts of the great Empire in an assembly the proceedings of which are conducted in the English language, with which they are rarely acquainted—have no real weight or power of assertion. The councils should be local, one for each province; the Viceroy and his Council should exercise merely a general control and supervision, and reserve their action for questions of imperial importance. Further, whatever education we may give them in a school will have little material effect unless the people at the same time be encouraged to hope, and trained to vigorous thought and self-reliance by taking some part in the administration.

"Every effort should be made to try and soften the hard, straight lines of our unbending and uncongenial rule, and to adapt it

more to the feelings and sympathies of the people; to attach the people to their local officers; to remove the dull sense of restraint and repression which now overpowers them; and to afford scope for their legitimate aspirations and love of distinction in our service, both civil and military.

"This will not be effected by limiting and checking the powers of English superiors, and so lowering their personal influence and respect, as would seem to have been done in some of our oldest provinces, but by raising some among the natives distinguished by ability and integrity to participate and aid in upholding that needful authority. The recent order of the Viceroy of India, admitting natives to be assistants in the Civil Service, is a step in the right direction."

In the beginning of 1868 the Nawab of Tonk was deposed by the Viceroy for his complicity in the murder of Dheru Singh, uncle of Rewat Singh, Thakur of Lawa, with fourteen of his followers. At the investigation held by the authorities, the Nawab, in his defence, declared that the Thakur, with a party of sixteen men, broke into the house of Huqueem Shah, and that in the conflict which ensued, nine of the Lawa men, including the Thakur, were slain, whilst only two men fell on the side of Huqueem. A letter was also produced, in which the Nawab, through Huqueem Shah, wrote to the Thakur to visit Tonk to settle the disputes between himself and the Thakurs. Further, the Political Agent deposed that in the previous January Huqueem Shah accompanied him to Lawa, when the Thakurs offered to supply him with *russud*, an offer which he declined, and which was a proof of the enmity with which the Huqueem regarded the Thakurs. The political authorities came to the conclusion that the charge of complicity in the murder of Dheru Singh and his party was partially proved against the Nawab, and fully proved against Huqueem Shah. They therefore recommended that the Nawab should be banished, and be succeeded by his son, the government, during the young prince's minority, being intrusted to his uncle. The Nawab was allowed a maintenance, and kept under surveillance. The Huqueem was imprisoned for life; compensation was given from the revenues of Tonk to the relatives of those of the Lawa party who were slain; and Lawa itself was transferred to Jaipur.

On December 29th, 1867, a desperate struggle took place between a small body of British Indian troops and a band of the Waghirs of Kattiawar, who for years past had been a great trouble. Information having been received in the camp at Butawudda that a

patrol were on the traces of a party of these marauders, it was determined to follow it up. A body of cavalry and infantry then set off in the direction pointed out; and, after twelve miles' ride, the cavalry learned that the Waghirs had broken out of a sugar-cane field two miles further on, and had made for the Tobur Hill, fifty miles west of Rajkot. The hill is an isolated eminence of about 300 feet in height, with a plateau on the top 30 feet long by 15 broad, the sides being steep and rocky, with here and there a boulder 7 or 8 feet high. At the corners of the plateau the Waghirs had thrown up breast-works of rock; and behind these they stood, calling to the troops with shouts of defiance to come on. As it was impossible to attack the position with cavalry, the hill was surrounded until the infantry came up, on whose arrival it was resolved to make the attack from all four sides simultaneously. The native infantry were therefore divided, one half under Major Reynolds being told off for the south-west side, and the other half under Captain Hebbert for the north-west, while Captain La Touche, with a party of thirty Federal Sebundi, and fourteen of the Junagur Sebundi, was to attack from the south-east, the remaining side being left to the Junagur Sebundi. On the signal to advance being given, the latter refused to move, and though Colonel Anderson, the Political Agent, placed himself at their head, they would not be persuaded either by threats or entreaties to advance even to the foot of the hill so as to cut off the enemy, should they attempt to escape in that direction. Meanwhile, the other three parties rushed up the steep sides of the hill, and reached the summit without loss, though exposed to a heavy fire from the Waghirs, many of whom were armed with double-barrelled guns and rifles. A party of the cavalry, also, under Captain Harris, with Colonel Anderson, scrambled up the hill as they best could. As Captain Hebbert, whose party were slightly in advance of the others, reached the plateau, he fired at, and killed, one of the chiefs, and immediately afterwards received his own death-wound. At the same time, a private who followed closely behind him was shot through the head. When all had reached the plateau the Waghirs were driven to the north-east corner, and retreated down that side of the hill by which the Junagur Sebundi should have advanced, keeping up a heavy fire from behind the boulders. Had it not been for the cowardly Sebundi, their retreat would have been cut off, and every man of them would have perished. The fire of the Waghirs told severely upon those on

the plateau. Four of the cavalry and some of the Federal Sebundi fell; and Major Reynolds, while directing the fire of his men, received a severe wound in the head. The Waghirs that were left now attempted to escape, and Captain La Touche, maddened by the sight of Captain Hebbert lying mortally wounded, rushed down the hill, and called on the Junagur Sebundi to follow him in pursuit of the escaping Waghirs. On their refusal, he knocked one man off his horse, and mounting, galloped after the enemy. Coming up with them, he shot one man dead with his pistol, wounded another, and had dismounted, and was in the act of thrusting at him with his sword, when the man brought the gun to his hip and fired, at the same time receiving the sword-thrust in his breast. Both fell mortally wounded, and La Touche died shortly afterwards. Captains La Touche and Hebbert were buried next morning, both being laid in the same coffin. For many years an honourable rivalry had existed between these two officers, both of whom had risen in the same regiment, the 17th Native Infantry. In 1859 both were recommended for the Victoria Cross for their gallantry in carrying off wounded men under a heavy fire in an action with the Waghirs, and both afterwards became Assistants in the Kattia-war Political Agency. The British loss in this attack was eleven killed and two wounded. Of the Waghirs seventeen were killed, including three chiefs, and two wounded and taken prisoners. Fifteen guns and rifles were taken, besides matchlocks, and swords, and a quantity of ammunition. This action was followed, in May, 1868, by the death of Mulu Manik, the old chief of the Waghirs, and several other outlaws. On the 7th of May, two men who were out in the jungles, about twelve miles from Porbandar, suddenly came upon five armed men, four of whom were asleep under a tree, and the fifth too drowsy to notice their approach. Rightly judging them to be outlaws, one of the men went to call the Federal Sebundi, who were close at hand, while the other kept his eye on the outlaws. The Sebundi soon arrived in large numbers, and the outlaws tried to escape, opening fire on their pursuers, which was returned, and one on each side fell. The other four gained the shelter of a hut, from which they kept up a fire on the Sebundi; but the hut being set on fire, they made a rush for a nullah close by. They were soon overtaken, and a hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which the outlaws all fell, but not before they had killed two and wounded eight of the Sebundi. The heads of the outlaws were sent in to Porbandar, where one of them was recognised as

that of Mulu Manik, for which a reward of Rs. 10,000 had been offered, and which was divided amongst the Sebundi. This may fairly be said to have put an end to the Wag-hir rebellion, which had extended over the previous ten years.

The expedition to Abyssinia in 1867-68 must not be entirely overlooked in these pages, seeing that the force of about 12,000 was mainly composed of Indian troops, supplied by an Indian commissariat, and attended by an Indian medical staff, while its commander was Sir Robert Napier, a distinguished officer of Bengal Engineers, who had won his laurels on many an Indian field. The object of the expedition was the release of the British consul and several other Englishmen, whom Theodore, King of Abyssinia, had kept in confinement in consequence of a slight which he considered he had received at the hands of the British Government. The troops landed at Zulla, on the Red Sea, in November, 1867, and, notwithstanding the enormous difficulties that had to be overcome in transporting an army upwards of three hundred miles inland over a country of perpendicular mountains and precipitous ravines, they succeeded in reaching, by the beginning of April, 1868, the neighbourhood of the almost impregnable mountain fortress of Magdala, where the prisoners were detained. On April 10th Theodore gave battle near Magdala to a portion of the British troops, and was so completely defeated that he acknowledged himself overcome, and set free all the European captives in his power. On the 13th, Magdala, to which Theodore had retired, was taken by storm, and the King himself was found among the slain, having fallen, it was supposed, by his own hand. Neither in the battle nor in the assault was there any loss of life on the British side, only a few being wounded, while the Abyssinians sustained a loss of 2,000 killed and wounded. The object of the expedition having thus been successfully accomplished, the troops were withdrawn from the country. Theodore's widow and his only son, a boy eight years old, accompanied the force on its return. The mother died on the way, and the boy is being educated at the expense of the British Government. On the termination of the campaign, the Governor-General of India issued the following Government general order:—

“H.E. the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council has the highest satisfaction in directing the republication of a general order issued by H.E. Lieutenant-General Sir R. Napier, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the soldiers and sailors of the army of Abyssinia, in which H.E. congratulates them upon their suc-

cesses, and thanks them for their great exertions and endurance.

“The Viceroy in Council can add nothing to what is so justly said by Sir R. Napier in praise of his force, but H.E. desires to express his admiration at the whole conduct of the expedition, and to record his opinion that no army could have been led with more ability, energy, and forethought, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, than have been displayed by Sir R. Napier in this campaign.

“The troops were worthy of their commander, and the Viceroy in Council has especial pride in knowing that the British and native soldiers composing the expeditionary force were detached from the armies of her Majesty belonging to the three Presidencies in India, whose reputation they have maintained and increased.

“The success has been most complete, and will not fail to be highly appreciated, not only in Great Britain, but throughout the civilised world.

“H.E. in Council has much pleasure in acknowledging the very great exertions made by the Government of Bombay and the various departments of that presidency in fitting out and supplying the greater part of the expeditionary force, in accordance with the orders of her Majesty's Government in England; and H.E. has to thank the Punjab Government for the very satisfactory and successful efforts made under the orders of his Honour to provide mules, drivers, and camel-men for service in Abyssinia.

“The Viceroy in Council also owes acknowledgment to the Government of Madras for the ready share taken by that presidency in the arrangements connected with the expedition.

“The thanks of the Governor-General in Council are further greatly due to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and to the various departments and officers in Bengal, by whose efforts the force that proceeded from this presidency was dispatched in a most perfect state of equipment.

“A royal salute has already been fired from the ramparts of Fort William in honour of the capture of Magdala and release of the captives.”

On March 11th, 1868, a disastrous engagement took place between our troops and the Bazutis on the Peshawar frontier, who, for some time previously, had been making war-like demonstrations against Kohat. The troops advanced into “a regular bay surrounded by precipitous hills.” Cavalry and guns were found to be useless, but the infantry went bravely forward, crowning one hill and dashing up another, driving the enemy before

them. An attempt was then made to drive the wild borderers from another lofty position, surmounted by a breast-work which could only be approached by the ascent of a steep narrow footway in single file. During the ascent our men were attacked, shot down, had stones rolled upon them, and were finally driven back. In this affray Major Ruxton was wounded in the thigh, and a Bazuti, rushing out upon him, cut off his head, which was afterwards sent round the neighbourhood on the rejection of their demand for a ransom of Rs. 3,000. In addition to Major Ruxton, ten of the line were killed, and two officers and twenty-seven men wounded. The quarrel seems to have been caused by the intrigues of a certain Futteh Khan, who, having failed to obtain from the Deputy Commissioner a rehearing of a suit that had been decreed against him twelve years before, stirred up the Bazutis and one or two other tribes to act on his behalf. The country inhabited by the Bazutis commands the northern end of the Obolan Pass, a gap in the hills a few miles north-west of Kohat. The village itself is situated in a nearly inaccessible position at the head of the Tera Toni, where that stream breaks through the range of the Mulla Gurh, and turns northward to join the Barra River, and is built on one of the northern spurs of a mountain rising to a height of upwards of 7,000 feet. Instead of sending an expedition into their country to punish the Bazutis, the frontier authorities endeavoured to coerce them by bringing the influence of all the surrounding tribes to bear upon the offenders.

On the last day of July a raid of hill-men into Upper Hazara led to a war on another part of the north-west frontier. On that day a body of 500 marauders came down upon the police-station at the village of Oghi, in the Agror valley, north-east of Peshawar, and thirty miles north of Abbottabad. After a sharp fight with the police, who behaved with the utmost gallantry, and several of whom were badly wounded, they made off with what booty they could pick up, leaving six of their number dead on the ground. The Khan of Agror and another neighbouring Khan, being suspected of complicity in the affair, were arrested by Major Pollock, the Commissioner of the district, who arrived on the spot two days after, and sent off to Rawul Pindi. Lieutenant-Colonel Rothney, commanding at Abbottabad, immediately moved out the Peshawar mountain battery, 5th Gurkha regiment, to the assistance of the police, and other troops were also hurried forward from Murdun, Rawul Pindi, and Lahor. On August 12th Colonel Rothney had a brush

with the enemy, and drove them out of the plain, with a loss of about thirty killed and wounded. Another portion of the enemy, who were found burning some villages on British ground, were attacked by our feudatory, the Nawab of Umb, and driven off with considerable loss. By the end of September a field force of 11,000 men, under Major-General Wilde, was assembled in the Agror valley, and this was joined by two Dograh regiments of the Maharajah of Cashmere, which, during the progress of the expedition, held the Jalgulli, Kuttaie, and Susul Passes, and the camp at Oghi. On October 3rd a force of about 7,000 marched from Oghi at daybreak, and occupied the Jalgulli Pass, leading from the valley of Agror into those of Tikari and Nundehar, belonging to the independent Swatis, so as to secure through the Kungulli village a secure line of communication with Oghi. On the occupation of Kungulli, situated a short distance up a spur of that name, the enemy on the heights above retired before the advance of the troops, who in the evening gained a commanding position called Munna-ka-Dunna. As soon as the troops had ceased from their pursuit and prepared to occupy the ground for the night, the enemy, consisting of men of the Chuggurzais and Akazias, led on by the Syuds of Purari, took advantage of the surrounding cover, and their numbers hourly increased as the darkness approached. During the night repeated and harassing attacks were made on our picket, to which, under cover of the brushwood that surrounded the position, they frequently came close up, placing their matchlocks on the rough breast-work that had been hastily thrown up, and firing upon the men inside. These attacks were, however, repulsed as often as made, and as the day dawned the enemy were obliged to draw off. Up to this time the casualties on our side amounted to two sepoy killed and six wounded. On the 4th the troops attacked the enemy's position, a high grassy knoll on which an abattis had been erected, with a small stone breast-work below. The enemy for a time remained defiant, showing their flags and waving their swords, but when the mountain batteries came into action, unable to stand the fire, they evacuated their defences and retired into the dense forest, whither they were pursued by Brigadier-General Bright, who forced his way through, and occupied the Chittabut Peak on the crest of the Black Mountain. Next day they captured the Muchi Peak, the highest on the Black Mountain, 10,200 feet above the level of the sea. The approaches were densely wooded, and the grassy slips broken up by huge rocks and boulders, and

flanked on one side by a deep fir forest. As the troops advanced the enemy retreated, till, as the summit of the peak was crowned, they were seen flying down the spurs into the valley bordering the Indus. The casualties in this affair amounted to eight wounded. The resistance having been much less than might have been expected, General Wilde was of opinion that this was attributable to the facts that the tribes never believed that British soldiers would attempt an ascent such as that of the Black Mountain, where no roads existed; that they had never met artillery, and were ignorant of its power; and that they believed that the operations of our troops would have been directed against the men in the valleys. After the destruction of several villages of the Purari Syuds, the following tribes made overtures for peace, which was concluded on the 10th: the Hussunzais, Chuggurzais, and Akarzais, who in all could collect from 9,000 to 10,000 fighting men. Terms were also given to the Purari Syuds, whose property had considerably suffered. After this the head-quarters and the rest of the force were moved on the 14th to Chermung, in Tikri. Next day the force marched to the village of Tikri, and on the 16th they were employed in making a road across the Shumborra range into Nundehar, where they arrived on the 17th. The Tikri River rises in the ridge of Kiar Kote, which forms the northern boundary of the Agror valley, and, after a course of eight miles under the eastern slopes of the Black Mountain, joins the Nundehar, which enters the Indus at Takkote, about twelve miles in a direct line from its junction with the Tikri, the first four miles of its course being through the small valley of Daishi, and the remainder between the spurs of the Chailas and Black Mountain. These three valleys—Tikri, Nundehar, and Daishi—are inhabited by the Swati tribes, who were actively engaged in the disturbances in Agror. On the advance of our troops, they craved forgiveness, and submitted to the payment of a fine of Rs. 12,000. There was still, however, a body of Swatis to be dealt with who held a few villages at Takkote, and an advance was made in their direction, when the inhabitants of several hamlets made their submission, and further movement on Takkote was abandoned. The force then marched up the Nundehar valley on the 19th, and next day, crossing the range at its head, re-entered British territory. On the 22nd the Hazara force was again in camp at Oghi, after having been twenty days in the field without tents, having traversed eighty miles of hill country, where every road had to be made, carrying with it its own supplies, having

ascended with elephants and cannon the highest peak of the Black Mountain, 10,200 feet above the level of the sea, and having been exposed to every variety of climate. Major-General Wilde thus points out the political results of the campaign:—"Three Patan and three Swati tribes have been brought into submission. The Purari Syuds have been signally punished, and Guffur Khan, of Tikri, one of the foremost, has been forced to sue for peace. The independent Swatis have been made to pay Rs. 12,000 to the British Government for their misconduct; and Hubib Gul, the Sahibzada of Paimal, a man held in great veneration, has paid his respects to the Commissioner—a very significant fact, showing that the people felt that they could no longer resist our arms. By the occupation of the strongholds of the Patan tribes of the Black Mountain, and the passage of our troops through the valleys of the independent Swati tribes, the British Government has shown its ability and power to vindicate its honour; and I believe that late events will leave a lasting impression, not only on the Patans Cis-Indus, but also on their clansmen residing on the Eusufzai border." General Wilde had been desirous of inflicting a blow upon the colony of Hindustanis of the Wahabi persuasion, who for years had been settled among the independent Patan tribes, but the enterprise was found to be "not feasible." With respect to this the Viceroy remarks, in a minute on the campaign, "It seems probable that a month later the force under General Wilde would have found a powerful coalition and some organized plan of defence; but our rapid approach disconcerting them, the fanatics hastily recrossed the river, deserting their Chuggurzai hosts, and thereby departing from their profession as soldiers of the faith, and destroying the last remnant of their former 'prestige,' already injured by the treatment they had met with at the hand of the Akhoond and his disciples. The main body of them is now at Pulosa, a village of the Trans-Indus Hussunzais, who have, according to latest advices, refused to allow them a permanent settlement. For the sake of religion they may be fed for a time, but the country is too poor to support them long, and they must soon, I believe, either make terms with the British Government, or break up and scatter themselves through the Mohammadan countries to the north of Swat and the Black Mountain, in which case their power for evil will be almost entirely removed, for the leaders will have lost the source of their importance, and the followers the guiding spirit that kept them together and made them formidable."

The losses on the British side during this campaign amounted to twenty-two natives killed, and eighty-two natives and three Europeans wounded.

In the middle of 1868 unusually heavy rains laid many parts of Lower Bengal and Gujarat under water. In Cattack the whole delta of the Brahmini and Byturni and the lower portion of the Mahanadi were inundated. The low country about Kendraparah, and thence to False Point and Acel, was one sheet of water. In and about Jajipur, and higher up the Brahmini and Byturni, the flood rose to eighteen inches above its highest known level. Villages, grain, and cattle were carried away, and many lives were lost. In Bhadrak the Grand Trunk road was carried away in many places, and much mischief done. In Balasor the early crops and the newly sown cold-weather rice were completely destroyed, with many villages and thousands of cattle. The Government officials, however, acted with the utmost promptitude and energy, and large quantities of rice were imported, and the ruined fields sown afresh. In Western India immense damage was done over a wide tract of country. In Ahmadabad alone, where twenty-seven inches of rain fell in four days, nearly 10,000 houses, valued at £100,000, were destroyed, and several thousands more in other parts of Gujarat, Kaira, Baroda, Broach, and Surat suffered only less than Ahmadabad. The loss of life was, however, comparatively small, many persons being saved by the elephants sent out by the Gaikwar to the rescue of the sufferers; but the destruction of houses, crops, live stock, and movable property was everywhere very great. Measures of relief were at once instituted by Government, and the grants of public money were quickly supplemented by private subscriptions, in which the natives cheerfully bore their full share.

While Lower Bengal and Western India were being deluged with unexampled rains and inundations, Central and Northern India suffered from intense drought. From Cattack to Agra, from the Central Provinces through Rajputana up to the heart of the Punjab, famine prevailed. The suffering was greatest in Rajputana and Central India. So severe and widespread was the drought that not only was it found impossible to cultivate the land, but, from want of sustenance, the pack-bullocks, on whose loads of foreign grain the country so much depended for an adequate supply of food even in ordinary times, died in large numbers, and thus importation was brought nearly to a stand-still. From Marwar, in September, thousands of persons began to emigrate. Strings of carts with

men, women, and children were to be met with on all sides fleeing from their ill-fated country, not knowing whither they went, but pushing onwards and onwards, trusting to reach some land of plenty, and bearing their misfortunes meanwhile with remarkable fortitude and self-restraint. Other emigrants poured into Bhopal, where rain had fallen in time for the autumn sowings. It is estimated that from Marwar alone 1,000,000 persons, or two-thirds of the entire population, emigrated, taking with them more than 2,000,000 head of cattle. Everywhere measures were promptly and wisely taken to mitigate the distress. Government officials and native chiefs vied with each other in legislating and carrying out plans of relief. Relief works were provided, remissions of revenue made, transit dues suspended, and voluntary subscriptions poured in to supplement the grants from the public purse. About the middle of July, 1869, rain fell. The people returned to their homes, and for a time all seemed bright and prosperous, but in September locusts came, and eat up every herb of the field. Green trees were left bare in five minutes, and large branches broke down under their weight. For miles and miles the country was carpeted with locusts as thick as sand. One flight of these insects in the Mahikanta district is said to have been 7 miles long, 5 broad, and more than 300 feet deep. "Hundreds and hundreds of the poor people," says the official return, "came in dreadfully emaciated; and hundreds, through exhaustion, fell, and where they fell they died, there to be devoured by the birds, jackals, and wild dogs." Owing to the ravages of the locusts at Ahmadabad the price of grain rose fast; but the telegraph was set to work, and in a few days the Bombay and Baroda Railway poured in train after train full of supplies to the starving districts. It was computed that in Rajputana alone 1,250,000 of human beings died from starvation or disease. The sum total by the British Government for the relief of the population of its own territory, numbering 426,000 souls, amounted to Rs. 1,520,074, a sum equivalent to nearly three years' gross revenue. The Maharajah of Jaipur (Jeypore) disbursed in relief between four and five lakhs of rupees, and the Maharana of Udaipur (Oodeypore) about five lakhs, while other chiefs were similarly liberal, and the Thakurs of Marwar and the merchants of Bombay contributed largely for the support of the starving. In the North-Western Provinces, although there was great distress, the worst horrors arising from the drought were averted by the great

Ganges Canal, with its 650 miles of main stream and 3,000 of branch channels, by which nearly 1,000,000 acres were saved from drying up. Similar service, though to a much smaller extent, was rendered by the Eastern Jamna (Jumna) Canal and the channels that water Rohilkhand and Dera Dhun.

In connection with the famine, the steps taken by the Maharajah Sindia were worthy of all praise, and deserve to be recorded. In December, the tide of famine set in to Gwalior, and the palace gates of Sindia were besieged. The Maharajah had been absent from his capital for two months in search of health, and now he hurried back to the post of duty. He sent his Dewan, whom he trusted, and who proved worthy of his trust, to report on the condition of the afflicted districts. So harrowing was the report the Maharajah received, that he mounted his horse, and, with a handful of followers, rode through the country "to see the face of things." The following is an account of what he saw, as described by his own hand, and is interesting as the only report or minute of a feudatory chief on the condition of a country under famine:—

"All that was seen during the tour will now be described minutely, neither more nor less. A review of the district has filled me with grief and pain, but the state of things is beyond human control. If, by any possibility, I could have averted the calamity which has fallen, no sacrifice would have been wanting on my part, but the hand of God thus caused it. It remains for me to relate what I saw, and to provide for the future to the best of my ability. Whole districts are without culture; the earth is even, and the clods broken as in 'Jait Baisakh' (just preceding the rains); to have so prepared it would be difficult: from this a notion of its condition may be formed. There is cultivation just round the villages, owing to the wells, and from the late showers there is hope that the crops which do exist will be doubled. In some places the rainfall has been sixteen annas; then in others close by everything is barren. The seed which was sown did not quicken; the cultivators then tried sugar-cane, but, from the want of moisture and fever-heat of the soil, the 'goo' which should have come came not. The hope of rice altogether disappeared. Where there was suffering for water to drink, what chance for rice and jowaree? The jowar and bajra which sprang up were so weak that the ryots cut them as fodder for the cattle. It seemed to be God's will at this time to trouble and damage all nature. While I was encamped at Kotwal

there fell a severe frost. Riding the following morning to the next stage, I observed that the 'urhur' had been blighted by it. It looked like a beautiful reed bungalow, which had been scorched up by fire. What power has man to contend with such inflictions? Gram and wheat, such as exist, are weak and poor, and the smaller grain has entirely failed. I would describe this state, too, but the pen will move no more. I will now speak of the people. So long as they had means in money, or substance of any kind convertible, they fed upon them; these gone, they were hungry and helpless. They then began to gather the jungle berries, and ground them; with these they mixed some sort of cereal, and so existence has been sustained. I heard of a strange device at Seopur and Powri. God so keeps alive the instinct of self-preservation that what men resort to in such straits should be recounted. It is difficult for the rich and well-fed to realise these things; but with the poor misery, drudgery, and happiness are simple, when life is sustained by feeding upon the fruit of the mowa and gooler trees. And now a new device has been heard of; men climb the surdhi-tree, incise the young shoots at the top, and so extract the juice, on which they live, but wretched and weak they are. Four months still remain; how these are to be tided over God only knows. With the water such is the state that in villages where there are twenty wells the people fetch it from other villages, and tanks which for years have been full to the brim are now dry, and day by day the water recedes from the wells which remain. Food men have devised, but for water what can they substitute? In January the month of March has appeared, and such a March has never yet been. God does what He wishes; the pen can go no further. The cattle soon consumed the grass which was stored up; the zemindars then used the short grass in the swamps as the water dried up: when this failed, resort was had to the leaves and berries of the jungle. But for the coming six months what is to be done?" Such were Sindia's own words, read in open darbar to his vassals and servants. Before he had with his own eyes seen the state of the country he had insisted on charging arrears of rent, with *sowaie*, or interest, at 25 per cent. He was now urged by the Political Agent to consider the case of every tenant separately; to spread the payment of such arrears as were fair over a series of years, and without interest; to invite subscriptions, heading the list himself; and to distribute food through village punchayets. His reply to this was characteristic of a purely Asiatic

ruler :—"Your suggestions would suit your own people, and even those in British territory, but not those of native states. The ryots here require to be kept in hand. It is true, for instance, that it was notified that *souaie* would be charged upon all arrears; but this was merely a threat. I know what they can pay, and it is no part of my interest to destroy them. Remissions will force their own way, for many of the cultivators have nothing left to pay with; but it will be time enough to speak of that by-and-by. I have never promised remissions, but 'mooltvee' (postponement) only. In the same way public subscriptions would meet with a ready response amongst you, because understood; here it would be otherwise; the general belief would be that the durbar sought under this pretext to raise money for itself. Even your idea of vesting the supervision of the funds with districts and village punches would not be credited. Nobody here will give voluntarily; pressure will be necessary." What the Maharajah did was this. He assigned half a lakh of rupees for food and relief works, he called on the chief men of his capital to feed the thousands who thronged the streets, and he imposed a famine assessment on his thakurs, or vassals.* Road-making was instituted in the suffering districts, and revenue was remitted in many places where the crops had failed, but thriving zemindars were not let off as well as starving ones. "I have been angered," said his Highness, "by the attempts made by many landholders, whose crops have not suffered, to impose upon me by claiming immunity under the proclamation. In this respect I found the proclamation had done harm; all put their heads up, expecting to be covered by it. Many thakurs and cultivators whom I knew to be prosperous came in shouting for consideration." A khureeta was afterwards addressed to his Highness by the Viceroy, expressing the gratification felt by the Government of India on learning the interest he had shown in the condition of his famine-stricken people.

The obituary of 1868 includes the names of Lieutenant-General Sir George Whitlock, Rajah Brooke, the Begum of Bhopal, and Sir Herbert Edwardes.

Lieutenant-General Sir George Whitlock died at Exmouth, February, 1868, in his sixty-ninth year. This distinguished officer, a Madras cadet of 1818, joined the Rifle Corps of that presidency in time to see service during the Mahratta campaign of the following year. His chief distinctions were, however, earned many years afterwards during

the mutinies, when he led the Madras column through Nagpur into Bandalkand, while Sir Hugh Rose was working his way eastward through Central India. His defeat of the Nawab at the battle of Banda, followed by the capture of the fort of Banda and the occupation of Kirwi, was rewarded by the thanks of Lord Clyde, the Governor-General, and the Houses of Parliament. In 1859 he was made a K.C.B. He became colonel of the 108th Foot in 1862, and a lieutenant-general in 1864. Not long after his appointment, in 1860, to the command of the northern division of the Madras army, he was driven to England by ill-health.

The following appreciative notice of Sir James Brooke is from *Allen's Indian Mail* :—"Last Thursday, June 11th, there died, in a quiet Devonshire village, one of those English heroes whose lives furnish fit themes for the most stirring romances. Sir James Brooke might have lived in the days of those great adventurers who made the poetry of Queen Elizabeth's reign, in the eyes at least of men like Mr. Kingsley. Of late years his name has been hardly heard among us, save in some casual reference to the ill-health which came upon him soon after his retirement from the scene of exploits as memorable in their way as those of Drake or Clive. But not a few of our readers must have seen with a tender regret the brief announcement of the death of one who some fourteen years ago was the centre of a violent controversy touching the character of his claims to a nation's gratitude. 'Rajah' Brooke of Sarawak was then in the zenith of his fame as a successful adventurer who, by force of sheer personal daring, had carved out for himself a little kingdom in the Malayan Archipelago. But the very wondrousness of his feats had raised up enemies who misinterpreted them. The necessary sternness of his rule over a race of savages was denounced as wanton cruelty; his best deeds were ascribed to the selfishness of a mere trader; and his successful attempts to put down piracy in the Malayan seas were distorted into unprovoked massacres of unoffending Dyaks.

"They, however, who knew him best, or had most right to judge between him and his innocent victims, declared with truth that never had one so noble met with treatment so unworthy, and the public on the whole were of the same way of thinking. One of the handsomest tributes to his worth appeared in those days in the *Westminster Review*. Some years before, in 1848, the Government had already acknowledged his great services by making him a K.C.B., in addition to the governorship of Labuan, conferred on him in 1847. Less reward than this could not with

* *Friend of India.*

justice have been given to the man who, single-handed in a world of savage or half-savage Asiatics, had by mere force of a noble character won for himself a realm full of loyal subjects, and for the English name a reverence never yet displayed towards our Dutch rivals.

“For Anglo-Indians the career of such a man has a special interest, not only because the steamers of the Indian navy helped the Governor of Labuan in hunting down the pirates of those seas, but even more because Brooke himself was once a servant, as well as the son of a servant, of the East India Company. As a Bengal officer he fought and was wounded in the first Burmese war. His wounds sent him home, and his subsequent voyage to China in a yacht of his own hiring determined the direction of his future career. How, like a Norman adventurer in the days of the Crusades, he lent the timely aid of his arm and brain to the Sultan of Borneo, who in return made him independent ruler of Sarawak; how the bold English Rajah taught his wild subjects to give up piracy and the cutting off of each other's heads, and to work for a peaceful living under his just, enlightened despotism, are matters on which we need not dwell. Could Rajah Brooke have had his own way, Borneo might by this time have been turned into an English Java. As Governor of Labuan Sir James Brooke maintained the character, under modified conditions, of his old rule at Sarawak. In 1856 he left the island and went home, to rest, as he hoped, from further toil. But twice after that was he called out to Sarawak—once to suppress a formidable Chinese rising, and again to strengthen the hands of a kinsman somewhat less able than himself to carry on the work he had begun.

“A few years ago his first stroke of paralysis warned Sir James of the end that might any day come. The remainder of his days were passed, we believe, in a home provided for him by a number of his admirers, who made up a purse sufficient to buy him the modest estate where he died; for, like some other men of unselfish mould, he belied the slanders of his opponents by returning to England comparatively poor. His means had nearly all been spent in furtherance of the enterprise he lived to see successful; and but for the aid of private bounty his last years might have been embittered by the struggle for daily bread. The Government did little for the man who had done so much for the English name.” On his return to England Sir James lectured in several of the chief towns on the advantages expected to result to this country from a possession of Sarawak, and urged the

desirableness of the British Government taking it under its protection, as otherwise it was likely to fall into the hands of the Dutch. In 1858 an influential deputation of merchants waited upon the Government, and recommended its purchase, but to no purpose. With regard to Brooke's motives and policy in connection with Sarawak opinion was greatly divided, but it cannot be disputed that the town considerably increased under his rule. He found it a place of 1,000 inhabitants, and left it a town of 25,000; and the exports to Singapore, which, when he became ruler, amounted to £25,000, were in 1858 about £300,100, or twelve times the amount.

The Secunder Begum of Bhopal was appointed Regent of that principality in 1847, and ever since she had conducted its administration with ability and success. She abolished monopolies, regulated the mint, reorganized the police, and increased the revenue, while she diminished the public debt. By her support of education, her superintendence of works for the supply of water to her capital, the construction of roads, and by other improvements, she gave convincing indications of her interest in the progress of her people and the prosperity of her country. With the rulers of neighbouring states she remained on terms of friendship, and her relations with the representative of the British Government at her capital were of the most satisfactory nature. But it was by her firm conduct during the great mutiny that she established a direct title to the acknowledgments of the Indian Government. When, on July 1st, 1857, the Bengal troops stationed at Mhow openly revolted, and a detachment of the Bhopal contingent employed at Indor mutinied in concert, compelling Colonel Durand to abandon the residency at Holkar's court, he found it expedient to retreat with the ladies and gentlemen of his party to Sehur, to which many other English fugitives afterwards fled, knowing that the Begum would continue a staunch ally of the British Government. The King of Delhi had already conveyed to her Highness an “*istaper*,” calling upon her, as a true Moslem, to hoist the standard of rebellion; but she evinced no sympathy with the rebel cause, and gave timely warning to the officers of the Bhopal contingent to escape to Hoshangabad, a Madras cantonment on the opposite side of the Nerbudda. Every assistance was given by the Begum to European parties arriving in her territory to reach Hoshangabad in safety. These services were acknowledged by Lord Canning in open durbar, and the Begum was rewarded with admission to the exalted Order of the Star of India, a grant of territory which its owner

had forfeited for open rebellion, and a recognition of the right of succession according to the custom of the principality and the Mohammadan law. The Begum died on August 30th, 1868, and was succeeded by her eldest daughter, the Begum Shah Jehan.

Just before Christmas, 1868, Sir Herbert Edwardes died of the disease which had prevented him from becoming Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. "Nearly thirty years have passed by since Herbert Edwardes was posted to the 1st European Light Infantry, as the present 101st Fusiliers were then termed. He speedily mastered his drill and all the details of regimental duty, and having mastered these, he began to sigh for fresh occupation. This was for a time afforded by the study of the language; but, the language conquered, he had then to explore fresh fields of action: reading did not altogether satisfy the cravings of his vigorous and active intellect. There was for his regiment no prospect of war, and staff employment was far more difficult to obtain than in the present day. At last the idea seized upon him that he would write. In those days there was only a monthly overland communication with England, and that communication had but just superseded the weary times of ship letters. The happy thought struck Edwardes that he might do a public service by describing, in a series of letters to England, published in one of the newspapers, the events of the preceding month. This happy thought was executed in the happiest manner. In letters addressed by Brahminee Bull to his loving cousin, John Bull, Edwardes poured forth a masterly account of all the events of the period, giving prominence to the action of Government, and not sparing what he believed to be its errors. The letters speedily attracted notice and commendation from all sides. Their talent, their absolute freedom from scurrility, the solidity and strength of the argument on all matters touched upon, were universally admitted, and their value acknowledged by none more freely than men in high positions. There are some now in India who may recollect the masterly criticism of the Maharajpur campaign given by Brahminee Bull. In the letters containing that criticism the tactics of the Commander-in-Chief were not spared; but so little did it rankle in the heart of Sir Hugh Gough, that when, some twenty months later, he found Herbert Edwardes's regiment under his command in front of the Sikh position on the Sutlej, he offered him a post on his personal staff. From that moment the rise of Herbert Edwardes was rapid. His talents had been noted by others than Sir Hugh Gough, and when, after the occupation of

Lahor in 1846, it was determined to leave an English resident, aided by a few politicals, in that city, the keen-sighted Henry Lawrence selected for one of those politicals the clever writer who had already made his own way to the position of aide-de-camp. From the period that Herbert Edwardes was appointed to the staff the letters of Brahminee Bull ceased, and we believe from that time he did not write anything to which he did not attach his name. He threw himself with all the ardour of his nature into his new duties, and speedily convinced his employers that it was quite possible for a man of letters to be also a man of action. He had entered into political employ in 1846. Less than two years afterwards the opportunity which is generally offered to all men once in their lifetime came to Herbert Edwardes. He clutched eagerly at it, and it made him. We allude naturally to the uprising of the Sikh nation in 1848."*

The rebellion, in 1848, of Mulraj, the Governor of Multan, brought out all the finest qualities of Edwardes as a bold, active, and self-reliant leader of men. While Lord Gough hesitated to move a large force in the hottest season of the year, Edwardes three times defeated Mulraj, and finally shut him up in Multan. For this promptitude, and for his subsequent services during the siege, the young lieutenant was made C.B. and brevet-major, receiving the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and a gold medal from the East India Company. During his furlough in England he kept himself before the world by his "Year on the Punjab Frontier." After the murder of Colonel Mackeson in 1853, Major Edwardes succeeded him as Commissioner of Peshawar. It was at his instigation that Lord Dalhousie entered into the treaty of alliance with Dost Mohammad of Kabul, the wholesome consequences of which came out in the dark days of 1857. Through the worst of the mutiny the Afghan ruler and the tribes on the Peshawar frontier remained faithful, notwithstanding all counter-inducements.

Edwardes's death called forth from the Secretary of State for India in Council the following resolution, dated January 7th, 1869:—"Resolved by the Secretary of State in Council (*nemine contradicente*), that the death of Major-General Sir Herbert Edwardes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., has closed a career of great usefulness and distinction. His earliest achievements, twenty years ago, secured the special recognition of the Court of Directors of the East India Company and of her Majesty's Government. His last services deserve no less signal an acknowledgment. The

* *Calcutta Englishman*.

Secretary of State for India in Council, in deploring the loss of so devoted and so valued a public servant, feels it a duty to signify his sense of the ability, daring, and resource which Sir Herbert Edwardes displayed in times of great difficulty and of great peril. He desires further, by the erection of a monument to the memory of this most distinguished officer, to attest his high appreciation of the example which Sir Herbert Edwardes has left to all the servants of the Crown in India." In memory of Sir Herbert the Governor-General in Council, on the recommendation of the Punjab Government, ordered that the head-quarters and cantonment of the Bunnu district should henceforth be designated "Edwardesabad."

For several years events in Afghanistan called for constant watchfulness on the part of the Indian Government. On the death, in 1863, of Dost Mohammad—in whom the greatest confidence had been reposed by the British, for since the treaty with him in 1855 he had been found far more faithful and straightforward than any other Indian ruler—he was, at his own request, succeeded by Sher Ali, one of his younger sons, who, notwithstanding that his proclivities were well known to be Persian rather than English, was recognised by the Indian Government. Sher Ali then applied to the latter for assistance against his two elder and abler brothers, Afzul Khan and Azim Khan, whose claims had been passed over, and who had rebelled against him; but Sir John Lawrence declined to interfere. A period of anarchy ensued, during which fortune smiled sometimes on one of the brothers, sometimes on the other. At length Sher Ali was driven from Kabul, and Afzul Khan was acknowledged its ruler, while Sher Ali took possession of Herat. On the death of Afzul Khan in 1867, Azim Khan succeeded him; but his reign was short, for a few months after Sher Ali fought his way back to Kabul, and was installed in the realm which his father had bequeathed to him five years before. Soon afterwards the Amir made overtures to the Indian Government for the restoration of full diplomatic intercourse, which were favourably received by Sir John Lawrence, whose successor reaped the fruits of his "masterly inactivity."

It now becomes necessary to notice the condition of affairs in the Persian Gulf and the revolution in Muscat. The following account of the political complications that preceded the revolution is from the pen of Mr. I. T. Prichard:—"The 'blue waters' of Oman, immortalised by the muse of the Irish bard, are subject to the sway of the Imam of Muscat. Early in the present cen-

tury we were engaged, in conjunction with Syad Said, the then Imam, in waging war against the Wahabi pirates, who interfered with the commerce of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean; and ever since that time we have preserved friendly relations with the successor of the Syad. The venerable old chief, after a reign which extended over half a century, was gathered to his fathers in 1856, leaving several sons, one of whom became ruler of Zanzibar, and another succeeded his father on the throne of Muscat. His name was Thowaynee. After these arrangements had been completed, the two brothers of Muscat and Zanzibar fell out, the Sultan of Muscat claiming a tribute from his brother of Zanzibar. This tribute had no doubt formerly been paid by the ruler of the latter country to the Imam of Muscat; and the brothers, not being able to settle their differences, agreed to refer them for arbitration to Lord Canning. This nobleman being the referee—as if he had not enough to claim his attention in India—gave a decision calculated, as he supposed, to content both parties. He ruled that Zanzibar should be independent of Muscat, but that the tribute should be paid.

"So matters went on till 1865, when the Sultan of Muscat was murdered, it was supposed, by his own son Selim, who, after a nominal acquittal of the guilt of parricide by the chiefs and people, was raised to the throne, and the British Government, being but little concerned in the matter of the guilt or innocence of the new Sultan, acknowledged his authority. His uncle of Zanzibar, however, deemed it a good opportunity for crying off the tribute, and receiving some countenance from the Shah of Persia, declined to pay it any longer. The Shah had for many years allowed the Imams of Muscat to occupy for trading purposes the port known as Bunder Abbas, on payment of a certain tribute. In short, the Imam rented the port on a sort of lease, but he had been a tenant for so long that he claimed at last rights of occupancy; and the Shah, although he would have been glad to dislodge him so as to resume the harbour, did not know very well how to set about it, for he had no marine that could cope with that of Muscat. Pretending, however, a righteous horror at the alleged parricide of the reigning Sultan, he declared his lease of Bunder Abbas forfeited, and prepared to seize the place, while the Imam, on the other hand, threatened a blockade. At this juncture the British Government were obliged to interfere to protect their own interests, which palpably would be better served by keeping the ruler of Muscat in possession of so important a

marine port as Bunder Abbas, and they refused to allow the Shah to obtain possession of the coveted harbour. The question of the tribute was under discussion when news was received of another revolution in Muscat, Sultan Selim having been driven from his throne by his brother-in-law, Azan bin Ghas, who took the capital by assault with little trouble.

"This was the condition of affairs at the close of 1868 and the commencement of 1869. It may be remarked that Muscat is a place of some importance, as it commands the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and our policy will probably be directed to maintaining, as it has always done, the authority of the *de facto* sovereign."

With the last days of 1868 Sir John Lawrence's tenure of office expired, and India had been for ten years under the direct rule of the British Crown. At this stage of her history it seems fitting to note a few of the more striking features in the progress of India during this period, and to glance at her condition at its close.

The gross revenue of India had increased from £44,750,000 in 1863-64 to forty-nine and a quarter millions in 1868-69, and in the latter year the expenditure exceeded fifty-two millions. Sir Charles Trevelyan's estimates for the year 1863-64 were, of revenue £45,306,200, and of expenditure £44,490,225, showing an estimated surplus of £815,775. The actual revenue was £44,753,000, and the actual expenditure £44,722,000, leaving a surplus of only £31,000. There was a deficit on the budget estimate of revenue on opium of £1,150,000. The deficit on the entire budget estimate was £217,700. For 1864-65 the revenue was estimated at £46,160,000, and the expenditure at £45,340,000, with a promised surplus of £820,000. The duty on tobacco was reduced from 20 to 10 per cent., and the import duty on cotton piece goods was raised from 5 to 7½ per cent. Economy was also recommended in view of the abolition of the income-tax in 1865. This and Sir Charles Trevelyan's subsequent budget were thus explained by his successor, the Right Hon. Mr. Massey, member for Salford, and formerly Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, and Chairman of Committees of the House of Commons, in his financial statement on March 24th, 1866:—"Had the estimates of 1864-65 been realised, we should have had a revenue in excess of expenditure of £800,000; instead of this, the actual result is a deficit of £193,520, a total difference of nearly £1,000,000. This is due to the over-estimate of opium by more than £800,000, and the under-estimate of the military expenditure, which was £500,000

more, owing to the Bhotan war, the substitution of full for half batta, and the rise of prices.

"For the year 1865-66 it was the misfortune of Sir Charles Trevelyan to face an expenditure of £47,200,000, with a revenue of £46,480,000. The result was his starting with a deficit of £700,000, which was too large for any financier to face; and so it was necessary for him to adopt means somewhat extraordinary. The export duties and loan which he proposed were disallowed, while in the course of the year £170,000 was added to expenditure, and the revenues exhibited a decrease of £318,000. This, added to the expected deficit of £700,000, falsified Sir Charles Trevelyan's expectations by a million and a quarter sterling. But the rise of opium £915,000 above his estimate reduced the deficit of the current year to £335,947."

Mr. Massey's budget for 1866-67 showed an estimated deficit of £72,800. He contemplated no fresh taxation, but looked to the various subordinate governments and administrations to relieve Government of its burden by local taxation. Lord Cranborne, however, in his financial statement expected that the deficit, owing to the difficulty of estimating the revenue from opium, "a fickle, variable, and uncertain drug," would be largely increased. His lordship took the occasion to speak of the condition of India and the policy of the Government towards it. There was one circumstance, he said, which might fairly be considered as a subject of congratulation—that was, the great success of Indian railways. It was in railways that the great expenditure had taken place. Last year the Government had spent in guaranteed interest £1,000,000, but this year only £530,000 would be so expended. They might look at the present condition of India as one of fair and steady progress. Education was spreading; not only was the expenditure of the Government under that head increasing, but that expenditure was met by private endeavour in a manner that showed how highly education was appreciated. Public works were increasing, communication was extending, and the Indian Government were making arrangements for spending as much money as they could upon works of irrigation. It might be expedient that he should state the policy of the Government; and although his short tenure of office might have been a reason for evading this part of the question, he could say that India was now at peace, and that the policy of the Government would be to keep that peace, and to push on public works. If India could increase her enormous produce; if she could

draw forth her immense wealth to support the teeming millions of her population; if she could impress on neighbouring nations that her rulers had renounced for ever that policy of annexation, that policy of territorial aggrandisement, which formerly spread distrust and fear; if she could spread over her population the blessings of English civilisation and English government, and give them the knowledge that would enable them to strengthen these blessings; if these things could be done, then those periods of practical stagnation which had been apt to obstruct her advancement would be heard of no more. They knew that, morally as well as physically, the tropical atmosphere was a state of storm. They never knew when the existing condition of things might be disturbed. Though they did not see a cloud in the horizon, they did not know when a storm might burst. Still, if they made use of the opportunities they had to act to the best of their power for the promotion of the moral and material improvement of the immense territory under their rule, they would have laid the foundations of a solid prosperity which could not be shaken.

Mr. Massey estimated that the year 1865-66 would end with a deficit of £336,000. Instead of this, its close showed a surplus of £2,800,189. Upwards of £1,000,000 of this was a mere matter of account, but £1,772,000 was due to a reduction in the home expenditure of £350,000, a saving in the expenditure on stores of £560,000, and a payment of £937,000 by the Bombay railway companies, which ought to have been sooner brought into the accounts. For the year 1866-67 Mr. Massey expected a deficit of only £72,800, but it reached the serious proportions of £2,400,000. This was attributed to a deficit of revenue from opium, a diminution of receipts from the Mint, the failure of the land sales in Bombay, and increased payments for railways and transports. "On the whole," says the *Friend of India*, "deducting something for the difficulties of account caused by the fact that this financial year contains only eleven months, and allowing for the frightful monetary disasters of the year, we may set the surplus of his first against the deficit of his second year, and declare that Mr. Massey has hit the truth as nearly as any one who has to deal with the bad Indian accounts and the precarious Indian revenue could have done." For 1867-68 it was determined to borrow £700,000 to carry on irrigation works, and to advance £1,000,000 to Bombay, to be repaid by the sales of land, and £520,000 to Calcutta, for the purpose of executing the water-works for that city, and which would also be repaid. For these purposes

it was proposed to borrow a little more than £2,000,000. Excluding these items, the expenditure for 1867-68 was calculated at £47,340,000, and the revenue at £46,283,000, showing a deficiency of £1,057,000. To meet this Mr. Massey proposed to levy a license-tax, which he calculated would produce £500,000, leaving a deficiency still to be provided of £557,000, which he suggested should be transferred to the loan raised for the remodelling of barracks.

The general result of the figures quoted by Sir Stafford Northcote in reviewing, in 1868, Mr. Massey's budgets for the past and the current year was that while, including expenditure of all sorts, there was in 1867-68 a deficit of £1,106,000, the deficiency would, it was estimated, be reduced in 1868-69 to £1,026,000. In both these instances, however, the apparent deficiency was occasioned by charging against the income of the year the "extraordinary" expenditure upon public works, which might more properly be charged to capital. The deduction of this expenditure would in each case turn the apparent deficit into a surplus. Sir Stafford warmly acknowledged the services which had been rendered to India by Mr. Massey, and expressed his regret that he had been compelled to return to England. He saw no reason to take a gloomy view of the state of affairs in India, nor to entertain any apprehensions as to the future.

In the House of Lords, in July, 1869, the Duke of Argyll, Chief Secretary of State for India, reviewed the finances of India during the ten years since the mutiny. He showed that in those ten years the revenue had increased by over £15,000,000 sterling, *i.e.* at a rate of 45 per cent., the revenue of the year preceding the mutiny having been £33,378,000, and that of 1867-68 £48,534,000. Of the gross amount of increase £7,315,000 was due to increased or new taxation, but the remainder to the increase of returns from old sources, such as opium, the land revenue, and the customs. Indeed, under several heads the increase of profit to the State had been accompanied by a reduction of the burden on the taxpayer, there having been, for instance, a very large reduction of the customs duties, while, again, the proportion which the State derived under the item of land revenue, on which there had been an increase in every province of India, did not now exceed 25 per cent. of the produce, as against 50 per cent. formerly. He showed, moreover, that the two years which he had compared were ordinary years, and that the comparison gave no impression of the actual elasticity of

which Indian revenue admitted in exceptional years. Turning then to the common belief that the Indian Empire had been for years in a state of chronic debt, he denied that this as a rule was true, and he explained that in particular it had not been the fact in three of the years since 1860. Contemporaneously, however, with the increase of revenue, there had been, in the ten years since the mutiny, a slightly greater increase of expenditure, leaving a deficit of about £1,000,000. The increase had been greatest in military expenditure, which he saw but little hope of reducing, except as to the expense, now enormous, of recruiting; but other heads of increased expenditure were law and justice, the machinery of which had been thereby considerably improved; and £2,305,000 more than before the mutiny was payable in respect of the Indian debt. As to that, however, he reminded the House that we were then borrowing on easier terms than formerly, viz. at 4 per cent., and that the credit of the Indian Empire as it was stood higher than that of any European power. Public works were a serious additional source of expenditure. The total result showed that on the ordinary expenditure there was an annual deficit of one million, and on the expenditure on public works of from two to three millions. Such a deficit gave, he thought, no ground for alarm, our whole Indian debt not exceeding even now two years' Indian revenue; but he held there was ground for caution, and for introducing greater economy where economy was possible.

The foreign trade of India had increased in 1868-69 to upwards of one hundred and seven and a half millions, a gain of more than twelve millions on the previous year, and equal to four times the total for 1848. In 1834 the foreign trade amounted to only fourteen and a third millions. Of the whole Indian trade about three-fifths was with Great Britain. The trade with China amounted to nearly thirteen and a half millions. France came next with a little over three millions, or only two-thirds of a million more than the Arabian and Persian Gulf, and a million more than Ceylon. North and South America represented little more than a million between them, and Australia dealt only for £361,000, while Mauritius stood at nearly a million, and the Eastern Settlements at nearly two. Cotton had increased in value fivefold since 1850, the exports from Bombay amounting to 1,294,291 bales, or 70,000 bales more than in 1867. The export of indigo had fallen off. That of grain had risen from three-quarters of a million to about four millions. The coffee exports were eight times as valuable as they were in 1850.

In all the tea districts, including Chittagong, there was increased production without any increase of cultivation; and Calcutta exported nearly 8,800,000 lbs. of tea, or upwards of one and a half millions more than in the previous year. The want of labour was, however, a great drawback; but it was thought that if the Coolie Labour Act, that was being passed through the Bengal Legislature, should remedy the want, the Indian tea trade would some day rival the production of Indian cotton. The demand for jute had risen from £197,000 to £1,311,000. A like advance had been made in the export of seeds, silk, and wool; but sugar had gone down to a very small figure. The opium exports, on the other hand, had more than doubled themselves. Of cotton twist and yarn the imports had multiplied nearly threefold; those of cotton piece goods nearly fivefold; of manufactured metals about sixfold; of raw silk, silk goods, and woollen goods, about two, four, and three fold respectively. On all kinds of foreign strong drinks the consumption had increased from about half a million in 1850 to a million and a half in 1867, indicating a large increase in the number of European consumers.

Of the 6,000 miles of railway proposed by Lord Dalhousie,^a 634 were open for traffic by the 1st of January, 1860, 2,690 in 1863-64, and in 1868 4,096 were completed, more than 1,500 of which had been laid down during Sir John Lawrence's tenure of office. In almost every province works of irrigation were carried forward, and embankments raised against sudden floods. New barracks were built for the comfort of European soldiers, and fortified posts constructed for the protection of the arsenals, and for the purpose of overawing the surrounding country, while in time of peril they would afford shelter to our countrymen. On public works Lower Bengal spent in 1867-68 more than a million sterling, nearly a half of which was laid out on high-roads, and the rest on military and civil buildings, and a loan of £120,000 to the East Indian Irrigation Company. Military works in the Punjab cost upwards of £360,000, and nearly £286,000 was expended on roads. In the Central Provinces the progress of the Godavari navigation works was materially checked by the want of labour, resulting from the lower price of food in the coast districts. Bombay spent on public works nearly one and a half millions, or half a million more than Madras. In Oude the outlay on military works amounted to £116,500. In the North-West Provinces irrigation works formed the chief source of outlay.

To Sir John Lawrence is largely due the

first successful attempt to establish a system of forest conservancy and management under the care of the State. When the British Association met at Edinburgh in 1850, a committee was appointed to consider "the probable effects, in an economical and physical point of view, of the destruction of tropical forests." Their report was presented in 1851, at Ipswich, and attention was thus directed in India to the importance of preserving every influence which tends to maintain an equilibrium of temperature and humidity, of preventing the waste of valuable material, and the special application to their various uses of the indigenous timbers of the country. A few years later forest establishments were sanctioned in British Burmah (1855), and in the Madras Presidency (1856); and in 1864 Government laid the foundation of an improved general system of forest administration for the whole Indian Empire, having for its object the conservation of State forests, and the development of this source of national wealth. The executive arrangements were left to the local administrations, general principles being laid down, the most important of which was that all superior Government forests were to be reserved and made inalienable, and their boundaries marked out to distinguish them from waste lands available for the public. Valuation surveys were likewise made to obtain reliable data as to the geographic distribution of the more valuable trees, the rate of growth, and the normal yield of the forests.* In 1867-68 the great sâl forests of Bengal contained plenty of young trees, which, however, would hardly bear cutting for at least thirty years to come, except in one place, where timber enough for forty or fifty thousand railway sleepers could be had. The forests in the North-West Provinces yielded a net profit of about £20,000. In the Punjab nearly £60,000 was realised by the sale of 1,570 deodars. Several forests of good teak had been discovered and reserved in the Central Provinces. In Madras the system of forest conservancy had been greatly improved, and a new lease for ninety-nine years secured of the valuable teak forests in South Malabar. The success of the Forest Department in Mysore was shown by a net outcome of £27,352. The profit from the Bombay forests amounted to about £17,000.

Since the suppression of the mutiny great progress had been made in the work of popular education, much of which during the last five years was due to the efforts and influence of Sir John Lawrence. The outlay by the

State on colleges and schools had risen in ten years from £100,000 to £800,000; the number of colleges and schools wholly or partly supported by public funds, from a few hundred to upwards of 18,000; and the number of pupils from 40,000 to 700,000. In 1867-68 the number of colleges and schools aided by the State in Lower Bengal increased from 2,908 to 3,411, and that of pupils from 121,480 to 145,142. There were besides 2,196 schools unaided by the State, attended by 65,212 pupils, or more than 20,000 in excess of the previous year. About three-fifths of the outlay were contributed by the State, at an average cost of £1 2s. 10d. per pupil. Out of 1,507 candidates for the university, the entrance examination was passed by 814, of whom 302 came from Government schools. The village patshalas were also attended by 2,000 girls. In this year grants were made by the Government for the establishment of the normal schools suggested by Miss Carpenter, an account of whose visit to India is given below. A challenge offered by a native gentleman of Rampur Boliya, who promised to contribute £150 a year if Government would provide twice that sum for a smaller normal school in that place, was also accepted. Among other benefactions to the cause of education, the late Mr. Williamson, of Assam, bequeathed to the Government £10,000 for the diffusion of school learning and industrial knowledge in that province, and Baboo Doorga Churn Laha, of Calcutta, presented £5,000 towards founding university scholarships and exhibitions in the Government colleges and schools of Calcutta and Hugli. In the North-West Provinces the Government district schools were attended by 112,267 pupils, or 1 in every 100 boys of an age to be at school. The aggregate expenditure amounted to £57,787. In the province of Oudh the number of pupils increased within the year from 16,265 to 24,305, the expenditure amounting to £18,678 from imperial funds, and £14,068 from local funds. Only 17 candidates went up to the university for matriculation, but of these 15 passed in. In the Punjab there were 1,912 Government and 801 grant-in-aid institutions, independently of 4,888 indigenous schools, in which 129,869 pupils attended, being equivalent to one-thirty-fifth of the population. The expenditure was £94,306, of which 10 per cent. was derived from private contributions. In the university examinations 44 out of 73 passed matriculation, 4 out of 7 took the degree of B.A., and 5 out of 11 got through the first Arts examination. In the Central Provinces the number of schools amounted to 1,645,

* Dr. Cleghorn *On the Distribution of the Principal Timber Trees of India, and the Progress of Forest Conservancy.*

with an average daily attendance of 67,490. The outlay was £44,112, of which £26,764 was obtained from local funds. In the isolated district of Sambalpur there were 249 schools, with 13,276 scholars, as compared with the 4 schools and 95 scholars of six years before. In the Presidency of Madras the number of colleges and schools had increased between 1867 and 1868 from 1,386 to 1,687, and the number of pupils from 51,118 to 62,973, the expenditure being £78,370. But Bombay, which first set the example of the system of vernacular education, the institution of normal colleges, and the translation of European literature into the native languages, kept ahead of all the other provinces in respect of educational progress. The number of schools had extended to 2,089, with 137,587 pupils, the expenditure by Government amounting to £167,073. In British Burmah, with a population of 2,400,000, the number of schools, in many of which boys and girls are taught together, had increased to 181. There were 7 normal and 5 purely female schools, the latter containing 400 pupils. Of Rs. 182,057 spent on education, not more than 74,321 were defrayed from the imperial funds. There was reason to hope that all India would soon be blessed with a cheap system of popular education, maintained more or less largely by local cesses, as in 1868 Sir John Lawrence had ordered that Bengal and Madras, which had remained content to depend on State provision supplemented by voluntary aid, and in which not more than 5 per cent. could read or write their own language, should be brought up to a level with the other provinces, where the system of vernacular education originated by Mr. Thomason and sanctioned by Lord Dalhousie had long been successfully at work.

As regards female education, a school for females was founded by certain natives at Agra in 1855, which was subsequently supported by Government, after which a mania for female education burst forth, and in two years the number of schools in the North-West Provinces amounted to 288, with a daily attendance of 4,127 pupils; and in 1866-67 there were 595 schools, with 12,902 pupils. At the close of the latter year 130 schools, with 3,621 pupils, had been established in the Punjab. In Oude there were only 18 female schools, 6 of which were supported by Government, and the number of pupils was 408. But the greatest impetus that female education received was due to the visit of Miss Mary Carpenter. Miss Carpenter, daughter of an eminent divine, Dr. Lant Carpenter, of Bristol, and well known

for the reformatory and home for friendless girls which she established at Redhill, Bristol, paid a visit to India towards the close of 1866, to give the people of that country "a token of true sympathy with them and interest in their welfare;" to assure them that not one, but many, of England's daughters had "a deep and true feeling for their race," which they were ready to testify if they had a chance; and, above all, to learn "the actual position of female education in India, and to discover the real obstacles to its progress," and the reason why English zeal and money had hitherto met with so poor a return. Hospitals, schools, prisons, and all sorts of public institutions were thrown open to her inspection, and she availed herself of these courtesies as largely as her time and special aims allowed her; but the most of her time was concentrated on the questions of education and prison discipline. Wherever she went she found the men more or less educated, and the women strikingly the reverse. Old customs hardened into a religion formed a tremendous barrier to the education alike of girls and wives. A girl of twelve, who had learned nothing, entered on a life of wedded seclusion fatal to her chance of ever learning anything at all. In many cases masculine prejudice or jealousy would prevent her from learning anything if she could. Only a few brave men here and there defied the ban of creed and custom by helping their wives and daughters to become fit companions for themselves or their English acquaintances.

In Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta public meetings were held to further the advancement of Miss Carpenter's views, and social meetings took place, at which native ladies were present. At a meeting in Calcutta, presided over by the Lieutenant-Governor, and at which the Viceroy and Lady Lawrence and many others were present, a committee was appointed to carry out the formation of "a branch society to be affiliated to the Social Science Association at home, for the purpose of pursuing social science investigations, so far as they have any relation to the people and circumstances of this country." Miss Carpenter then pointed out education, especially of girls, gaols, the massing of prisoners together, the want of juvenile reformatories, and the filthy state of native towns, as subjects with which the proposed society should deal at once. At other meetings Miss Carpenter unfolded her scheme for the education of female natives. The first want was teachers, and to supply this she proposed the establishment of normal schools, at which Hindu females could be trained as teachers, the schools to be under the superintendence of

good English mistresses, and no interference with the religion of the students to be permitted. Before leaving India, after six months' stay, Miss Carpenter had the satisfaction of knowing that the Government of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay had been petitioned by the natives and others interested in the cause of female education for the establishment of such schools. As a result of these representations, the Viceroy in 1868 placed at the disposal of each of the presidencies a sum of Rs. 12,000 a year for five years for the foundation of normal schools for women teachers. A special report of the circumstances connected with each school was to be sent in each year, and native subscriptions were to be derived from private sources, and not from grants out of local or municipal funds. The Secretary of State for India, in approving of the steps taken by the Viceroy, desired that the most careful attention should be paid to the experiment while in progress, and that he should from time to time be kept informed as to the results that might be achieved. Miss Carpenter the same year returned to Bombay to take charge of the normal school there, the Governor placing at her disposal a suitable residence for herself and the training mistress whom she had brought from England, with class-rooms added for the English ladies who meant to qualify themselves for teaching their native sisters. A similar institution was started at Ahmadabad under one of Miss Carpenter's colleagues. To the Bombay school fifteen scholarships, and to that at Ahmadabad ten, were to be attached, most of which would be held by native candidates. At Bombay English was to be taught as well as the native tongues. In the following year a normal school for Hindu women was engrafted on the Bethune School, Calcutta.

The administration of Sir John Lawrence was further marked by the growth of the native element in the Civil Service. Out of 486 appointments in 1868, 363 were held by natives, and 40 by East Indians. In the upper ranks of the police service natives had also made their way, 1 having been appointed a district superintendent, 5 assistant superintendents, and 4 special assistants in the detective branch. In the Education Department 102 out of 129 appointments were held by natives, the highest posts being of necessity reserved for Europeans.

We close this account of Sir John Lawrence's administration with a notice from the *Indian Daily News*:—"The Government of the Queen is only about ten years old, and during that time, if we take the result of the administration, it will be found that immense

progress has been made in the development of India. And when we further consider that one-half of that time has been under the administration of Sir John Lawrence, it would be a gross and wanton injustice to deny him the credit of many of the measures which have contributed to that result. In almost every branch of the administration great improvements have been effected, while the credit of the country has been maintained. Taking the power by which we primarily hold India, surely no one will deny that much has been done for the army. Efforts have not been spared to do all that is desirable or possible in India for our European troops. Money has been freely, and it may be said wisely, spent in providing barracks and other means of health and comfort to our soldiers and their families. . . . Something, too, has been done for the various parts of the civil administration. The covenanted and the uncovenanted have both received a fair amount of attention and consideration at the hands of the Viceroy. The revision of the leave and pension rules has been conducted in a spirit of liberality, with a view to render the services more satisfactory, and to make people contented in them. . . . Nor can it be said that the efforts of Sir John Lawrence have been confined to improving the condition of his own race, or of the higher classes of the people of this country. Many of his measures have been essentially such as are calculated to promote the good of the great masses of the people, thus fulfilling one of the first conditions of good government. Amongst these measures we may mention the encouragement given to popular education and irrigation works, and the improvements in the land tenures for the benefit of the peasantry at large. There are other agencies, too, which owe something of their efficiency to Sir John Lawrence. We have recently seen valuable concessions in the telegraph and postal departments, which will do much to increase and improve our communications; and they are of the kind that will lead to other improvements not perhaps generally contemplated. It is one of the qualities of statesmen to look beyond the present hour. If Sir John Lawrence has erred in these matters, it has been on the side of caution. He has not taken his measures 'before the hour was ripe.' . . . Sir John doubtless saw what was required in the land, and took time and his own course to do it. The last year of his office has shown the completion of his work, and he has no need to be ashamed of it. He hands over to his successor a magnificent empire, at peace internally and abroad, and in a position of such great prosperity and credit as could not well

be expected, considering the difficulties, natural and otherwise, that he has had to contend with during the past five years."

The principal changes that took place in the Indian administration during Sir John Lawrence's tenure of office are the following:—In 1865 Sir Hugh Rose retired from the post of Commander-in-Chief in India, and was succeeded by Sir William Mansfield. In the following year Sir Hugh was raised to the peerage, with the title of Baron Strathnairn of Strathnairn, in the county of Nairn, and of Jhansi, in the East Indies. In 1865, too, the Finance Minister, Sir Charles Trevelyan, returned home, and was succeeded by the Hon. Mr. Massey, who was followed by Sir Richard Temple in 1868. In 1866 Sir Robert Napier took the place of Sir C. Straubenzee as Commander-in-Chief at Bombay; Lord Napier succeeded Sir William Denison as Governor of Madras; Lord De Grey and Ripon became Secretary of State for India on the retirement of Sir Charles Wood, who was raised to the peerage, with the title of Viscount Halifax; but in July, on the formation of Lord Derby's ministry, Lord De Grey was succeeded by Lord Cranborne, who, on his resignation in 1867, owing to differences with his colleagues on the subject of reform, gave place to Sir Stafford Northcote. A change of government in 1868 made the Duke of Argyll Secretary of State. In 1867 Sir Bartle Frere gave up the government of Bombay to Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, and Sir Arthur Phayre retired from the Chief Commissionership of British Burmah, which he had worthily held for a period of twelve years. He was succeeded by Colonel Fytche. Sir Cecil Beadon also handed over the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal to Mr. Grey. During 1867 the administration of the Straits Settlements was transferred from the Government of India to the Colonial Office. In 1868 Sir W. Muir became Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

In January, 1869, Sir John Lawrence took his leave of India. Before his departure he was presented, on January 18th, with a farewell address from the general community of Calcutta, signed by 1,360 inhabitants, in reply to which Sir John said:—

"Gentlemen,—I heartily thank you for the friendly address which, on the eve of my departure from India, you have presented to me. Nearly thirty-nine years have passed since I came to labour and to dwell in this land. The best years of my life have been devoted to its service; and lasting friendships and associations are connected with those bygone days.

"It is not strange, then, that I should feel sad at the thought of leaving it for ever. You

have contributed to heighten that sadness by the kind address you have given me. For you have not only thus bestowed on me an honour which every man must highly value—the honest approval of his countrymen—but you have supplied a consolation second only to that which approval of a man's own conscience can afford.

"You have referred in terms only too laudatory to the services which it has been my privilege to render. I can only say, gentlemen, be the true estimate of those services what it may, that I have ever tried before God and towards man conscientiously to discharge my duty. Man at the best can do no more, and if I have merited but a part of the approbation you have expressed, I feel that I am amply rewarded.

"It has always been my object, whilst steadfastly maintaining her Majesty's supremacy in India, to do all in my power to render that supremacy acceptable to the people of this land; and though not unmindful of the just rights and interests of my countrymen, I have tried never to forget that it is the people of India who, from their subject position, should have the first claim to consideration.

"You have alluded to the future, and to the possibility of my resuming official duties. Long residence in an Indian climate, and continuous mental labour, tell me that it will be necessary, for a time at least, to seek quiet and repose.

"But whether or not I may be called upon to work again, believe me, I shall never cease to retain the deepest interest in India. My concern for its welfare, my affection for its people, my hearty desire for the prosperity of my countrymen here, must ever remain undiminished.

"I feel deeply your kind good wishes for myself. It is with very sincere regret, and with an earnest prayer for your welfare and success, that I bid you a hearty farewell."

The Indian life of Sir John Lawrence, says the *Times*, has become matter of history, and history can hardly match thirty-eight years of a single life so continuously laborious, so eventful, and so successful. It would be folly to say that England owes her Asiatic sovereignty to him as to Clive; but he has been so identified with English policy and energy in the East for more than a third of a century, that it is impossible to think of our Indian Empire as existing and prospering without thinking at the same time of Sir John Lawrence. His more conspicuous triumphs were won in his government of the Punjab, and culminated in the feats of policy which alone made the capture of Delhi possible.

The viceroyalty was the natural and almost necessary consequence of what he had done already. It was conferred upon him,—not as it has been upon his successor, for the purpose of discovering experimentally whether he be possessed of governing capacity,—the dignity devolved upon Sir John Lawrence of right as the crown of his past exploits, and because a name like his barred the way to the elevation of any other man to it till he had first held and passed it by. In this position his own fame has been one main difficulty which he has had to surmount in obtaining a just appreciation of his merits. People have not always sufficiently understood the difference between a man who, as Commissioner of the Punjab, was, by his own personal energy, moulding a conquered population into British subjects, and the Viceroy, who in many respects much more nearly resembles a constitutional sovereign, acting by responsible ministers, than a minister himself. Qualities, again, which, in his former character, attracted either favourable observation or none at all, so long as he was simply an administrator, had no proper scope, or

were even marks for hostile criticism in a Governor-General. A somewhat rugged simplicity and a habit of direct personal intervention in affairs were never thought out of place at Lahor. Calcutta society, however, construed the former into a grave offence against itself, and Calcutta politicians found the latter quality no set-off against the Viceroy's distaste for the old ambitious policy of territorial aggrandisement. A certain degree of state and magnificence may be proper in the centre of a semi-Oriental court, but posterity will not count it to Sir John Lawrence's discredit that, in his own words, he did not care to "continue wars after their end had been accomplished." His apparent achievements as Governor-General may not have been as conspicuous as his acts in his subordinate command; but he has done nothing to detract from the glory of them. Above all, whether as Commissioner of the Punjab or as Viceroy, he leaves behind him the example of an administration the unique aim and end of which has been to create out of our Indian Empire itself the means and resources for securing it to the British Crown.

CHAPTER CXL.

COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA.—THE SUEZ CANAL.—TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION.

THE importance to India and the East of the more rapid means of communication with England by means of the Suez Canal renders it necessary that some account should be given of that gigantic undertaking, now so successfully completed.

It was in 1831, when detained in quarantine at Alexandria, that Ferdinand de Lesseps, a member of the French consular service, had his attention attracted to the canal question by the perusal of Denon's work on the French expedition to Egypt under the first Napoleon. There he found and studied the engineer's report on the project of a canal. Having read of all the attempts that had been made to solve the problem down to the days of Napoleon, De Lesseps' mind became greatly engrossed with the subject, and during the years that followed he was deeply impressed by the courage and perseverance exhibited by Lieutenant Waghorn in his attempts to open up an overland route to India. "During my first stay in Egypt," he says, "in the space between 1831 and 1838, I was greatly struck by the perseverance with which a lieutenant of the Indian navy, Waghorn, attempted to carry out his project of taking the English

mails to India through Suez. At this time the regular route was by the Cape, and it took from four to six months. This lieutenant was bent on proving to the English, by practical example, that a direct road to India by the Red Sea was possible. After unheard-of efforts, all he could obtain was the privilege of carrying duplicates of dispatches to Calcutta at his own cost. Seven years of his life he devoted to this labour. He wasted all his means. He used to scour France and Italy—now sailing from France, now from Italy, starting from Marseilles or Trieste, and thus getting to Alexandria. There, without losing an instant, he set out for Suez, either on dromedary back or in a canal boat, and at Suez trusted to chance for meeting a steamer. I used to see him arrive in this way during many years. In his own country he passed for a man with a craze. Yet he had undertaken a project which he had worked out with courage and devotion, had ruined his health and his fortunes, and had left his family to beggary, but for the generosity of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, who awarded them a pension. He had, however, succeeded in proving that a single person carrying the

dispatches could arrive by this route at his destination. An inquiry was conducted by the Bombay Government as to the possibility of steamers navigating the Red Sea. The English Parliament examined various men of professional experience and politicians. Admirals, and particularly the politicians, pronounced solemnly that though sailing vessels might make their way, it was impossible for steamers to do so. It was Lieutenant Waghorn, nevertheless, that opened up the route to India overland. He showed that it could be done, and it was the courage he exhibited that left a deep impression on my mind, and served as an example." "Since the year 1849," again writes M. de Lesseps in 1852, "I have never for a moment ceased studying this question, which so engrossed my thoughts when we were in Egypt together twenty years ago. I must own that my scheme is still in the clouds, and I can't conceal from myself the fact that so long as I have only myself to believe in its possibility it amounts to its being impossible to get the public to accept it. We must have a basis to go upon; to establish that basis I want your assistance. The idea is to cut a passage through the Isthmus of Suez, which has again and again been proposed since the old historical times, and perhaps for that reason has been thought impossible."

The grand project of M. de Lesseps of a canal across the Isthmus of Suez (referred to in vol. i. pp. 358, 359; see also i. 144), which for many years had been looked upon as "the futile attempt of a clever enthusiast," was, in November, 1869, so far an accomplished fact that forty-eight vessels passed through the canal from the Mediterranean to Lake Timsah, and continued their voyage to Suez on the following day.

In 1856 M. de Lesseps obtained from Said Pasha, the then Viceroy of Egypt, a "concession" or the exclusive privilege of forming a ship canal from a point on the Mediterranean seventeen and a half miles west of Pelusium direct, or nearly so, to Suez, passing through Lakes Menzaleh, Ballah, Timsah, and the Bitter Lakes. Previously to this an international European commission had reported that the scheme was practicable, and that a canal might profitably be constructed. Notwithstanding the opposition for political reasons of the British Government, and the success of their influence in preventing the ratification of the concession by the Sultan of Turkey, M. de Lesseps, encouraged by the favourable reception his project had met with in Europe, resolved in 1858 to have his company formally constituted and brought out, and to open the subscription that was

to provide funds for his enterprise. The association was constituted under the title of the "Universal Company of the Maritime Canal of Suez," with Prince Jerome Napoleon as "Protector," and the projector himself as President. The capital was £8,000,000 sterling, in 400,000 shares of £20 each. Rather more than half this amount was subscribed for, and in 1860 the remaining unallotted shares were taken up by the Viceroy. On the 9th of March, 1859, the great work was begun at the entrance to the proposed canal from the sea. The first steps adopted by the engineers are thus described by Mr. Fitzgerald: "The strip of sand on which the engineers stood was little more than five hundred feet wide, over which, in stormy weather, the sea washed. Their plan was of the simplest. At first a light framing of piles was run out, on which a crane and trucks laden with loose stones travelled; and in a short time a fairly substantial pier, that served as a landing-stage for the various supplies of materials, machinery, &c., was constructed. Encouraged by this success, a bolder work was ventured on, and with the same happy result. Far out in the bay, at about a kilometre and a half distant from shore, huge piles were *screwed* into the sands, and an oblong island was there formed with stones, the space between the island and the wooden shore pier being gradually filled in. Every day the piles settled firmly in their places, in spite of the storms of the bay. This temporary structure was carried out to a distance of about three hundred feet, and it was not until 1866 that the work was seriously resumed, and the breakwater joined to the pier." * The lot of the workers on the desolate strip of sand must have been hard indeed. No water for drinking was to be found nearer than Damietta, thirty miles distant, from which it had to be conveyed on camels and donkeys to Lake Menzaleh, and carried across in barges. Its arrival was often delayed by calms or storms, or through its being stopped on the way by the natives, and at times the supply altogether failed. Afterwards, however, sets of distilling apparatus were provided, and the workmen rendered independent of native supplies. The stone for the construction of the great breakwaters or moles which now form the outer port had at first to be brought from a great distance; but this difficulty was got over by the manufacture on the spot of blocks of concrete, composed of two-thirds sand dredged from the harbour, and one-third hydraulic lime brought from Theil, in France, mixed with salt water, and run into great wooden boxes or moulds. When the mixture became solidified the

* *The Great Canal at Suez.* By Percy Fitzgerald.

mould-boards were removed, and the solid blocks of artificial stone, each weighing 22 tons, and having a dimension of 10 cubic mètres, were left for months in the open air to dry and harden. The western pier runs straight out to sea a distance of 2,700 yards. The eastern, 1,500 yards eastward of the other, at the shore gradually approaches it in a converging line for 1,962 yards. The entrance to the outer port is about a quarter of a mile wide and 30 feet deep, and the channel through it to the inner harbour 300 feet wide and 26 deep. Altogether it is considered the most easily approached and safest harbour along the coast. Port Said, as the spot was called in honour of the then Viceroy, is now a town of nearly 10,000 inhabitants. In 1859, the first year of its existence, it was visited by 28 vessels, with a tonnage of 6,000 tons. In 1872 the number of vessels that entered the harbour was nearly 1,400, with a tonnage of 857,000 tons.

From Port Said the canal was carried a distance of about twenty miles across Lake Menzaleh to Kantara, the first point on the mainland. This was a salt-water shallow, like the lagoons of Venice, from 1 to 10 feet deep. Through this the channel was excavated by dredges. Two more miles of channel brought the canal to an irregular swamp, almost dry, called Lake Ballah, through which 8 miles of cutting were made, when the engineers were met by the formidable sandy plateau of El Guisr, about 6 miles long, and from 60 to 65 feet above the level of the sea. The cutting had to be made to a depth of nearly 70 feet. Three lines of tramway were laid down, and 6 large engines and 250 waggons accomplished the work, which was completed by January, 1868. The plateau was rendered passable, however, to Lake Timsah as early as 1862.

A subordinate portion of the great scheme, but one none the less interesting and important, was the construction of a fresh-water canal from the Nile to Lake Timsah, for the purpose of supplying water to the population accumulating at various points on the line of the maritime canal. It was also used temporarily for navigation. The fresh-water canal consists of three sections : (1) from the Nile to Ismailia, on Lake Timsah ; (2) from Ismailia to Suez, on the western side of the maritime canal ; and (3) from Ismailia north to Port Said, on the same side. The latter consists simply of a large iron pipe conveying water to the several stations, plugs being inserted where needed, to allow the water to be drawn off. The other two sections are large enough for barge and small steamer traffic. When a

branch canal had been constructed between the fresh-water canal and the maritime channel already dug from Port Said to Lake Timsah, water transit between the two seas was begun in 1865, and during the Abyssinian war extensive use was made of this route for the conveyance of stores.

By the end of 1862 a narrow water-way had thus been cut from the Mediterranean to Lake Timsah, and the fresh-water canal had been carried to the same point. A portion of the western jetty at Port Said had been constructed, and houses and workshops had been built at Port Said, Timsah, and El Guisr. In 1863 the fresh-water canal was continued to Suez, when difficulties arose which threatened to stop the works altogether.

In pursuance of a formal arrangement made with Said Pasha in 1856, native workmen were furnished by the Egyptian Government by conscription from different parts of Egypt. The company agreed to pay them at a rate higher than what was usually paid in that country, though this was about two-thirds less than what was given for similar work in Europe. The task imposed upon the workmen was not to exceed that fixed in the building of bridges and roads in Egypt, which had been adopted in the large works of canal-making in the last few years. The company were to defray the cost of transmitting the labourers from their homes to the workyard, to provide them with suitable tents, sheds, or houses, to maintain hospitals, ambulances, and proper medical treatment, and to allow them half-pay in case of sickness. Notwithstanding the fact that the men were thus as well treated and better paid than at home, objections were raised by the English Government to this system of forced labour. The present Khedive, who succeeded his father in 1863, had never been heartily disposed towards the canal project, and did not relish the heavy pecuniary engagements to which his father had bound him. Neither did he view with complacency the numbers employed on the canal, ranging at different times from 20,000 to 80,000, whose services were unavailable for the carrying out of his own schemes for the development of the resources of the country. He therefore readily listened to the objections made by the Sultan and prompted by England, and in the early part of 1864 the forced labour was withdrawn. The works in consequence came almost to a stand-still. Other matters of dispute now arose. These regarded the proprietorship of the fresh-water canal and the lands along the great canal which had been granted to the company by the original concession, and some of which the Khedive now demanded back. These questions were at length submitted to

the arbitration of the Emperor of the French, who appointed a commission to decide on the matters in dispute. By the Emperor's award it was determined that the concessions of 1854 and 1856 were of the nature of a contract, and were binding on both parties; that the Egyptian Government should pay an indemnity of £1,520,000 for the withdrawal of the fellah labour; that all the fresh-water canals should be ceded to the Government, the company reserving the right of passage through them; that the Government should pay £400,000 as the cost of their construction, £240,000 as compensation for the tolls relinquished by the company, and £1,200,000 for the resumption of the lands originally granted to the company, the latter retaining only as much of them along the line of the maritime canal as might be necessary for its care and maintenance. The total indemnity amounted to £3,360,000, which was to be paid in sixteen instalments from 1864 to 1879. It was not, however, till 1866 that the terms of the arbitration were embodied in a formal convention between the Viceroy and the company, and shortly afterwards came the long-sought firman from the Sultan sanctioning the execution of the canal, and characterizing "the realisation of the great work destined to give new facilities to commerce and for navigation, by the cutting of a canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea," as "one of the most desirable events in this age of science and of progress."

The works now proceeded with vigour, and the manual labour which the company had lost was replaced by machinery, without which the canal would never have been completed when it was. Having brought the canal to Timsah, where was begun the building of a central port called Ismailia in honour of the Khedive, now a pretty town of from 3,000 to 6,000 inhabitants, we proceed to describe the lower section of the works. This portion of the canal involved a cutting through the plateaux of Toussoum and Serapeum, a passage of twenty-four miles through the Bitter Lakes, and a cutting through the height of Chalouf, after which came a level plain of twelve miles to Suez. Extraordinary difficulties were presented by the cuttings in the Serapeum plateau, which manual labour failed to overcome. "The contractor," says Mr. Fitzgerald, "almost gave up the project in despair, and returned to Cairo to think it over. After a few days' meditation he called his assistants and said, 'I have thought of the means of disposing of the Serapeum; we can do it with our dredges.' He banked up the canal at the point to which the Mediterranean water had been brought, scooped out the remainder to a certain depth

by manual labour, banked this up at the end next the Bitter Lakes, and turned the fresh-water canal into the excavation. 'Then,' says Captain Clerk, 'the dredges were brought into play—dredges which were originally forwarded by means of the maritime canal from Port Said to Ismailia. There they were passed through the locks into the fresh-water canal, which raised them seventeen feet above the sea-level. A cross-cutting was then made from the fresh-water canal to the line of the works on the maritime canal, by which the machines were floated into their respective positions at this superior elevation. The dredgings were conveyed by lighters into large artificial lakes, which have been formed for this special purpose in close proximity to the maritime canal. These lakes were made in November, 1866, the level of the Nile being at its highest point at that season. They contain upwards of 5,000,000 cubic yards of water, and are capable of receiving 2,800,000 cubic yards of dredgings. The lighters here employed have a very shallow draught of water, and wide overhanging sides, out of which the dredgings are discharged. When these dredges have dredged to the requisite depth, the communication with the fresh-water canal will be closed, and the dam in the line of the maritime canal removed. By this means the level of the fresh water will fall to that of the sea-level, and the dredges, descending at the same time, will continue at work in completing the channel to its prescribed depth. The water having got thus far, having first come to Lake Timsah, then on to Toussoum, was not allowed to proceed farther, and until the time of opening the dam was retained in its place. The rest of the work was excavated *à sec*.'* The Bitter Lakes were the only portion of the canal where the work of excavation was comparatively slight. These consist of two large but unequal expanses of water, separated by a narrow isthmus about a mile in length. The northern or larger lake is $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, and about 6 wide, with an average depth in the centre of from 25 to 30 feet below the old water-line of the Red Sea, from which these lakes had been gradually cut off, and the southern or smaller, about 7 miles long and 2 wide, with an average depth in the centre of 15 feet below the old water-line. Only the isthmus between these two had to be cut through, and an entrance to the channel made at each end. Next came the cutting through the plateau of Chalouf from 20 to 25 feet above the sea-level, and about 6 miles in length. After the enormous excavations had been made here an immense mass of rock

* Fitzgerald's *Great Canal at Suez*.

was encountered several feet deep, and stretching 400 yards along the cutting: 52,000 cubic yards of this were blasted and carried away. "The sight while the work was going on here was a most remarkable one, presenting the appearance of a huge excavated valley, of vast depth and width, the bottom covered with a network of tramways, the sides lined with inclined planes, and the whole swarming with thousands of workmen." * From the heights of Chalouf the canal passes over the plain of Suez, a kind of marshy lagoon, slightly above the level of the sea. "Both through this plain and the higher ground near the old Quarantine Station a first shallow channel was dug by hand in 1866, a dam being left nearly opposite the station to keep out the flow of the sea at high tide. The channel thus cut was filled, partly by infiltration from the surrounding marshes, and partly by fresh water brought through a narrow cutting from the fresh-water canal. Dredges were then floated in to complete the excavation to the required depth. The dredging here was difficult, the soil being composed of very stiff clay and half-formed stone. Indeed, the strain upon the machines was so great, and the progress made so slow, that it was found necessary, at the end of 1868, to change the mode of attack along a portion of the plain, and proceed to excavate *à sec* and by hand labour. Accordingly, leaving a dam at Kilomètre 148, and confining the working of the dredges to the portion south of this point, the water was pumped out of the remaining six or seven miles up to the heights of Chalouf already dug through, and closed by another dam, and in a short time 15,000 men were hard at work with barrow, spade, pickaxe, and blasting tools. The whole scene along these six or seven miles was truly wonderful; such a number and variety of men and animals were probably never before collected together in the prosecution of one work. There were to be seen European gangs — Greeks, Albanians, Montenegrins, Germans, Italians, &c., generally working at the lower levels, and where the tramways and inclined planes carried away the déblais. Their only animal helpers were mules to draw the waggons. Then would come groups of native gangs, the produce of their pickaxes and spades borne away in wheelbarrows, or on the backs of camels, horses, donkeys, and even children." *

"Not more than four or five years ago," says Captain Clerk, writing in 1869, "Suez was an insignificant Egyptian village, containing 4,000 inhabitants, but exhibiting no signs of life, except when the steamers of the

* Murray's *Handbook for Egypt*.

Peninsular and Oriental Company, and subsequently those of the Messageries Impériales, were embarking or disembarking their passengers and merchandise. The absence of water and the dearness of provisions, both of which had to be brought from Cairo and the surrounding districts, rendered it as uninviting a spot as can well be imagined. The advent of the fresh-water canal has brought about a marvellous change. The population has now increased to 25,000,† and there is a degree of life and activity about the place clearly indicating the energy that is being displayed on all sides. The principal operations of the company consist, firstly, in constructing a mole, 850 yards in length, at the mouth of the canal, to serve as a protection against southerly gales, and against the action of the tide at high water; secondly, in dredging to the requisite depth the channel leading from the canal to the anchorage in the roads of Suez; and thirdly, the reclamation of land. The mole, which projects from the Asiatic shore, is now nearly completed. It has been constructed with a kind of calcareous rock, which is quarried on the western shore of the bay. After entering the sea, the embouchure of the canal gradually widens to about 300 yards, and the depth in this portion is to be 27 feet. No rock has been found to interfere with the dredging, and but little work remains to complete this important part of the canal. Regarding the third and last point, the dredgings from the channel in the roads of Suez are employed for this purpose. Embankments, faced with the same kind of stone that has been used for constructing the mole, are first built. Alongside are moored dredges *à long couloir*, and by means of these ducts the dredgings are lodged behind the retaining embankments. This process is continued till a considerable elevation above the sea-level is attained. Much land has already been reclaimed and built over, and the area is daily being extended. At a future date this property, of about 50 acres, will become of great value to the company, for the requirements of shipping on its way through the canal. On the south-western side much has been also accomplished. One important work is the dry dock, which has been in use some years. This work was not carried out by the Maritime Canal Company. An arrangement was entered into between the Egyptian Government and the Messageries Impériales Company, by which the latter undertook to complete it for £240,000, with the following dimensions:—Length 415 feet, width 85 feet, and depth 29 feet, thus affording docking accommodation to the largest class of steamers. On the harbour side a

† The population in 1872 was 13,500.

double basin has been made, where there is a sufficient depth of water for vessels to lie alongside. Of the two piers already constructed, one is reserved by the Egyptian Government for their exclusive use; the other, on the northern side, is free to all, and they are directly connected by a railway, running along a jetty three-quarters of a mile in length, with the present terminal station in Suez. Passengers and merchandise will thus pass from the train into the steamer moored alongside the quay." On the completion of the canal the activity of the town of Suez somewhat decreased, but, situated as it is on the direct sea route from Europe to India, it must always be a place of importance.

In March, 1869, though the canal was still far from complete, M. de Lesseps took advantage of the presence of the Prince and Princess of Wales at Cairo to celebrate the letting of the waters into the Bitter Lakes, the following account of which is condensed from the *Illustrated London News*:—On the 25th the royal travellers, after inspecting the canal works at Suez, accompanied by M. de Lesseps and the contractor and chief engineer, proceeded by rail to the station at Chalouf, where they crossed the fresh-water canal on a pontoon. They then drove through the pretty little streets of Chalouf, lined with châteaux of wood and gardens, to the works of the canal, which here presented a series of deep cuttings. The party went southwards for about a mile towards a barrage, stopping on their way to examine the working of the inclined planes, on which trucks of earth and stone excavated by the Arabs and Europeans below were run up to the top of the mounds above the roadway, and tilted over, while the empty trucks were let down to the excavation by the same action of the steam-engines. At the next halting-place, thirty-three miles from Chalouf, the party embarked on board a small steamer, which conveyed them for a mile or two along the fresh-water canal to Serrapeum, a small town of wooden houses, neatly built and painted, with gardens full of fruit trees and flowers here and there, placed on a very high ridge above the desert plateau. Here two of the larger and two of the smaller steamers of the company were waiting to convey the travellers to the barrage, or dam, which alone prevented the waters of the Mediterranean from flowing into the Bitter Lakes in an impetuous and destructive torrent. The process of letting in the water to fill the vast empty basin was, however, to be gradually performed. A few days before the visit of the Prince of Wales, on March 1st, the dam at Toussoum, which kept out the waters of the Mediterranean, had been cut in

presence of the Viceroy, and the supply of water from the fresh-water canal stopped. Four millions of cubic mètres of water entered in twelve hours. The current was stronger than had been anticipated, and the stream, rushing through to the lower level, swept away some of the dredging machines, overturned one, and drowned one, if not two, persons. The trench of the fresh-water canal was thus rapidly emptied into the lower level of the newly formed maritime canal. At this end of the canal there was now erected a reservoir with a wooden barrier, apparently 200 yards long, parallel to the course of the canal—the fresh-water canal being at right angles to it—provided with a great number of small floodgates. A sloping ledge of planking led from the level of the canal-bed at the bottom of the sluices to the natural depression of the bed of the Bitter Lakes, and, on the opening of a sluice, a stream of water rushed over this ledge across an artificial mound of rocks into the lake. When the Prince and Princess reached this barrier, a number of men were ready at the sluices with levers and sledges, and M. de Lesseps conducted the royal party to a narrow bridge or trestle-work below it, extending across the narrow end of the lake, from which they could see at their ease the rush of water. The Viceroy had seen the first of the sluices drawn, and ever since water had been passing through; but it only formed a large pool in the neck of the lake. Nevertheless the fish of the Mediterranean had already found their way to this pool, and were disporting in the rush of water over the stones. When the Prince and Princess had seen the nature of the work, at a given signal some dozen or so of the sluices were raised, and the salt water spurted forth in a milk-white gush from as many freshly opened sources, and then flowed quietly away to its appointed bed. It was calculated that the filling of the lakes would take several months to accomplish, as, according to M. de Lesseps, they would contain 440,000,000,000 gallons.

On November 17th, 1869, the great canal was opened for traffic. It was not completely finished, but sufficiently so to admit forty-eight vessels, drawing thirteen feet of water, to pass through. The opening ceremonies were witnessed by the Khedive and the heir apparent of Egypt, the ex-Empress of the French, the Emperor of Austria, the Crown Prince of Prussia, the Grand Duke Michael of Russia, the Prince and Princess of Holland, and representatives of almost all nations.

The number of vessels that have passed through the canal from 1870 to 1874 is as follows:—

In 1870,	491 vessels of	436,618 tons.
„ 1871,	761 „	761,875 „
„ 1872,	1,082 „	1,439,169 „
„ 1873,	1,171 „	2,085,270 „
„ 1874,	1,264 „	2,423,672 „

The total length of the canal is 99 miles. Over the greater part of this length the width does not permit of two vessels passing or crossing each other, but this is effected by means of numerous sidings. Vessels measuring 430 feet in length, and drawing 25 feet 9 inches of water, have passed safely through the canal. The actual cost of the canal, according to the report for 1875, was £17,518,729, exclusively of £1,360,000 bonds issued to pay for coupons on shares in arrear during part of the period of construction. Of the 400,000 shares in the canal, 176,602 belonging to the Khedive of Egypt were purchased from him by the British Government in November, 1875. The following table from Murray's "Handbook for Egypt" gives the relative distances by the

Cape and by the canal from England, America, Russia, and France to India :—

	Viâ Cape of Good Hope. Naut. mls.	Viâ Suez Canal. Naut. mls.	Saving. N. mls.
England to Bombay	10,860	6,020	4,840
New York to Bombay	11,520	7,920	3,600
St. Petersburg to Bombay	11,610	6,770	4,840
Marseilles to Bombay	10,560	4,620	5,940

The Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers from Southampton to the East, and the Messageries from Marseilles, run regularly through the canal.

In 1870 Brindisi was adopted as the point of departure for the English mails overland, and two years later a saving of twenty-four hours was effected by the opening of the railway through the Mont Cenis tunnel connecting Piedmont and Savoy. Telegraphic communication between England and Bombay was established in 1865 by the Indo-European telegraph through the Persian Gulf, and in 1870 a submarine cable was successfully laid from Falmouth to Bombay through the Suez Canal.

CHAPTER CXLI.

LORD MAYO'S VICEROYALTY.

SIR JOHN LAWRENCE was succeeded in the Governor-Generalship of India by the Earl of Mayo, who at the time of his appointment occupied the position of Chief Secretary for Ireland. Richard Southwell Bourke was born in Dublin on February 21st, 1822. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his degrees as Bachelor and Master of Arts in the regular course, and was created a Doctor of Laws in 1852. He was for a short time a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Lord Heytesbury while Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1847 he entered Parliament in the Conservative interest as one of the members for the county of Kildare, in which a large portion of the estates of the Bourkes is situated. He was member for Coleraine from 1852 to 1857, when he transferred his services to Cockermouth, which constituency he continued to represent until his removal to India. He was Chief Secretary for Ireland under Lord Derby's first administration from March to December, 1852, again under his second administration in 1858, and for a third time in 1866. He succeeded to the family honours in August, 1867.

After visits to Bombay, Puna, and Madras, Lord Mayo landed at Calcutta on January 12th, 1869. His courtly manners and splendid surroundings at once gained for the new

Viceroy an amount of popularity in Calcutta which he never entirely lost. His orders for direct weekly returns of the market rates in the several districts, and reports of the extent of the grain traffic on the main roads and over the principal rivers, showed that he was no friend to circumlocution, and his replies to addresses from various bodies gave good promise of governing energy, which was afterwards amply fulfilled. To the Chamber of Commerce he expressed a hope of pressing forward the construction of railways, irrigation works, and improved lines of telegraph; to the landholders he promised full consideration of the difficult questions connected with land; and the Trades Association were assured of his earnest desire to promote the most friendly feelings between the non-official class and those employed in the service of the State.

The first important event in Lord Mayo's reign was the visit to India of Sher Ali, Amir of Kabul, the reinstated heir to the throne of Dost Mohammad, to whom a most brilliant reception was accorded by the Viceroy at the grand durbar at Ambala (Umballa) on March 28th. On the 4th of that month the Amir entered Peshawar under a royal salute, and with an escort of two British regiments. He was much gratified by the

cordial welcome given to him, and was greatly surprised and pleased at the evidences of prosperity he witnessed on all sides. "The English," observed his Highness, "wherever they go, spread wealth and prosperity in their track. It cannot, in fact, be otherwise under their system of rule, where justice is tempered with mercy, and the welfare of the multitude is the prime object of Government." He showed much interest in the Armstrong gun, which he examined with the greatest minuteness. A portion of the submarine cable being shown to him, he expressed the utmost astonishment when its mechanism and uses were explained, and would scarcely credit the possibility of a message being conveyed from Peshawar to London within twenty-four hours. But an inspection of the troops and barracks filled him with wonder. Nothing could exceed, he said, the order, cleanliness, and comfort in which he found the troops, and the barracks he declared to be more magnificent and luxurious than any building in his kingdom, not excepting his own palace. On March 15th the Amir was escorted by the Lieutenant-Governor through a long line of troops over the bridge of boats, into the citadel of Lahor. Next day guest and host exchanged visits; on the 17th a day of sight-seeing was closed by a grand fête in the terraced gardens of Shalimar; and the 18th witnessed the grandest durbar ever seen by English eyes in Lahor. After a magnificent progress through Jallandar, the Amir arrived on the 24th at Ambala, where he was entertained by Sir William Mansfield, the Commander-in-Chief, pending the arrival of the Viceroy. Next day a grand review gave him an opportunity of studying the appearance and discipline of the troops. He repeatedly dwelt on their splendid appearance, their thorough discipline, and perfect equipment; but the guns, and the men who handled them, excited his greatest admiration. The Afghan blood of the war-worn Amir seems to have been stirred by what he saw. "There's nothing like fighting!" he exclaimed. "Look at the scene spread out like a beautiful garden, with those splendid guns for the flowers!" Lord Mayo arrived on the 27th, and his procession passed through a parade of troops, forming a street upwards of a mile in length from the railway station to his camp, our own soldiers being strengthened by a motley gathering of the retainers of Patiala, Jind, Nabha, and Kapurthala. In the afternoon the durbar was held. On the Amir's entrance Lord Mayo shook him by the hand, and led him to a seat on the dais on his right, while his son, a youth of nine years, was placed on another on the

left. The Viceroy then welcomed his guest in the following words:—"Amir Sher Ali Khan,—In the name of her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Sovereign of India, I bid you a hearty welcome, and express to you the sincere gratification that it gives me to receive you as the guest of the Queen. I trust that this visit may be the commencement of many years of amity between her Majesty and your Highness, and of mutual confidence and goodwill between the nations which her Majesty rules in India and all the subjects of your Highness." The Amir replied that he was overpowered by his reception, and that he would love the British Government all his life. After a conversation regarding railways, the army, guns, and horses, the trays with presents, valued at upwards of half a lakh of rupees, were brought in, and Lord Mayo, taking a sword with jewelled scabbard, girded it round the Amir's waist, remarking, "May you be victorious over your enemies, and with this defend your just rights!" The Amir replied that he would use it also against the enemies of the Queen of England. The Lieutenant-Governor then placed a string of gold and pearls round the neck of the Amir's son, and the durbar broke up. On the 29th the Viceroy returned his Highness's visit, when the Amir declared that he should never forget the kindness evinced towards him, and the tidings of the gorgeous honourable hospitality he had received from the British would ring throughout Afghanistan from one end to the other. He would consider his meeting with the Viceroy as the commencement of eternal amity between himself, his children, and his children's children, and the British. The British should always be his friends as far as lay with him. At the close of the conversation he presented his own sword to the Viceroy. A field-day of the troops and races followed, and the pageantry at Ambala came to an end on April 5th, when the Amir, laden with presents, set out on his homeward journey. For £120,000 a year and a few thousand muskets he had agreed to be the friend of our friends, and the enemy of our enemies. He had been formally recognised as Amir of Afghanistan, and his position there had been strengthened by the splendid reception he had received. The lessons he had learned were not forgotten by him after his return home.

A discussion in the House of Commons on the advances recently made by Russia in Central Asia gave Mr. Grant Duff an opportunity of declaring the policy of the Government with regard to Afghanistan. As to Sher Ali, a friend had said to him, "I am sorry

you have given that money to the Amir; you are only buying the air." If the transaction were to be looked upon as one of sale and purchase, his friend, he said, was quite right; but that was just what it was not. The Government did not dream of erecting Sher Ali into a bulwark against Russia, or against anybody else. Nature had planted bulwarks enough there, in all conscience. What was wanted was a quiet Afghanistan, just as they wanted a quiet Burmah. The Government wished to stimulate commerce round the whole of the land and sea frontier, and it did not at all suit to have one of their trade gates locked up by a burning house, the cellars of which were known to be full of highly explosive compounds. They wanted Sher Ali to be strong for the suppression of lawlessness, and rich, if possible, into the bargain. They wanted no assistance, except that which a civilised government must always derive from being known to exercise a pacifying and semi-civilising influence around its own borders. The policy of the Government with reference to Central Asia might be thus summed up:—First, they desired to live on the best possible terms with all their neighbours. Secondly, they intend to strengthen in every possible way the north-western frontier; they intended to make, and were making, Karachi as good a port as modern engineering science could make it; they looked forward to the completion, at no very distant period, of the missing link of railway in the Indus valley; they were already pushing the railway on towards Peshawar. Thirdly, they meant to give every reasonable encouragement to the extension of trade with Central Asia, and the exploration of the countries to the north-west as well as to the north-east and east of our dominions. Lastly, they were firmly persuaded that if we could believe in the possibility of any danger from the side of Central Asia threatening us in India, our best protection lay in the good government of India.

"The Amir, on his return to Kabul, initiated English improvements with an amusing promptitude. He forbade his troops and the inhabitants to wear arms between ten P.M. and four A.M. He appointed night watchmen, and a judicial officer to hear petitions from the citizens; he established post-offices; he substituted cash payments for the old practice of paying the Government servants by assignments of land or revenue. He ordered the shoemakers of Kabul to sell off all their old stock, and to make boots according to the English pattern. He dressed himself in the English costume of coat and pantaloons, and directed his officers to do the same. He

organized a Council of State, composed of thirteen members, as a constitutional body for advising him in all departments of the administration. He remitted the more terrible forms of punishment, and pardoned several ancient enemies. In short, he did what in him lay to establish good government and win the confidence of his people. Rapid reforms, however, are often short-lived. The most promising of them—namely, the substitution of cash payments for assignments on the revenue—was so violently opposed by all the officials of Afghanistan, from the great *Sardars* downwards, that, so far as I can learn, it was never even introduced."*

The Amir soon began to show a partiality for his younger son, Abdulla Jan, whom he designated his successor. This was resented by his elder son, Yakub Khan, who had bravely fought his father's battles and helped him to the throne. Towards the close of 1870 he rebelled against his father, and fled from Kabul, determined to maintain his rights by the sword. After various intrigues and adventures he succeeded, in the first week of May, 1871, in defeating the Herat force which had come out to attack him, and taking the city. Yakub then marched upon Kandahar, but soon afterwards, through the good offices of Lord Mayo, Yakub was reconciled to his father, and was subsequently appointed to the government of the frontier province of Herat, bordering on Persia. Thus a flame was quenched which might have spread throughout a large part of Central Asia, and have caused us much loss both of material and moral power. It was observed by the *Times* that the lesson of the crisis in Afghanistan, the immediate danger of which seemed to have been averted, ought not to be missed. If Sher Ali had refused to consent to a compromise with Yakub Khan, we might have found ourselves in a somewhat difficult position. If the pledges given at the Ambala durbar meant anything, the Amir was justified in expecting aid from us against either foreign or domestic enemies. Had we refused, he would have naturally turned towards Persia and Russia. Had we agreed to help him, he would have been likely to involve us, so far as he could, in a contest for influence with these powers. These difficulties were fortunately evaded with the aid of Lord Mayo's peace-making diplomacy; but it would be rash to calculate again, as was done after Ambala, on the continued tranquillity of Afghanistan. It was, in fact, the possession of Herat by a chief whose intentions towards us were doubtful that gave interest to the intelligence of the Viceroy's mediation in

* Hunter's *Life of the Earl of Mayo*.

Afghan affairs. Herat, "the key of India," has always been jealously watched by Anglo-Indian statesmen, and when Persia seized it in 1356 we engaged in war to restore it to independence. Its possession opens the path for a hostile army across the Afghan plateau to the Bolan Pass, the least defensible point of our north-western frontier. It is, therefore, imperative for us, if we would avoid even the possibility of disaster, to guard against every chance of surprise.

The latter days of 1869 saw the commencement of a visit to India by H.R.H. Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, who arrived in his frigate *Galatea* at Calcutta on December 22nd, 1869. He was welcomed on shore by the Viceroy, attended by a splendid company. The progress from the river to Government House presented a pageant of unusual brilliancy even for Calcutta. Preceded by troops of cavalry and artillery rode the Viceroy and his royal guest, the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, the Commander-in-Chief, the members of Council, a select body of native chiefs, and a number of officers, civil and military. These were followed by the carriages of Lady Mayo, Lady Napier, and others, and behind all more cavalry and guns. The whole way was lined by a dense crowd of natives, and in the grounds of Government House, to heighten the show, stood a group of sixty elephants. Next day a loyal address was presented by the city, and a levee held, which was the largest ever seen in Government House. In the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated, and there was a grand display of fireworks, to witness which the Viceroy and the Duke rode through the principal streets of the English and native quarters. "When the fireworks had been let off, a mighty crescent of twinkling lights began to spread all round the edge of the vast Maidan from the public buildings near the river, along the palaces of Chowringhi, down to the cathedral. From the southern end of the Maidan the viceregal procession swept in carriages and on horseback along some four miles of lighted lamps, the lines of light that marked the ramparts and gateways of the fort flashing out on the left of the plain, while far away in front the Ochterlony column rose up like a pillar of fire. Through the native town the train was escorted by one hundred men bearing twelve-light candelabra." But this exhibition proved feeble compared with the display at the native fête at the Seven Tanks on the 28th. The ceremonies began by a Sanscrit address read by learned pundits. Then came nautches, wrestling-matches, dances with flaming torches, and the feats of jugglers, acrobats, and ex-

perts in sword-play. After supper followed the fireworks, at which both the Viceroy and the Prince repeatedly expressed their gratification. "There were elephants and giraffes, arches, temples, and towers in blue fire, silver fire, and fire of the colours of the rainbow. On the right a factory-like building flashed out through a drifting cloud of smoke, and was speedily matched by a similar structure on the left. There were glaring palm-trees, gorgeous revolving globes of light, roads lined with fountains of golden sparks, the great car of Juggernath. On the right a pyramid-like structure broke into a deafening cannonade, followed by a desperate musketry fire, but only to be outdone by a similar construction on the right, and between them it seemed as if a fiercely contested battle had suddenly been waged in honour of the guests of the evening. The delusion was kept up by the springing of various mines in all directions, each of which threw aloft a grand trioquet of many-coloured stars." Another striking feature of the Duke's reception was the Grand Chapter of the Star of India on the 30th, when the Prince was invested Grand Commander by the two senior Knights, Sindia and Jaipur. A fancy ball on January 1st proved a great success. On April 4th a ball given by the Duke on board the *Galatea* formed a fitting crown to the fortnight's festivities. The flush-deck of the ship was filled from stern to forecastle, a distance of nearly three hundred feet, by some nine hundred guests, native and European. With the aid of the official barges and a bridge of boats gaily illuminated with Chinese lanterns, the arrangements were perfect. The decorated canvas roof rose to a height of fifty feet, sufficient to allow of rows and candelabra of gas jets. Cool fountains played on the deck over coral and shells lighted up by coloured lamps, while mirrors at each end reflected the scene, which received an appropriate setting from the lines of sailors ranged along the forecastle and bulwarks. On the 7th the Duke went by train to Bardwan, whose Maharajah carried him off to Dewan Serai to engage in the sport of pig-sticking. After two falls the Duke succeeded in winning his first spear. Pig-sticking was exchanged for tiger-shooting at Benares between the 17th and 20th, after which the Prince proceeded to Agra, where the usual round of sight-seeing, pageants, and social gatherings was gone through. Leaving Agra on the 25th, he visited at Fathipur Sikri the ruins of the gorgeous pile of palaces which formed the favourite residence of the great Akbar. At Bhartpur he was received in state by its Maharajah, who took him off next morning on a shooting trip to Dig. After

more pig-sticking and tiger-hunting at Dig and Alwar, the Prince arrived at Delhi on February 25th, whence he proceeded to Lahor, where amongst others he was received by the Maharajah of Patiala, the Nawab of Bhawalpur, the Rajah of Jind, and the Rajah of Nabha, and was presented by the Maharajah of Cashmere with a magnificent shawl for the Queen. The next few days were taken up with ceremonial visits, balls, a parade at Meean Meer, an evening at the Shalimar Gardens, and a trip to Amritsar. On the 17th he reached Lucknow, where he was presented with a loyal address and a sword and shield by the talukdars of Oudh, "in token of heartfelt homage and devotion." After several days' sport in the jungles with Sir Jung Bahadur, the Prime Minister of Nepal, the Prince went on to Jabalpur to witness the opening of the through line of railway from Calcutta to Bombay, completed on March 7th, 1870.

Of the opening at Jabalpur the *Times* remarks, "It was not without reason that a British Prince and a British Viceroy repaired to Jabalpur for the occasion. The junction thus at last effected does as much for our Indian communications as the opening of the Suez Canal; indeed, the two enterprises combine directly with each other towards the same end. At least a quarter of a century has passed since the survey was made, almost without hope, for the Great Indian Peninsula line. It was then thought that the mountain range known as the Western Ghauts could never be traversed, and the unhealthy and almost impenetrable districts along the valley of the Nerbuddah presented obstacles scarcely less formidable. In fact, it was full ten years before the passage of the Ghauts was attempted, and seven more before it could be accomplished. Out of twenty-two millions of money expended on the line, two were consumed in getting over the hills; and yet even the hills, according to the account given by the chief engineer, were not so impracticable as the valley beyond. Except for a short period of the year, no Government officer ever ventured into the jungles where engineers, contractors, and operatives lived and laboured till this work was done. It is now, however, completed. On the 7th of March Lord Mayo drove the last 'key' into the line, and the great achievement to which the promoters of railway enterprise in India looked forward as the culminating point of their exertions has been at length accomplished. It was observed in one of the speeches delivered on the occasion, that now, for the first time in Indian history, a Viceroy had been enabled to see something of those Central Provinces of cur

Indian Empire; but this result, it should in justice be added, was not wholly due to the opening of the railway. A less active Governor-General might have spared himself so early a visit; but Lord Mayo's rule has been signalised throughout by these displays of personal energy. A few days before this he had been in the cotton districts, investigating all the conditions of that important industry, and conferring directly with the Commissioners in charge, and the merchants and planters on the spot. He opened a short branch railway between the trunk line and a noted cotton mart, which had unfortunately been left out of the track. He visited the coal-fields of Chanda, and to his personal inquiries and the impulse he gave to the exploration we shall owe the resources of mines as productive as those of Bardwan. It is something—perhaps it is more than we can imagine—to have the ruler of a country like India thus brought into personal contact with local officers whose labours might otherwise meet with very imperfect appreciation. The advantage was freely acknowledged by all the officials at Jabalpur; but of course a Governor-General of India can do with comparative ease in the present day what would have been hardly possible thirty years ago. . . . A single sea voyage from Southampton to Bombay, and a single railway journey from Bombay to Calcutta, will now carry a traveller to the metropolis of India without trouble or fatigue. What the Peninsula line may do for Bombay itself it would be difficult to conjecture. The Governor of the presidency, who was among the guests at Jabalpur, confessed himself 'elated at the magnificent prospects' thus opened to his view; and, indeed, the magnitude of its future commerce can hardly be measured. All 'the untold wealth of districts and provinces long separated by great distances' will now be poured into the chief port of the West, and if there is any difficulty attending exports from India, it will no longer be from want of communications."

On the 11th the Prince arrived at Bombay, and was received by a brilliant crowd of notables, English and native, chief among the latter being the Gaikwar of Baroda, the Rajah of Kolhapur, the Rao of Katch (Cutch), Meer Ali Morad of Khairpur, the Sultan of Lahej, and the Nawab of Junaghur. During his visit a fête was held among the famous Caves of Elephanta. "The great stone figures of Shiva and his fellow-gods, beaming in the light of hundreds of candles, looked down upon long tables loaded with sumptuous fare, and lined by two hundred and forty feasting Britons, for whose further enjoyment bonfires presently blazed on all the heights, and every

vessel in the bay traced itself against the sky in lines of light. Sailors with lights in their hands stood up from a street of boats some three miles long. Arches of fire spanned the entrance of the Apollo Bunder. On the Prince's way home in the Governor's yacht, 'the air was alive with rockets, and the sea a sheet of flame.' The Prince also visited Khandalla, and inspected the great engineering works at the Bhore Ghaut. On the 17th he laid the first stone of a new Sailors' Home as a memorial of his visit, to which the Gaikwar of Baroda contributed the munificent sum of £20,000. As another memorial of the visit, £10,000 was offered by the Hon. A. D. Sassoon as a contribution towards the building of a High School.

Madras was reached by the Prince on March 22nd. On his route from the railway station to Government House, the most striking sight was an array of nine thousand school children drawn up round the statue of Sir Thomas Munro, in the centre of the island—a spectacle that could not fail to be suggestive of the great educational revolution in progress among the native population of the presidency. During the Prince's five days' sojourn in the city the usual visits, balls, &c., were gone through, and a great native entertainment proved eminently successful. The Prince sailed for Ceylon on the 27th. In the following letter from Colombo Roads Prince Alfred gracefully and gratefully acknowledged the pleasure he received and the kindness and loyalty shown towards him during his visit to India:—

“H.M.S. *Galatea*, Colombo Roads, *April 7th*.

“MY DEAR LORD MAYO,—Now that my visit to India is a thing of the past, I should be sadly wanting in gratitude if I did not ask you to let me take this last opportunity, before my ship has left these waters, to thank your Excellency and every one whose guest I have been, as well as all the people of the districts through which I have passed, for the unvarying hospitality and welcome I received in India. In answering the numerous addresses presented to me from time to time, I have expressed this feeling in all truth and sincerity; but I think that they who have done so much for me have almost a right to expect some less formal expression of thanks than that which I have used in replying to official addresses. If you should, then, think proper to make this letter public, you are at perfect liberty to do so. When I returned to England two years ago, the Queen was pleased to grant a request that I had made long before, and to confer upon me

an honour that I have coveted for years—that of being the first member of the royal family to visit India. During the fourteen months that elapsed between my departure from Plymouth and my arrival in the Hugli I looked forward with eagerness to India as the great object of my cruise. The anticipations of Oriental magnificence which were connected in my mind with the idea of India were more than realised. The imposing reception which greeted my arrival in Calcutta, and that still more splendid ceremony when I received from the Queen, through your hands, the insignia of the Star of India, far surpassed what I had expected, and formed together a grand and fitting commencement to that long series of displays that welcomed me to the great cities of Benares, Agra, Delhi, Lahor, and Lucknow, which I had the pleasure of visiting. It was a disappointment to me when I heard from you that the durbar which was to have been held at Agra could not take place; but I have since learned to appreciate your wise decision in that matter, and I am glad now that I have had better opportunities of making the acquaintance of the great Indian princes and chiefs, either in their own territories or in the immediate neighbourhood of them, than I could have had during the formalities of a state durbar.

“I heard it said that my visit to India occurred at an unfortunate time, owing to the financial difficulties under which the country was suffering, but which are now, I trust, in a fair way of being successfully surmounted. I do not take this view myself. Owing to your wise orders and advice, the expense to the public was reduced as much as possible, and I hope that my visit has been but little burdensome to the country. Still this has not affected the large sums of money that were so munificently spent by individuals in welcoming me. The example set by your Excellency at Calcutta was only too generally followed. Of that example I fear you will not let me speak; but this I must say, that the personal kindness which you showed me, and the splendid hospitality which you dispensed in my honour, were features in my visit which I can never forget.

“To each and all of those who, after I left your roof, received me as their guest I wish to return my warmest thanks. To the Indian princes who entertained me with characteristic magnificence I am no less grateful. I cannot forget the pleasant days I passed at Chukia, at Dig, and at Alwar, nor the princes who vied with each other in doing all they could to render my visit interesting and agreeable; nor can I forget the munificent hospitality

shown me in the Nepal territories. To the British and native gentlemen who gave so many entertainments in my honour I return my grateful acknowledgments. I am convinced that they were all animated with the same wish—to do honour to their sovereign's son, and to testify in some substantial form the loyal affection with which they regard the Queen's family. Nor could I help being touched by the eagerness which the great mass of the people displayed to see me and to welcome me. Every class and sect alike manifested their loyalty for her Majesty by the reception they gave her son; and that reception, and the sentiments which prompted it, will more and more tend to strengthen the interest and affection with which the Queen regards her Indian subjects.

“The hurried character of my tour through the interior prevented me from obtaining more than a bird's-eye view of the principal parts of the country, but I have seen enough to awaken in myself a strong interest both in its past history and its present condition. I have seen many evidences of the anxiety which exists, not only among the British community, but among the more wealthy and influential of the native-born inhabitants, to raise and improve the moral and social condition of the poorer classes. The importance of the spread of education is gradually being understood, and in several instances I was highly gratified by the manner in which the communities of some cities desired to commemorate my visit—by the foundation of scholarships bearing my name, by the commencement of recreation-grounds for the use of the people, by endowing high schools, and at some of the seaports by contributing funds for the erection or improvement of sailors' homes. These laudable objects have been very materially, in some cases mainly, assisted by the munificence as well of private individuals as of some of the Indian princes, whose generosity is so well known to every one that it would be superfluous for me to mention their names here. That my visit has been instrumental in bringing about results such as these is one of the happiest reflections with which I shall look back to my brief stay in India.

“Some impression of the vast extent of our possessions in India I formed from the great distances that I traversed by railway. I am only doing justice to the excellent arrangements which were made by the railway authorities when I say that I have never travelled in greater comfort; and I owe it to the gentlemen who were intrusted with the arrangements of my transit from place to place, that I was enabled to fulfil with strict

punctuality, as well as with ease and convenience, the appointments I had made. Perhaps I was a little disappointed with the scenery of the great plains of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, but any disappointment I felt on this point was more than compensated by the pleasure with which I viewed the grand scenery of the hills and snowy ranges from Dehra and Mussuri. Some part of my short stay I was enabled to devote to field sports, and I hope I may be excused for saying that I enjoyed with all my heart the few days I could spare for this relaxation. Considering that I was quite a month too early, I think I was very fortunate to have obtained the good sport I did. I am very much beholden to the gentlemen who made the arrangements for my sporting excursions, and who enabled me to live in camp with all the comfort, and even luxury, I could possibly have desired. It has been my good fortune to make the acquaintance of many officers whose gallant deeds and chivalrous sense of duty entitle them to a place in the roll of Indian heroes, and of whose friendship I am proud. The story of their lives is not the least instructive among the lessons that have been brought to my notice in India. In these remarks I allude to members of the civil as well as the military branch of the service. Of both these I would say, in the words that your Excellency lately used on a public occasion—that nowhere is a sovereign served better or with more zeal than is the Queen by her servants in India.

“I was very much gratified with my visit to Bombay—a city which, from its great maritime importance, pre-eminently claims my attention as a sailor. My arrival there was happily timed at a period in her history which is unprecedented; for it happened almost contemporaneously with three great events, each of which has a direct bearing upon her future greatness. I allude to the completion of the railway communication between Eastern and Western India, the opening of the Suez Canal, and the laying of the submarine telegraph between Suez and Bombay. I trust that the bright hopes for the future which this happy concurrence of events is calculated to inspire will be amply realised, and I also hope that my kind friends in Bombay will sometimes remember that simultaneously with the dawn of their good fortune the son of their sovereign came among them, to assure them of the lively sympathy with which her Majesty regards them, and of the pleasure with which she will learn of their hopeful prospects. Madras, although heavily weighted in the race with her sister capitals by local disadvantages, welcomed me so warmly, entertained me with so much consideration,

and sped me on my way with such kind wishes, that I am glad it was chosen as the port for my re-embarkation. My reception there was a most gratifying and flattering culmination to a very interesting tour. The three months of my stay in India have passed only too rapidly and pleasantly away. I am laden with a debt of gratitude—a debt which I am proud to owe, but which I can never hope to repay. In all that concerns the welfare of India I shall ever take a deep interest, for I have learned to regard her people with affection. I am the glad bearer of a message from them to my mother which will give her unbounded satisfaction, for I have to tell her how enthusiastic has been my reception, how universal the affectionate loyalty which greeted me, and how it is for her sake alone that I have been thus welcomed to India—that my advent has been thus eagerly seized as an opportunity for expressing their sentiments of personal devotion to her Majesty, and of their heartfelt appreciation of the mildness and beneficence of her rule.

“I must now bid to the people of India an affectionate farewell. May God pour down his choicest blessings on the land! Believe me, my dear Lord Mayo, yours very truly, ALFRED.”

Of the effects of Prince Alfred's visit to India the *Madras Mail* thus wrote:—

“We regard his tour through India as a stroke of policy that cannot but yield good fruit. It has served to assure the incredulous natives that the Queen is not a mere abstraction, as was John Company. It has brought them face to face with an English Prince who has a thoroughly English look. It has afforded them the opportunity of entertaining him after their own fashion, and being entertained after ours. It has been the means of congregating in the presidency towns chiefs who can gain nothing but advantage from association with men and manners in the principal city of their part of India. It has thereby assisted to modify prejudice, to increase knowledge, and to bring native rulers, who have the destinies of thousands under their control, into more friendly intercourse with the higher European officers in the land. Such princely gatherings in honour of an English Prince cannot be soon obliterated from the memories of the masses of people who have taken a more or less deep interest in the festivities in the latter's honour. India has been moved in the last three months by a royal progress as she never was moved before, and she has proved herself equal to the grand occasion beyond the highest expectations that may have been formed of her. The natives have shown in every town visited by him a

demonstrativeness rather foreign to their ordinary habits. They have spared neither expense nor time nor labour in endeavouring to do him, and the throne that he represents, honour, and their efforts fitly culminated in an exclusively native entertainment in Madras that speaks volumes for the enterprise of the local native community. And on his side the Prince has been amiable, courteous, and dignified, meriting by all the means in his power the innumerable tributes of loyalty which he has received. His is the first visit of a Prince of England to this ancient land. Should it prove the last for some years, the recollection of the event will the less soon fade from the memories of us all.”

On February 13th, 1869, a party of Bazutis surprised a police watch-tower near Kohat, killing one of its occupants, and carrying off three others in the hope of their being ransomed. To avenge this outrage, Lieutenant-Colonel Keyes and Captain Cavagnari, officiating Deputy Commissioner, with 400 men of the Kohat garrison, made a rapid raid into the hills, destroyed the nearest village, killing a good many of the people, burning their grain, and carrying off their cattle. The troops returned to Kohat next day, having sustained a loss of 2 killed and 35 wounded. In order to create a diversion in favour of the column from Kohat, a force of 1,500 marched on the 26th from Peshawar to Fort Mackeson, and struck into the hills in the direction of Kohat. After a few miles' march into the interior, which had the effect of keeping back several hundreds from collecting on the skirts of Colonel Keyes' detachment, this force returned to Peshawar without molestation. In the following month Colonel Keyes and Captain Cavagnari were compelled to make another little foray among the hills near Kohat, to punish the Wuziris for an attack on the village of Thull. The attack was repulsed by the villagers, but the raiders succeeded in carrying off a thousand head of cattle and sheep. The object of the expedition was, however, accomplished without fighting, for the Wuziris preferred to submit rather than see the destruction of their valuable crops, which were now nearly ripe. They agreed to pay an immediate fine of Rs. 2,000, to surrender as many head of cattle as they could get together, and to send in two hostages for the payment within a month of Rs. 6,000 as compensation for the unreturned cattle.

His Highness Afzul-ood-Dowlah, the Nizam of Haidarabad, died on February 26th, 1869. Notwithstanding the fact that, at the very moment of his installation as sovereign, Delhi had fallen again to the ancient Mogul line, of

which the Nizams were originally but deputies, his Highness remained firm in his fidelity to the British Government throughout the mutiny, being upheld in this wise policy by his sagacious counsellor, Sir Salar Jung. His services were promptly acknowledged. In February, 1859, the Governor-General thanked him for the zeal and constancy with which he had adhered to the long-established friendship between the two Governments. He afterwards received handsome presents and grants of land, and in 1861 was admitted to the highest rank of the Order of the Star of India. Since the mutiny the Nizam had given himself up to a life of indolent seclusion. On his death his heir, a child three years of age, was at once proclaimed by the Resident.

On March 2nd, 1869, died Field-Marshal Viscount Gough, formerly Commander-in-Chief of the forces in India. Born in 1779, he entered the army in 1794, and after serving at the Cape of Good Hope and in the West Indies, he joined the troops under Wellington in the Spanish Peninsula in 1809. He greatly distinguished himself during the war, and was the first officer who ever received brevet rank for services performed in the field at the head of a regiment. After his return to England at the end of the war, he was appointed to the command of the 22nd Foot, then stationed in the south of Ireland, where he also discharged the duties of a magistrate during a period of great excitement and disturbance. In 1830 he took the command of the Mysore division of the army in India, and in 1841 his services were transferred to China. (See vol. ii. chap. cxvii.) On the withdrawal of the troops at the conclusion of the Treaty of Nankin, in 1842, Gough was created a baronet, was invested with the Grand Cross of the Bath, and received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament and of the East India Company. In August, 1843, Sir Hugh Gough was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in India, where he well sustained the reputation he had earned in the West Indies, the Peninsula, and China. (See vol. ii. chaps. cxviii.—cxxi.) On Gough's return to England, after the annexation of the Punjab, he was made a viscount, and again received the thanks of Parliament, with a pension of £2,000 a year for himself and his next two successors in the peerage. A corresponding pension was conferred on him by the East India Company, and the City of London gave him its freedom. After this Viscount Gough was not again engaged in active service, but he was not forgotten by his country. He was appointed colonel of the 60th Rifles in 1854, and in the

following year he succeeded Lord Raglan as colonel of the Royal Horse Guards. In 1856 he was sent to the Crimea to represent her Majesty on the occasion of the investiture of Marshal Pelissier and a number of French and English officers with the insignia of the Bath. In 1857 he was installed a Knight of the Order of St. Patrick, being the first knight who did not hold an Irish peerage. In 1859 he was sworn a privy-councillor, in 1861 he was nominated Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India, and in 1862 he received the latest reward of a long life spent in the service of his country in the shape of a field-marshal's *bâton*.

Towards the middle of 1869 Lower Bengal was visited by two cyclones within twenty-four days—the first on May 16th, and the second on June 8th. The former passed to the east of Calcutta, and burst with full violence upon Dacca. This cyclone blew from east-south-east, veering round to east-north-east, and finally, as its force began to diminish, to south-east and south-south-east. Immense damage was done to the town and to the boats on the river, and at Kulnah and among the Sunderbunds the storm was very severe. It was remarked that the waters of the storm-wave, which in the preceding cyclone were quite fresh and sweet, were on this occasion very brackish, and also that no thunder was heard. Several thousands are said to have lost their lives. The second cyclone raged for twenty-four hours over Calcutta and the neighbouring country, but, fortunately for the city, the centre of the storm passed outside it on the east, and the damage done was comparatively small, though hundreds of huts and small trees were levelled with the ground, and at least a hundred cargo boats went down on the river.

During 1869 the progress of Russia towards the Punjab frontier was viewed with apprehension both in India and in England, and negotiations were opened with Russia by both the Indian and Home Governments. In November Lord Mayo dispatched to St. Petersburg Mr. Douglas Forsyth, Commissioner of Jallandar in the Punjab, and an understanding was come to with Russia that the northern boundaries of Afghanistan should include all the territories then in possession of the Amir up to the river Oxus, which the Amir was not to cross, nor was he to interfere in the affairs of Bokhara. The British Government were to see that this arrangement was adhered to by the Amir, and Russia was not to interfere with Afghanistan. A few years later Russia acknowledged Wakhan and Bandakshan as subject to the Amir (1873). While at St. Petersburg Mr. Forsyth induced the Russian

Finance Minister to agree to a uniform tariff of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* on Indian goods imported into Russian Turkistan, and to a tax of fourpence halfpenny per pound on Indian tea. This concession proved a real boon to the tea-planters of Kangra and Kemaon.

In the same year, also, Persian encroachments on Afghanistan demanded Lord Mayo's attention. Respecting these he thus wrote to the Home Government: "It is for the best interests of all the states concerned that steps should be taken to define the eastern boundaries of the Persian Empire. The condition of things that has existed for some years past can only serve to engender irritation and alarm, and to afford Persia, and possibly to other powers, a pretext for encroachments and interference with the affairs of countries over which they have no right to exercise control. Nor can such pretensions be regarded with indifference by the British Government in the East, whose aim it is to see independent and friendly powers established between its own frontiers and the regions of Central Asia." Again: "We believe that the establishment by Persia of a frontier conterminous with that of the British Empire in India would be an event most deeply to be deplored. If, without objection or effort on our part, a great power like Persia should ever absorb the regions lying between Sind and the Mekran, desert and inhospitable though they may be, the safe and prudent policy which we deem essential to British interests would be rudely terminated." Lord Mayo maintained that it was the interest of Persia, no less than of India, "that she should enter into negotiations with her Majesty's Government for the purpose of effecting such a settlement of her eastern boundary as will prevent for the future aggressions on the part of her local governors, like those which have lately occurred." Again he wrote, "We feel assured that no measures will avail until her Majesty's Government deal firmly and decidedly with the Shah, and once for all put an end to the continued disputes as to territory, which form a subject of constant anxiety, and which every day's delay renders more grave and complicated." In April, 1870, the Shah agreed to submit the matter to arbitration. The Mekran, or Western Kilat (Khelat) boundary was settled by General Goldsmid in 1871, and the Sistan boundary in 1872.

Towards the close of March, 1870, an envoy from the Kushbegi or Ataligh Ghazi (Defender of the Faith) of Eastern Turkistan was received by Lord Mayo in Calcutta. Among other matters the envoy was instructed to request that a British officer might accom-

pany him, on his return, on a friendly visit to his master.

The previous year Yarkand and Kashgar had been visited independently by Messrs. Shaw and Hayward, the first Europeans who had penetrated to Yarkand, and been allowed to return from that country, since the days of Marco Polo. Mr. Shaw gave an interesting account of his visit in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society. The country is well cultivated, and contains flourishing cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants, where many of the arts of civilisation are carried on. Security of life and property exists, commerce is protected, the roads are full of life and movement, and markets are held on a fixed day of the week, even in the smallest villages. In the towns extensive bazaars, covered in against the rays of the sun, contain rows of shops, where goods of every kind and from every country are exhibited. In Yarkand alone there are sixty colleges, with endowments in land, for the education of students of Mussulman law and divinity, while every street contains a primary school attached to a mosque. There are special streets for the various trades. In one street will be found the silks of China, in another the cotton goods and prints of Russia, while a third will contain robes made of both materials, three or four of which make up the ordinary dress of the Turki inhabitants. In some streets all kinds of groceries are sold; others are set apart for the butchers, who offer a choice of horse-flesh, camel, beef, or mutton. The first is rather a luxury, but the last two are most abundant, selling at about one penny a pound. The bakers make most excellent light loaves by a process of steaming the bread. The greengrocers present abundant supplies of vegetables in great variety, besides cream nearly as thick as that of Devonshire, and delicious cream cheeses. Everywhere sherbet made of fruit is sold, which can be cooled at any street corner, where there are stalls for the sale of ice. There are tea-shops where the great urns are ever steaming, and eating-houses in abundance. Such is the manifold life of this little-known nation, living a life of its own, making history very fast, and looking upon European politics with the same indifference with which its own have been regarded by us. The population of the region is variously estimated at from twenty to sixty millions. The Andijanians occupy the chief places in the administration, and form the strength of the army; but they are looked upon by the native Yarkandis not as conquerors, but as brothers in faith and blood, who have delivered them from the yoke of unbelievers and

idolaters. The Yarkandis are naturally addicted to commerce and the arts of peace, while the Usbeks of Andijan find their most congenial occupation in administration and arms. Both peoples speak the same language, which is essentially that of the Turks of Constantinople. The whole region forms a vast elevated basin in Central Asia, about 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, surrounded on three sides by a wall of snow-covered mountains, reaching in many places an altitude of more than 20,000 feet. On the east it passes into the sandy desert of Gobi, which separates it from China. All the rivers which descend from the snows of the mountains, flowing eastward, are lost in the sands, and as there is little or no rain, the soil has to be fertilised by canals and irrigation. The beautiful cultivation and luxuriance of the thickly peopled parts are entirely due to these irrigating canals, which are very numerous and carefully kept. Mr. Shaw stated that the King himself superintended the works at a new canal while he was there, and even laboured at them himself. The country is separated from the plains of India by the mountain system of the Himalayas, an elevated bed 500 miles broad, with eleven more or less elevated parallel ridges of mountains lying along it. The most northerly of these ridges is styled Kuen-luen by the Chinese, but it is not a distinct chain from the rest of the mountains. Mr. Shaw made his journey with the view of opening trade, especially in tea, between India and Eastern Turkistan. The Ataligh Ghazi, Yakub Beg, the ruler of the country, impressed him as a man of remarkable intelligence and energy. Merchants from India were beginning to frequent Yarkand, and it only required the removal of a few obstacles in the hill countries subject to our own influence to open out a field for trade, of which it would be difficult to over-estimate the importance. The Ataligh was induced to sanction Mr. Shaw's scheme for establishing a trade in tea between Yarkand and Kangra, and a large caravan was about to leave for Cashmere in good time for the approaching fair at Peshawar. A correspondent of the *Pioneer* gives the following sketch of the Yarkandis who visited the Palampur fair of 1869:—"They are a very peculiar lot of fellows—pure Mussulmans. They look with the utmost contempt on the Mohammadans of India, and taunt them with being more than half Hindus. They hate the Hindus as they do poison; but they like the English, drink tea from our cups, and give us tea in theirs. I was staying with a friend at his tea plantation towards the end of last week. A lot of Yarkandis arrived, bringing

down tatoos for the fair. They came straight to the house, deposited their goods in the verandah, turned their ponies loose to graze, and then remarked, 'Our people say you treat us well, and buy all our goods, and in future we will trade with you.' They took a quantity of my friend's tea in part payment for the goods he purchased from them, abided by his decision as to price, and went away perfectly content with a cheque on his Bombay agent for the balance of the account—a bill they could not read, drawn by a man of whom they knew no more than that he was an Englishman." It will be seen from this extract that the Yarkandi merchants brought over merchandise, and not money, and expected to deal by barter. At Palampur fair the tea-planters were scarcely prepared to receive bales of silk, carpets, and general merchandise. This would probably right itself, however, as intercourse became more free. Next to tea, English calicoes are chiefly sought for by the Yarkandis, who also purchase spices, indigo, and other tropical productions. But their wants are not confined to these few things. Being fond of comforts and luxuries, and given to display, their wants are very numerous. In exchange for the articles supplied by the Indian merchant they can give such valuable productions as gold, silk, and shawl wool in unlimited quantities.

In compliance with the request of the Ataligh Ghazi, Lord Mayo selected Mr. Douglas Forsyth, Commissioner of Jallandar, in the Punjab, who had already done good service at St. Petersburg, to accompany the Ataligh's envoy on his return to Yarkand, and very minutely defined his powers and the objects of his journey. His instructions were "to go to Yarkand, the southern capital of Eastern Turkistan, on a merely friendly visit, with a view to obtaining information regarding the country, and removing the obstacles in the way of our already-existing trade with it. In no sense was the visit to be a mission, nor was it to have a diplomatic object. He was to abstain from taking part in any political questions, or in any internal disputes, further than repeating the general advice already given to the Ataligh's envoy by Lord Mayo, namely, that the Ataligh Ghazi would best consult the interests of his kingdom by a watchful, just, and vigorous government; by strengthening the defences of his frontier; and, above all, by not interfering in the political affairs of other states, or in the quarrels of chiefs or tribes that did not directly concern his own interests. Mr. Forsyth was to limit his stay in the country, so as to run no risk of finding the Himalayan passes closed by the winter's snow, and of thus being de-

tained in Yarkand till the following year. He was to collect full and trustworthy information concerning the nature and resources of Eastern Turkistan and the neighbouring countries, their past history, their present political condition, the Indian staples most in demand, their price in the Yarkand market, and the articles which could be most profitably brought to India in exchange.*

The following account of Mr. Forsyth's journey is compiled chiefly from a condensation of Mr. Forsyth's report in *Allen's Indian Mail*:—Mr. Forsyth left Jallandar on April 26th, 1870. His party took the road through Ladak and the Karakorum. Without waiting longer for "the loitering envoy," Mr. Forsyth and Dr. Henderson left Srinagar for Le on June 14th. Their journey was enlivened by the company of Kazi Sayad Mohammad Yakub, a brother-in-law of the Ataligh Ghazi, who had done the pilgrimage to Mecca, and spent four years at Constantinople. His influence with the Mohammadans everywhere was very great, and his subsequent presence with the party doubtless smoothed the way for their final departure homewards from Yarkand.

Arriving at Le on July 2nd—Mirza Shadi, the envoy, had joined him on the road—Mr. Forsyth did all he could to make sure of finding the Ataligh Ghazi at home before starting on the next stage of his journey. Rumours of disturbances in Kashgar had reached his ears, and a recent messenger from Yarkand was closely questioned. He denied that there were any disturbances, and his denial was strengthened by the Mirza's assurances that perfect peace prevailed throughout his master's dominions. Several of Mr. Forsyth's companions avowed their belief in the truth of these assurances, and Mr. Forsyth was thus encouraged to proceed. The party, increased by the arrival of Mr. Shaw, who had already visited Yarkand, set out for Le on July 7th, along a road which for twenty-seven marches passed through "completely uninhabited country." For seven of these marches "not a stick of fuel nor a blade of grass" was to be found. Unluckily "the loitering envoy" had burdened himself with a good deal of troublesome baggage, and the ponies supplied by the Cashmere Rajah's chief officer at Ladak proved wretchedly unequal to the work before them.

In crossing the Karakorum range Mr. Forsyth found no difficulty in breathing below a level of 16,000 feet above the sea. At any height above that level a good breath "was a luxury seldom enjoyed." During the ten or twelve days spent in the higher levels the feeling of nausea and exhaustion never left

* Hunter's *Life of the Earl of Mayo*.

him. Not a trace of snow relieved the brown barrenness of the mountain-side, and the patches of coarse yellow grass were few and far between. Descending the northern side by gradual slopes, the party issued out of a stony ravine into the wide Chang Chenmu valley, itself 16,000 feet above the sea. This valley, "bare and gravelly, with plateaux ranging tier above tier," is hemmed in with rocky mountains 19,000 feet high, and threaded by the Karabash, which flows turbidly through many deep and rapid channels. A few tamarisk bushes by the river-side were all the signs of vegetable life to be seen. Beyond Gogra, at the head of the valley, the Maharajah's authority came to an end, and the last tokens of Buddhist worship disappeared.

Still deluded by false reports about the peaceful state of Eastern Turkistan, Mr. Forsyth marched forward, with frequent loss of baggage cattle, and much suffering from the hot sun by day and the piercing cold at night. On the wild Thal dat plain were quantities of topaz; which glittered like diamonds in the sun. Another plain was "one vast bed of Glauber's salt," which formed everywhere a crust from six to twelve inches thick. The glare from this sheet of soda was as bad as that from snow, and the fine dust from it filled the eyes, mouth, and nostrils. When the wind rises, the dust storms on this plain are fatal to animal life. Another march brought the party, on July 28th, to the main stream of the Karabash, which flows along the foot of the snow-clad Kuen-luen range. At Shadula they heard that the Ataligh Ghazi had been seven months absent from Yarkand on a warlike expedition, but was hastening back victorious to welcome his English guests. It was not till some days later that, on reaching Kichi Yilak, they learned the whole truth from some Indian traders homeward bound from Yarkand. Not only was the Ataligh still absent, but the time of his return was quite uncertain. To go forward, however, as Mirza Shadi pointed out to Mr. Forsyth, was now the only way of obtaining a safe return. A halt, therefore, took place, pending the receipt of letters from the head official at Yarkand. The party here struck up a friendly intercourse with a Kirghiz tribe, who greeted their old friend, Mr. Shaw, with every token of delight, and readily did everything they could to promote the comfort of their master's guests. Indeed, there was no lack of hospitality throughout the rest of the journey, on which they were escorted by an officer of rank. As they advanced the country became more populous and cultivated. A succession of hamlets, groves, and gardens, varied by fields of wheat, oats, hemp, and

Indian corn, brought them to Sanju, where the envoy, who had gone on before, regaled them with a dinner which, according to Mr. Forsyth, would have satisfied the most fastidious palate. After passing the great Desert of Gobi, which contains many fertile oases, they came within the jurisdiction of the Ataligh's vicegerent. At Khargalik they sat down to a splendid repast on chairs, which were the first ever made in Kashgar. From thence to Yarkand they passed through a fertile, prosperous, and well-governed land, with good roads and bridges, streams and canals, neat-looking houses, and well-kept mosques and serais. The lanes were shady with poplars, and willows lined the canals. In his subsequent rides round Yarkand Mr. Forsyth discovered everywhere the signs of peaceful active industry.

Yarkand was entered on August 23rd, and Mr. Forsyth took up his residence in the citadel, about seven hundred yards from the city. The latter covers an area of rather more than a square mile, with a population of about 40,000. The houses are built of sun-dried bricks, and the city walls are of mud, with crenellated battlements. In each of its one hundred and twenty wards there is "a school where the Koran is taught, and little else." Mr. Forsyth disbelieves in the sixty colleges, and was assured that in only three or four was anything like a good education given. Every means was tried to prevent the departure of Mr. Forsyth without special leave from the Ataligh, but he remained firm in his adherence to his instructions, and with the help of Kazi Mohammad Yakub the difficulty was overcome, Mr. Forsyth giving the vicegerent a certificate that his departure was his own act, and that the vicegerent had done nothing to facilitate it. A Punjabi trader having supplied the ponies which the vicegerent refused to procure, the party were enabled to turn their faces homeward on September 5th, after a most friendly parting with the Yarkandi officials.

Though Mr. Forsyth had failed to see the Ataligh, his expedition was not altogether without success. "In the first place," says Dr. Hunter, "he brought back all the necessary information regarding the most practical routes, the commercial capabilities, and the political resources of the country, its recent history, and the actual position of its ruler. . . . In the second place, his visit formed a public evidence of the friendly sentiments of the British power. But, in the third place, his departure conveyed a warning (without affording any just ground to the Ataligh for taking offence) that candid dealing is the only foundation for transacting business with her

Majesty's Indian Government; that assurances must accurately correspond with the facts; and that, when any English officer finds himself in a false position from their not doing so, he knows how, by a firm adherence to his orders, to break through the meshes which encircle him."*

While Mr. Forsyth was on his journey to Yarkand, Lord Mayo did away with the obstacles to transit across the Himalayas by a treaty concluded at Sialkot in June, 1870, with the Maharajah of Cashmere, who agreed to surrender all transit duties on the trade passing through his country, while the Indian Government remitted all the duty on goods passing in bond through India to Central Asia or Cashmere, besides surrendering the export duty on shawls and other textile fabrics from Cashmere. British surveyors were to examine the different routes from Lahoul to Yarkand, and whichever route leading to the Chang Chenmu should appear to be best suited for trading purposes was to be declared a free highway for all traders. Dr. Cayley and Bukshi Ram were to be armed as Joint Commissioners with full power to protect the growing trade, to settle all disputes, to establish depôts for food, forage, and carriage, and to fix the tariff of prices for all provisions sold. The trade is a lucrative one to certain classes in the Punjab, and since the removal of the political impediments from the trans-Himalayan route it has rapidly developed. In 1873 it amounted to £60,000. "Our merchants," says Dr. Hunter, "have found themselves respected and well treated throughout the distant dominions of the Ataligh Ghazi, and Eastern Turkistan has become a recognised and most profitable market for British goods. From Mr. Forsyth's expedition in 1870 dates the first appearance of the turning back of Russian commerce in Central Asia before the advancing tide of English enterprise. The Russians have the prescriptive hold of the trade, but the markets of Central Asia are large enough for us both; and every season has seen the Indian merchant more firmly established in Eastern Turkistan."†

Early in 1870 the arbitrary and tyrannical administration of Sidi Ibrahim Khan Yakub Khan, Nawab of Jinjira, a small state near Bombay, who is commonly called the Hubshi, gave rise to popular dissatisfaction, and a number of the Sidi sirdars, who claimed to have some power of interference in the government, set the authority of the Hubshi at defiance, and elected his son as Nawab. The deposed Hubshi at once preferred a request to the Government of Bombay for assistance, in

* *Life of the Earl of Mayo.*

† *Ibid.*

order to enable him to reinstate himself, and the British Government informed him that though they were quite willing to restore him, yet the restoration must be made subject to certain conditions, and after an inquiry regarding the relations that ought to subsist between the Nawab and the Sidi chiefs, and the causes which led to the dissatisfaction of the people. The inquiry was conducted by Mr. Havelock, a member of the Bombay Civil Service, and on his report the Government resolved to reinstate the Hubshi on certain conditions, which are stated in detail in a series of articles of agreement between the Government and the Nawab. A political officer was stationed at Jinjira, the advice of whom, as the representative of the British Government, the Hubshi agreed to follow, and the expenses of the Political Agency were to be defrayed by the Nawab. The criminal jurisdiction was taken out of the Nawab's hands, and vested in the Political Agent. According to the old favourite style of collecting the revenue in native states, Mr. Havelock in his report says that "there had been little scruple in employing arbitrary measures in case of delay or recusancy by cultivators, many of which it would probably be the duty of the Political Agent to whom the jurisdiction has been referred to check or even prohibit; and to protect the people from such arbitrary measures the Nawab agreed to draw up a code of rules for the guidance of his revenue officers, prescribing the mode of assessing and realising the revenue and of dealing with defaulters, and such rules when approved by Government were to be recognised as the only legal procedure. In order to provide against the son of the Hubshi rising into manhood in the semi-barbarous condition of his fathers, Government required that a tutor approved by it should be provided for the education of the young Nawab. These were the principal conditions imposed upon the chief."*

During the same year the condition of affairs in Alwar, a state in the north-east of Rajputana, called for Lord Mayo's interference. Indignant at the Maharajah's preference for Mussulman officers, and tired of his misrule, the thakurs and people rose against the prince, and demanded "either that each thakur may be made independent on his own estate and responsible to the Political Agent only, or that the Maharajah may be banished from Alwar, and the state placed under British management during his lifetime." If left to themselves, they would depose the Maharajah, and place his infant son in his stead. The leading features of his policy

* *Allen's Indian Mail*, from official papers.

towards feudatory states were thus enunciated by Lord Mayo:—"I believe that if in any feudatory state in India oppression, tyranny, corruption, wastefulness, and vice are found to be the leading characteristics of its administration, it is the imperative duty of the paramount power to interfere, and that we evade the responsibility which our position in India imposes upon us, and avoid the discharge of a manifest duty, if we allow the people of any race or class to be plundered and oppressed.

"On the other hand, I am equally of opinion that, should a well-disposed chief, while using his utmost endeavours to establish good government within his state be opposed by insubordinate petty barons, mutinous troops, or seditious classes of his subjects, it is then our duty to support his authority and power.

"Further, I believe that under no circumstances can we permit in any state in India the existence of civil war, and that on such an occasion as this it is plainly our duty to interfere, at first by every peaceful means which we have at our disposal; but that, in the event of arbitration and mediation failing, it will be our duty to stop by force of arms anything approaching to open hostilities between large classes of the people and their chiefs." Arbitration, however, was found to be too mild a remedy. "All attempts," wrote the Political Agent, "to effect a reconciliation between the chief and the thakurs having failed, the state having become bankrupt and the treasury empty, anarchy existing in every department, the most powerful portion of the subjects being in revolt, with more than half the state in their possession," Lord Mayo found it necessary to adopt a firmer course. He called upon the prince to name a board of management which would command the confidence of his people, but this the chief did not do, on which Lord Mayo himself ordered the creation of a native council, consisting of the principal nobility, with the British Political Agent as president, the Maharajah having a seat next to the president. Under the management of this council peace was soon re-established; schools were founded; the courts were reopened; and crime was repressed. Lord Mayo's final decision regarding the Alwar chief was thus expressed:—"The chief "is to be told that his duties as a ruler are not, as he seems to suppose, fulfilled by his abstaining from breach of his engagements with the British Government. That he has duties to his subjects, by the faithful fulfilment of which alone can his rule be secured. That Government are prepared to support and strengthen, by all lawful means,

the authority of every chief who labours to promote the welfare of his subjects, and to establish in his state public justice and public safety. But that the British Government will not tolerate, in any state of India, the continuance of a system of administration which, by its oppression, wastefulness, and disregard of the feelings and rights of the people, leads to open hostility between the people and their chief, and is dangerous to the general peace. He might be reminded that our interference was only decided on after patience and forbearance had been pushed to their limits. And he might be advised that he will best consult his own interests by ceasing vainly to hope that Government will be moved to recall the orders which have been issued, and by lending himself zealously to co-operation with his council."

"But this amendment," writes Dr. Hunter, "was not to be. The native council of management went on with its work of improvement and reform. The chief held himself sullenly aloof, and sank deeper into the slough until he died, a worn out old man of twenty-nine, in 1874."*

During October, 1870, Lord Mayo paid a visit to Rajputana. On the 11th he made his entry into Jaipur. The three miles from the city to the residency were lined with the Maharajah's troops, regular and irregular, dressed in a picturesque variety of uniforms, and armed with all kinds of weapons. The broad streets were ablaze with colour, from the painted house-fronts to the gay cloths that hung from the windows and screened the doorways. Housetops and windows were filled with spectators of both sexes, the women being always veiled. After the gold and silver sticks came a long line of camels, followed by the Rajah's mounted troops. Behind these rode the thakurs and nobles of Jaipur in all the splendour of jewelled turbans and gold-embroidered muslin robes; their large fat horses decked out in gorgeous trappings, with feathers on their heads, and gold necklaces of many folds. Last of all on a huge elephant sat the Viceroy and his host. After rather more than a week spent in durbars, visits to institutions, and to the Sambhar Lake, pig-sticking, and tiger-shooting, the Viceroy on the 20th arrived at Ajmir, the seat of British rule in Rajputana, his entry into which was even more magnificent than his reception at Jaipur. A long column of elephants, on which were seated his lordship and his staff, and a number of rajahs

gathered together in his honour, formed the chief feature of the procession. Each chief had his thousand of armed retainers, and a pretty large force of British soldiers and sepoys was mustered for the occasion.

In the durbar held at Ajmir on the 22nd Lord Mayo addressed the chiefs of Rajputana in the following characteristic speech:—

"Chiefs, Princes, and Nobles of Rajputana—I am much gratified by your presence here to-day. It is good to see assembled around the Viceroy of India the heads of so many of the most ancient houses of Rajputana. It is long since a Governor-General has met you in durbar within the walls of this old city; and since the Government of India has been placed directly under our Sovereign, no Viceroy has been able to come to Ajmir. But your welfare, and that of your people, have nevertheless ever been objects of the deepest interest to the British Government. Her Majesty the Queen regards with the utmost solicitude the well-being of all the inhabitants of Hindustan, whether they be chiefs or people, whether they are her Majesty's immediate subjects, or are ruled over by native princes.

"I, as the representative of the Queen, have come here to tell you, as you have often been told before, that the desire of her Majesty's Government is to secure to you, and to your successors, the full enjoyment of your ancient rights, and the exercise of all lawful customs, and to assist you in upholding the dignity and maintaining the authority which you and your fathers have for centuries exercised in this land.

"But, in order to enable us fully to carry into effect this our fixed resolve, we must receive from you hearty and cordial assistance. If we respect your rights and privileges, you should also respect the rights and regard the privileges of those who are placed beneath your care. If we support you in your power, we expect in return good government. We demand that everywhere throughout the length and breadth of Rajputana justice and order should prevail; that every man's property should be secure; that the traveller should come and go in safety; that the cultivator should enjoy the fruits of his labour, and the trader the produce of his commerce; that you should make roads, and undertake the construction of those works of irrigation which will improve the condition of the people, and swell the revenue of your states; that you should encourage education and provide for the relief of the sick.

"And now let me mention a project which I have much at heart. I desire much to invite your assistance to enable me to establish

* Hunter's *Life of the Earl of Mayo*, from which the materials for the above notice of Alwar have been taken.

at Ajmir a school or college, which should be devoted exclusively to the education of the sons of the chiefs, princes, and leading thakurs of Rajputana. It should be an institution suited to the position and rank of the boys for whose instruction it is intended, and such a system of teaching would be founded as would be best calculated to fit them for the important duties which in after life they would be called upon to discharge. It would not be possible on this occasion to describe minutely the different features of such an institution, but I hope to communicate with you shortly on the subject, and I trust you will favour and support an attempt to give to these classes of the youth of Rajputana instruction suitable to their high birth and position.

"Be assured that we ask you to do all this for no other object but your own benefit. If we wished you to remain weak, we would say, 'Be poor, and ignorant, and disorderly.' It is because we wish you to be strong that we desire to see you rich, instructed, and well governed. It is for such objects that the servants of the Queen rule in India; and Providence will ever sustain the rulers who govern for the people's good.

"I am here but for a time; the able and ardent officers who surround me will, at no distant period, return to their English homes; but the power which we represent will endure for ages. Hourly is this great empire brought nearer and nearer to the throne of our Queen. The steam-vessel and the railroad enable England year by year to enfold India in a closer embrace. But the coils she seeks to entwine around her are no iron fetters, but the golden chains of affection and peace. The hours of conquest are past; the age of improvement has begun.

"Chiefs and Princes, advance in the right way, and secure to your children's children and to future generations of your subjects the favouring protection of a power who only seeks your good."

The college was afterwards established, as was also another of similar character and object at Rajkot in Kattiawar, called the Rajkumar College, and both are now flourishing institutions, conducted on the principles of the great public schools in England, each pupil being a resident of the institution.

The durbar at Ajmir was marked by the refusal of the Maharajah of Jodhpur to be present, because he had not been allowed precedence over the Maharana of Udaipur (Oodeypore), the descendant of the oldest family in Rajputana, although he accepted his position on the left of the Governor-General's agent in the procession on entering Ajmir, and the Maharana took rank be-

fore him at the private visits, to which the Maharajah made no objection. For this "act of the gravest disrespect to the representatives of the Queen," and "an offence derogatory to his honour as a chief who had received distinguished marks of the royal favour," his Excellency was compelled to give public expression to his displeasure by refusing to visit the Maharajah, or to receive from him a salute as he passed the Jodhpur camp on his visit to the other princes, and by directing him at once to quit British territory without the honours usually shown to his exalted rank. He was further punished by having his salute reduced from seventeen to fifteen guns. The Maharajah appears to have absented himself from the durbar in order to show his resentment of the severe rebukes he had received for his maladministration. When he ascended the throne, according to Colonel Brooke, the Maharajah Tukht Singh was energetic and attentive to business, but he was also suspicious and vacillating, gave way to indulgence in spirituous liquors, and passed much of his time in the zenana. In 1867-68 "the country was drifting into a helpless state of weakness and misrule." No public business was transacted, and there were dissensions in the Maharajah's family. "The Maharajah shut himself up in his zenana, and was accessible only to slave-girls and eunuchs, who monopolized all influence, and through whom only could messages reach the royal ears. The revenues were either squandered by unworthy favourites or else hoarded in the palace. Outside, a system of plunder and oppression prevailed, and there was not even the semblance of justice. No crime was punished, and no check was placed on bribery, peculation, or extortion, whilst the humane character of the Maharajah much increased the evil." The disorder in the state rose to the pitch of insurrection, and the British were compelled to step in to restore peace and order. Colonel Brooke reports that this was accomplished after long negotiations, and an agreement was concluded, "to remain in force four years, unless in the meantime a continuance of misrule, or the weakness of the Marwar administration should force the Government of India to active interference." Writing in June, 1868, Colonel Brooke says that the Maharajah had failed to carry out some of its provisions. He had undertaken to provide the "ministry" with fifteen lakhs, but he had only paid over eight and a half. But some improvement had been effected. "The Maharajah is now strong and robust in health, and, instead of shutting himself up in his private apartments, devotes several hours daily to public business. I do not despair of

his recovering some of the promptitude and energy he at first exhibited. Sincerely loyal in his feelings to the British Government, courteous in address, and hospitable and kind in all his relations, for a time the Maharajah was led by bad advisers to disregard the advice of the political officers deputed to his court. The shock which his government has sustained has shown him that his chief dependence must be on the support of the British Government, and he has now thrown aside all idea of acting in opposition to its wishes."

A notable event of the year 1870 was the visit paid to England by Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen, the disciple and successor of Rammohun Roy, as head of the Brahmo Somaj, or pure Theists or Unitarians of India. The Brahmo Somaj was founded in 1830 by Rammohun Roy. After his death in 1833 the new sect made little progress till 1842, when Debendranath Tagore drew up a creed for it, which embraced belief in one perfect and personal God, in the immortality of the soul, and in the power of prayer and repentance. Though the Vedantic philosophy was now completely disowned as a rule of faith by the Brahmoists, they still clung to an outward show of Hinduism. In 1859 the Somaj was joined by the Keshub Chunder Sen, who, full of zeal, learning, and eloquence, attacked the old Brahmin usages, and under his leadership a new form of Brahmoism was thrown off from the Calcutta Somaj. The "Brahmo Somaj of India," as it is called, broke away from the last and strongest of old Brahmin traditions. The Gospel henceforth was to be preached to the Gentiles. There is no difference between Brahmin and Sudra in matters of common worship. All are made equal by saving faith in God, and all that is good is attainable by prayer, repentance, and earnest striving after moral perfection. The Brahmo Somaj accepts the general teaching of the New Testament, that is to say, the Christian ethics without the Christian theology. It knows of no revelation but that which comes from within. Its only idea of atonement is based on repentance and amendment: 'the true salvation is deliverance from sin.' As to the character of its worship, Miss Collet says in the *Contemporary Review* of February, 1870, "Services four hours long, and religious exercises lasting almost through a whole day, are not infrequent, and the chanting of hymns seems to raise the worshippers into a sort of ecstasy." Their leader, indeed, has had to warn them against the danger of sinking into "mere spiritual voluptuaries," through over-indulgence in pious emotions.

Keshub Chunder Sen was well received in

England by clergymen and laymen of almost all religious denominations, and notably so at a great meeting in London, at which the Dean of Westminster moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting, composed of members of nearly all Protestant Churches, offers a hearty welcome to Keshub Chunder Sen, the distinguished religious reformer of India, and assures him and his fellow-labourers of its sympathy with them in their great and praiseworthy work of abolishing idolatry, breaking down caste, and diffusing a higher moral and intellectual life among the people of that vast empire." On his return to Bombay, Keshub Chunder Sen delivered an address relative to his impressions of England and its people. He stated that his object in undertaking his journey was to give to the British public a true and impartial account of the wants of the natives of India. He fearlessly and boldly laid before them facts as to the way in which they are treated by Europeans. From even the little experience he gained there he was satisfied that his mission was attended with success. He believed that all that he said made a deep impression on their minds, and now it was the duty of the natives of India to reciprocate the sympathy which they expressed in the welfare of India and its people. Everywhere he received treatment the most enthusiastic, kind, and truly fraternal, and whenever he laid bare the faults of British administration he always received encouragement, and he was always cheered loudly. This showed that the British public were alive to their duty towards India, and that a real interest was being created in the hearts of all generous and true Britons in the regeneration of India, its countrymen and countrywomen. The gracious sovereign who sits on the throne of Great Britain, and who had been since 1858 Empress of India, assured him, in an interview he had with her Majesty, that she felt a deep interest in the people of India, especially in her daughters, and that she would always strive to ameliorate their condition. After recounting the various traits in the English character, he said that a heavy burden lay on the head of every educated native of India, who must be now equal to the crisis, who must not lie down like a slug-gard, but seeing intelligence diffused on every side, should take advantage of the time, cast off idolatry and bigotry in all their horrid shapes, cast off the prejudices of caste, and keep pace with the current of progress—progress mental, moral, and spiritual. And let his motto be "Onward, forward, and heavenward."

In June, 1870, a tribe of Wuziris called the Mohammad Kheyl, who for some years

had squatted peacefully close to the cantonments within the British boundaries without exhibiting any signs of hostility, waylaid a small relief party of the Punjab frontier force proceeding from Edwardesabad to an outpost called Kurum, and cut them up almost to a man, six being killed on the spot, and nearly all the rest wounded. The Wuziris made good their escape after despoiling the slain of their weapons. Soon after, Captain Maclean with the 1st Punjab Cavalry arrived on the spot and crossed the frontier in pursuit, and a strong party went up the pass for about five miles without seeing an enemy. It seems that the tribe had a few imaginary grievances against the Government, and all of a sudden they sold off their cattle and retired to the hills. On this the frontier posts were put on the alert, but no one was prepared for so sudden and so bold a stroke. On July 4th about a hundred and fifty of them were chased by a body of our troopers near the Kurum, and a party of infantry coming up dislodged them from their place of shelter; but they only fell back to another post, whence on the approach of a larger force they finally retired to the hills. Again in August these Wuziris, as if bent on provoking the Government to extremities against them, carried off several head of cattle, and destroyed a dam which diverted water from the Kurum for the supply of a British outpost. On the appearance of some cavalry and infantry they, as usual, retreated among the hills after making a slight show of resistance.

The year 1870 was remarkable for the deaths of natives of rank and note. In Rajah Deo Narain Singh of Benares the British lost a loyal and powerful friend in need. Two native Hindu princes, the Rajah of Kapurthala and the Rajah of Kolhapur were carried off by a strange fatality—the former dying on his way to England, the latter at Florence on his way home to Bombay. They were the first two Hindus of high rank who had dared to cross the “dark water,” in defiance of old traditional rules. The one died in the fulness of honours received for loyal service to India—the other in the first years of a promising manhood. The death of the Gaikwar of Baroda removed a prince whose loyalty was tempered with a good deal of self-will and more of vicious self-indulgence.

The obituary of 1870 also includes the name of Mr. J. W. Wyllie, the young and gifted Foreign Secretary of Sir John Lawrence, who died at Paris on March 15th. “Mr. Wyllie,” says the *Daily Telegraph*, “was a worthy representative—in character, abilities, and high fidelity to duty—of that

Civil Service of India of which this country has reason to be so proud. He was an Oxford man, and one of the first to enter that honourable and responsible service by the gateway of intellectual competition. The system of selecting these young governors of India by trial of their mental capacity could have had no more conspicuous vindication than Mr. Wyllie’s career afforded. Transferred from the Bombay Presidency to that of Bengal—on account of his well-proved powers of administration—he became, at the age when many at home have scarcely laid aside the frivolous pursuits of youth, Under Secretary, and afterwards Chief Secretary in the Foreign Department of the Viceregal Government. In that eminently difficult and hard-worked position he conducted most important and delicate correspondence; and we may mention the Oudh question, the comparison of native and British administrations, and the Central Asian problem, as examples of the imperial work which was largely committed to his young hands. He was nominated Companion of the Star of India, and returned to this country a short time before the last election, desiring to exchange the political field of the East for that of the West. Having stood for Hereford, he was elected against a high-placed legal officer of the Conservative Government, but, upon petition, he was unseated. Even his opponents—enemies he had none—knew and acknowledged that Mr. Wyllie was perfectly innocent of any corrupt practices in the borough; while those who were his friends, including some of the highest names in our Indian annals, would have answered for young John Wyllie’s honour as for their own. There can be no doubt, in spite of this disappointment, that he would have attained at home to a very high rank in politics and literature, as all, indeed, may judge who have perused his most masterly papers in the *Fortnightly Review* upon our Central Asian policy. His work was done however, and his wages were due! The ink of that able and far-seeing article was hardly dry—we were ourselves about to discuss the problem in friendly controversy with him—when a passing attack became grave and then fatal, and the youthful statesman breathed his last. The loss of such a man is a common sorrow; and to the admiration and respect which his great qualities aroused in those who knew him publicly is added, on the part of a wide circle of friends, a most tender and faithful recollection, which will keep his name embalmed in their minds as that of a ‘stainless knight and spotless gentleman.’”

The year 1871 opened with the untimely

death of Sir Henry Durand, whose long and valuable services had only seven months before been rewarded by his promotion to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab in the room of Sir Donald Macleod. On the last day of 1870 Sir Henry, who for some weeks had been travelling through his province inspecting the frontier posts, proceeded to visit the outpost, garden, and town of Tank. Having inspected the outpost on foot, he went on an elephant, in a howdah, with the Nawab of Tank, to the entrance of the town. As he passed under the archway the howdah, which was too high, was crushed, and Sir Henry, thrown out, fell violently to the ground upon his face. The Nawab escaped with a broken rib and some other injuries, but Sir Henry's neck was broken, and he died next evening. He was buried at Dera Ismail Khan with all the honours due to his position, many of the native chiefs being fitly represented in the procession that followed. Sir Henry passed through Addiscombe into the Bengal Engineers in 1828. He became lieutenant in 1835, and accompanied the army under General Sir John Keane during the Afghan campaign of 1839, and was one of the party who blew in the gate of Ghuzni. In 1842 he became private secretary to Lord Ellenborough. He served in the Gwalior campaign of 1843-44, and was present at the battle of Maharajpur. He also served in the Punjab campaign of 1845-46, including the battles of Chillianwallah and Gujarat. Soon after, he was transferred to the Civil Service, and on the outbreak of the mutiny was Political Agent at Indor. At this crisis he drove back Tantia Topi, and saved Southern India. After his return to England on the suppression of the mutiny he sat for three years at the Council of the Secretary of State for India, generously resigning his seat in 1861 that it might be filled by Sir James Outram. Returning to India he became Foreign Secretary to Lord Canning, and afterwards Military Member of the Governor-General's Council, which post he retained until his promotion to the Government of the Punjab. He became Major-General in 1867, and in the same year a Knight of the Order of the Star of India. With his premature death the old Indian services lost one more of their finest ornaments, and India one of her ablest and most deserving statesmen. The Duke of Argyll, in expressing to the Governor-General the Government's regret at his loss, added, "The life of such a man is an example to the service." Sir Henry's death evoked throughout India a feeling of unmixed sorrow. In Calcutta, says the *Times* correspondent, "people speak as if they had lost a personal friend. He was so generous,

they say, so kind, as well as so brave and true. There are some who tell of him as a trenchant writer; others who knew him as a soldier, the bravest of the brave; others who remember him as a wise and skilful officer, as a commander prompt, daring, unhesitating, with a brain as cool as ice and a will as sharp as fire; others, again, who point to him as a commissioner, hunting out all manner of oppression and wrongdoing with a scathing power; others who recollect him in the Supreme Council, where he again and again made self-seeking and jobbery cower into the shade; but in all cases—in all the recollections that I have heard—there is a deep vein of sorrow, and in many cases an absolute outburst of grief." The *Friend of India* wrote of him, referring to an article which had appeared in its columns on his appointment to the Punjab: "In that article we follow from stage to stage all but the latter part of the unselfish career of Sir Henry Durand. We see him landing at Calcutta in 1830, the fellow-voyageur of Dr. Duff, another hero as dauntless and as pure. We see him again in 1870 as he declares, in all the simplicity of true genius—of that genius which fears God and has no other fear—that his work had been as nothing compared with that of his fellow-passenger. We see him again, four years after his first landing, at the head of a party of engineers, prosecuting valuable scientific investigations, opening the way to new studies; then contributing to the scientific reviews careful and thoughtful papers, in strong and nervous language, adding to human thought line on line, and fact on fact, till the time for action came; then blowing up the gate of Ghuzni; then telling as only such a man could tell the story of the Kabul war; then striving with wise against unwise counsel in Persia; then acting as Lord Ellenborough's private secretary, and 'never once seeking his own private ends, but sacrificing himself for others,' when 'he had such influence with the Governor-General that he had only to ask and he would have received;' then making all bad men his enemies and all good men his friends at Mulmein, striking with all his might—and what a might it was!—against all wrong, scorning to pander to it, or treat with it, or hold any terms with it, in high quarters or in low. That was Sir Henry Durand, and very appositely and forcibly indeed do the lines apply to him:—

'To reverence the king as if he were
Their conscience, and their conscience as their
king,
To teach the heathen and uphold the Christ,
To ride abroad redeeming human wrongs,
To speak no slander, no, nor listen to it,
To lead sweet lives in purest chastity.'

During the same month died two other eminent men, whose names will not be forgotten in Indian history—Sir William Denison and Sir Proby Cautley. Sir William Denison will be remembered for the service he rendered to India during the few weeks between the death of Lord Elgin and the arrival of Sir John Lawrence, when at a critical moment in the Sitana campaign, he, as acting Governor-General, saved India from an unpleasant crisis by converting the order of retreat into one of immediate advance. (See page 40.) A little less decision at the moment would have raised the whole of the Punjab in arms against the British power. Sir William entered the army in 1826, and became a Colonel in the Royal Engineers in 1860. In addition to his military scientific learning he possessed great administrative ability. He had occupied many high appointments in the colonies. He became Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land in 1846, and was subsequently Governor-General of New South Wales, and Governor of Madras from 1860 to 1866. The name of Sir Proby Cautley will always be linked with some of the great works accomplished under Lord Dalhousie. He was employed in the field in 1820 and 1821 in reducing numerous forts in Oudh. In 1825-26 he served at the siege of Bhartpur, and from 1831 to 1854 he was chiefly employed on engineering and scientific duties, such as the great Trigonometrical Survey and the construction of canals in Upper India. His greatest work was the Ganges Canal, which was opened in 1854. On his return to England he was made a K.C.B., and in 1858 he was selected to fill one of the new seats in the Indian Council. In 1860 he became Chairman of the Public Works Committee in that Council, and with true Anglo-Indian appetite for work he discharged his duties with unflinching steadiness until failing health compelled him to retire into private life in 1860. To geological and palæontological science Colonel Cautley rendered valuable services during a long residence by the Sewalik Hills, for which he received the Woollaston gold medal from the Geological Society in 1837.

In the beginning of 1871 peace on the north-eastern frontier was broken by bands of Kukis or Lushais, who spread havoc and dismay among the tea-planters of Cachar, slaying more than one Englishman and many natives, and carrying off among other prisoners an English child. The last notice we gave of a Lushai raid was that of the Kukis on the Chittagong frontier in February, 1860 (see p. 9). The chastisement afterwards inflicted on Ruttun Puea was followed by the

unconditional submission of that chief, who continued friendly, and the establishment of a chain of police posts, which kept the hill tracts north of the Kurnafuli free from raids. Turning now to the Cachar frontier, we find that the Lushai tribes north of the waterpent are divided apparently into two sets—the one living on the upper waters of the Dullessur, the other approached by the valley of the Sonai. "In 1862 (to pass over all previous outrages) Sukpial, a chief of the western section on the Dullessur, made a savage raid upon Hill Tipperah, and on villages lying on the south-east corner of Silhet. For four years desultory efforts were made by the local officers in Cachar to ascertain Sukpial's precise position, and to open communications with him. It was thought possible that he had not intended to attack British territory, and that he would on demand surrender the captives, and give pledges of his future good behaviour. Negotiation failing, police were, in 1866, got together for a punitive expedition; but the difficulty of penetrating to an uncertain goal through an unknown country led to its abandonment. The Lushais had clearly, so far, no cause to repent of their evil deeds. The policy of 1866 was not in this instance one of vigour, but years had been lost in tracing the offenders. In December, 1868, Sukpial again raided in Tipperah and Silhet, and on January 15th, 1869, Lushais burnt the tea-houses at Loharbund, in Cachar, and attacked Monierkhal. The Cachar raiders were supposed to be of the Sonai tribes, but were probably acting in concert with Sukpial. To punish these outrages a great military expedition was organized. Three columns were to enter the Lushai country—one by the Sonai valley, one by the Dullessur, and the third from Silhet through the Tipperah Hills. The Silhet attack eventually dwindled to police reconnaissance. This party marched through the hills till it got close to Sukpial's villages, and there, finding itself in hot quarters, fired upon, and unsupported, it very wisely came away again, rapidly. The Dullessur column was the main attack, and to uphold its dignity and insure success, it waited for guns and elephants and grenadiers, until the rains were just about to begin; it then marched a few miles into the hills, got very wet, and came back again *re infectâ*. The Sonai party was more persevering and somewhat more successful; it got up to some Lushai villages, but not being certain who were the guilty parties, it frightened the neighbourhood generally by firing a few rounds in the air, accepted conciliatory chickens from the chiefs around, and returned, covered with glory

and mud, to Cachar. Up to this point, again, the results seem to be that the Lushais may have been a little scared, but had not yet been hurt or punished for their repeated misdeeds. We must remember that they know but very little of us or of our power; that, like all ignorant savages, they have great ideas of their own prowess, and the majority of them have good reason to believe in the inaccessibility of their present sites. In view of this state of things, the local officers and the local government urged strongly upon the Government of India the propriety of sending into the country a carefully organized expedition at the very commencement of the next cold weather—not necessarily to burn and slay, but to convince the tribes of our power to punish, and to open up communications with Chittagong. It was suggested that permanent security could not be looked for until we had treated the Lushai tract as the Ghara (Garrow) Hills and the Khasia (Cossyah) Hills had been treated, by placing an English officer with a strong guard in the midst of it, and doing away entirely with the anomaly of allowing a hostile and savage strip of highlands to intervene between two British districts. The Supreme Government would not, however, hear of an expedition. It declared itself, according to the Administration Report, “averse on principle to move bodies of troops and armed police, even in limited numbers, in order to effect reprisal for outrages on any part of our extended frontier.” Another policy was now to be tried. The Lushais were to be taken in hand by a special officer, but his influence was to be based on conciliation and not on respect. He was to lead by love, not govern by salutary fear. Now in savage countries, conciliation is too often the Latin equivalent for rum and rupees. In the case of the Lushais, we believe, it eventually involved gifts of green pyjamas. It means, in short, cozening where we cannot compel. Towards the close of January 1871 the Lushais burst into Cachar and across the frontier of Chittagong and Tipperah. Cachar suffered worst, where several factories were attacked, villages burnt, and lives lost. The Lushais fought viciously, but were bravely resisted by the planters and the police. At Monierkhal twelve sepoy and policemen were killed in a fight which lasted three days against about four hundred raiders, of whom thirty were killed or wounded. Twelve sepoy were killed in a fight round another village, which was plundered of all its stores and movables. At another, the Lushais “cut up twenty-two people, and carried away other forty

out of a total of 114.”* At Alexandrapur an Englishman, Mr. Winchester, was shot down at breakfast, and his little girl carried off. Twelve of his coolies were either killed or wounded, and the manager saved himself by escaping wounded into the jungle. Detachments of troops were poured into the invaded districts, but only in time to find that the Lushais had retired to their fastnesses, laden with plunder and prisoners. The following condensation of a letter from the manager affords some interesting details in connection with the attack on Alexandrapur:—“One of his coolie women who had been taken by the Lushais, from whom she succeeded in escaping, was in the coolie lines on the day of attack, when she was caught hold of by two Lushais, bound with cord, and dragged along with the other prisoners a short way into the jungle. There were about sixty Lushais, all armed with spears and daos, and about ten or twelve of them had guns. After burning the Alexandrapur bungalow and factory, the Lushais carried the loot into the jungle during the afternoon. On their retreat, the Lushais marched day and night at the foot of a high range. Before the woman escaped, seven coolies were murdered, and their bodies shockingly mutilated. On the night of the eighth day of the march, the woman managed with her teeth to undo the cords that bound her, escaped, and hid herself in the jungle before daylight. At dawn she could see at a short distance four of the Lushais in search of her, and so terrified was she lest her child should make a noise, that she stuffed a cloth into its mouth until the men disappeared. In four days’ time she reached the guard on the Cachar and Silhet boundary, where she was so exhausted, and became so terrified at seeing armed men again, that she fell away in a faint; but the cries of her child attracted the attention of the sentinel, who immediately went to her relief. The Lushais took great care of Mr. Winchester’s captive orphan. They carried her in their arms, fed her twice a day on roasted rice, and gave her eggs once a day. The manager reports that, besides the seven coolies murdered during the retreat, and nine bodies found and buried at Alexandrapur, other seven coolies were missing. One man came out on the Barrykandy teelahs after having been eleven days in the jungle without food, except a handful of parched rice, which he happened to have tied up in his cloth while out pruning at the time of the attack. You would scarcely believe it possible, he says, that men could survive the fearful hacking and spear-thrusts

* Calcutta Observer.

that some of the coolies got. One of mine had three dao-cuts on the back of his neck, two of which were three inches long and one and a quarter inch deep. Further raids were made by the Lushais towards the end of February, but the marauders were successfully driven off by the police."* Representations were now made to the Government by the Landowners' and Commercial Association of British India regarding the state of the frontiers, which drew forth an official reply, the following extracts from which announce the Government's plan of action with regard to the defence of the north-eastern frontier:—

"For the last two years the difficult question of the defence of the eastern frontier from Cachar to Aracan has been a subject of special and anxious consideration on the part of the Government of India, in communication with his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, the Government of Bengal, and the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah. The tribes occupying the country between our settled districts and Burmah are split into many minute sections owning no common authority. The country they inhabit is in some places absolutely unexplored, and for the most part very imperfectly known. Those parts of it that have been visited by Europeans have been found to consist of hills of varying altitude, covered with almost impervious jungle traversed only by paths used principally by wild elephants and as the war-tracks of the tribes. The expeditions which have on several occasions been sent to punish the tribes for marauding our territories have not added much to the available information either regarding the country or its people. It has been the object of his Excellency in Council, in communication with the Government of Bengal, by the deputation from time to time of intelligent officers, both from the side of Cachar and of Chittagong, to acquire full information regarding the country and its inhabitants, the wants of the tribes, and the causes and objects of their raids. As yet his efforts have only been attended with partial success; and for all practical purposes the country can only be described as a dense and unexplored jungle, deadly to European life for a great part of the year.

"The defence of districts bordering for several hundreds of miles on a country of this kind is an undertaking of no ordinary difficulty. Neither can a state of insecurity which has existed for ages be remedied in a day. Those who settle there must not be unprepared to face to some extent the dangers usually incident to pioneers in all parts of the

world. His Excellency in Council is convinced that it is mainly by the co-operation of those gentlemen who hold lands and have commercial interests in the disturbed districts that any measure taken by Government can succeed. His Excellency in Council is disposed to believe that in some cases tea-gardens have been pushed farther into the jungles than was prudent, and have been established in exposed situations beyond what would have formed the most eligible line of defence. But be that as it may, his Excellency in Council is of opinion that the defence of an extensive and scarcely defined frontier extending into unexplored territories is a responsibility which the Government cannot accept, and that the first step towards the permanent defence of the border, and the protection of our partially settled districts from attacks such as those which have recently occurred in Cachar, is to define clearly the limit within which the Government is prepared to establish, maintain, and enforce its authority, and beyond which it will not at present undertake the responsibilities of administration and protection.

"Such a line has been suggested in Aracan, and measures for its definition will be speedily undertaken. It will be continued through Chittagong in front of the present outposts. In Cachar a line has been generally indicated from the borders of Munnipur to Hill Tipperah, including all the present tea-gardens. It was one of the chief objects of Mr. Edgar's present visit to the Lushai country to determine the boundary-line definitely. As soon as this is finally settled, it is the intention of his Excellency in Council to open up such cleared tracks as may be necessary for defence. At suitable intervals posts will be established and held by a sufficient force. The boundary between the posts will be constantly patrolled. An additional expenditure of Rs. 37,000 a year has been sanctioned for the frontier guard of Chittagong, and his Excellency in Council is only waiting the views of her Majesty's Commander-in-Chief after his visit to Assam, before finally deciding on similar measures for Cachar. By this means his Excellency in Council is not without hope that the recurrence of raids will be prevented, or, if they take place, that the force in charge of the outposts will be enabled to inflict on the offenders summary and severe chastisement.

"His Excellency in Council looks to permanent results more from a policy of watchful and vigorous defence than from retaliatory expeditions. His Excellency considers it essential that the district officers on the frontier should endeavour, by all legitimate means,

* *Calcutta Observer.*

to win the confidence of the tribes living beyond our line of defence, and establish a salutary personal influence over them. For this purpose his Excellency in Council has directed that all district officers on the frontier shall encourage frequent and friendly intercourse with the chiefs and tribes, visit them occasionally, induce them to enter our service and resort to our markets, and endeavour in a friendly way to settle any differences or disputes with our subjects, and adopt all means calculated to establish a permanent personal influence amongst them. So far as this policy has as yet been tried, Government has no reason to doubt its ultimate success.

“The measures, then, which his Excellency in Council has commenced to carry out for the defence of the frontier are briefly these: to determine clearly the line up to which the Government will enforce its direct authority; to establish friendly relations and influence among the tribes beyond; so to strengthen the defences by the establishment of military or police posts, and by patrolling the boundary, that the tribes shall be deterred from attempting outrages within the restricted limits; but if violence is attempted, that severe and summary punishment shall be secured. It would be unreasonable, however, to expect on such a frontier the same security and protection as in places where law and order have been long established. It behoves those, therefore, who settle in exposed parts to be ever ready to defend themselves, and to co-operate with the authorities in warding off sudden and unforeseen attacks, which, as in the recent instance, neither the local officers nor the residents may anticipate, nor the guards be able entirely to prevent. His Excellency in Council acknowledges with pride and satisfaction the gallant behaviour of the tea-planters and managers of the gardens which were attacked, and deeply regrets that, notwithstanding the determined resistance made by them and by the police in defence of the stockades, the marauders should have succeeded in doing any damage. There are nearly two thousand men of the police and regular troops assembled in the districts of Cachar. The Governor-General in Council has no doubt that the measures adopted will have the effect of restoring confidence to all British subjects, both European and native. His Excellency in Council is deeply interested in the success of British enterprise in the districts of Silhet and Cachar, and the memorialists may be assured that the Government will do all that is possible or reasonable to encourage its development and insure its safety.”

Notwithstanding the sanguine hopes of the Government, their conciliatory measures proved a failure; and the infliction of chastisement upon the Lushais being rendered necessary, a field force was prepared to operate against them in the cold season, consisting in all of about five thousand men, in two columns—a Cachar column, under Major-General Bouchier; and a Chittagong column, under Colonel Brownlow. “The officers commanding were specially instructed that the object of the expedition was not one of pure retaliation; that while punishment should follow the proof of guilt, the surrender of all British subjects held in captivity should be insisted on, and every effort made for their deliverance; the main end in view was to show these savages that they are completely in our power; to establish friendly relations of a permanent character with them; to make them promise to receive in their villages from time to time our native agents; to make travelling in their districts safe to all; to convince them of the advantages of trade and commerce; and to demonstrate to them effectually that they have nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by placing themselves in a hostile position towards the British Government.”

We shall now follow the route of the Cachar column, as detailed by General Bouchier in his dispatches. The Cachar column consisted of half a battery of artillery, a company of sappers and miners, and 500 men each of the 22nd Punjab Native Infantry, the 42nd Assam Light Infantry, and the 44th Native Infantry, with 1,200 commissariat coolies and 178 elephants, and a coolie corps of 800 men under Major Moore. These were the numbers sent for the expedition; but at starting the coolie corps was reduced by cholera to 387 men, and of the elephants fourteen, either from galls, sickness, or general unfitness, never carried a load. On November 21st, 1871, the column broke ground from Cachar, when the 44th Native Infantry marched for Lukipur, fourteen miles, from which point the road onwards had to be made. The road selected was by Mynadhur, on the Barak, where provisions for two months and a half had been stored for the force, and thence to Tipai Mukh, the junction of the Tipai and Barak rivers, which was the advanced base of operations. Having found a track of mountains over which to carry a road, parties of troops were laid along it, those in the rear completing the work of those in front. The first detachment reached Tipai Mukh on December 12th, and three days after there were collected there the head-quarters and wing of the 22nd Pun-

jab Native Infantry, a wing of the 44th Native Infantry, and the company of sappers and miners. The position was found to be an admirable one, a wide shingly beach with extensive plateaux rising above, on which barracks, hospitals, storehouses, and officers' quarters appeared as if by magic. As the Lushais did not believe in the intention of marching the troops into the heart of their country, it was considered advisable to make a rapid advance on New Kholel, the location of the descendants of Vonpilall. Leaving the 22nd Punjab Native Infantry to garrison Tipai Mukh, a fresh start was made on the 16th with the sappers and the wing of the 44th Native Infantry. As other troops arrived, this wing was pushed on, and a continuous chain of road-making detachments was formed extending along the whole line. On the 18th they came upon a small picket of Lushais, who fled at their approach, but two of them returned to say that they were assembled in large numbers at the Towibhum. Arrived at that river on the 22nd, they came suddenly upon a party of about fifty Lushais, who yelled at them, and warned them not to cross the stream, which they did by a large weir, and secured the picket-house on the opposite side, the Lushais in fright disappearing in the forest without a shot being fired. Following up their track the next day, the troops mounted to the farm-lands of the Vonpilall tribes, and on emerging from the forest were met by a heavy fire, which was continued throughout the day, though the Lushais fell back before them. They destroyed an immense quantity of corn in granaries, burned three villages, and occupied a fourth; and the work of destruction was continued on the next two days. The General then returned to his position on the Towibhum, where tidings were brought of attacks on the working parties at Kholel. The column therefore started again on the 29th, and when three miles on the way they were met by Dharpong, an emissary from Poiboy, who sued for mercy and begged them not to proceed. The General, however, would not listen to him until he had escorted the survey to the point he intended, when he heard what Dharpong had to say. He begged him to stop the devastation of the valleys, and desired that all firing should cease, and that their communications should be kept open for them. This was agreed to, and Dharpong, mounted on a dead tree, sounded the cry of peace far and near, after which not a shot was fired. A return was then made to the camp, into which elephants' tusks, goats, &c., were brought by people said to be emissaries from Poiboy. After some days' halt for the com-

pletion of the roads, &c., the head-quarters left Towibhum on January 6th, 1872, and arrived on the 9th at the commanding position of Pachui, where, as at the former station, garrisons were placed. Another halt was necessitated here until the 17th, when a start was made for Chipui, on the other side of the Tipai. A force of about five hundred Lushais attempted by threats and entreaties to delay the march; but the village was gained by the evening without opposition, and the Lushais flocked among the troops with poultry, eggs, and other articles for sale. The march eastward was resumed on the 22nd, and on the 25th they were informed by Dharpong, who came into camp, that they would be attacked on the march by the troops of Poiboy and Lalburah, who had joined to stop their progress. "The route lay above and parallel to the bed of a nullah about a mile and a half from camp. The advance guard was fired into, and presently from front and flanks a formidable fire was opened. The advance guard was at the time climbing an almost perpendicular wall of rock. As they reached the top they extended right and left, clearing their front and flanks; while the rest of the corps, as they arrived, dived into the bed of the rocky stream, where they met the enemy in force trying to get to the rear, to attack the long line of coolies. The 44th Native Infantry drove them back splendidly; at one spot alone thirteen corpses being found. Some few of the enemy slipped past the column and attacked the rear, but were repulsed by the 22nd Punjab Native Infantry. The enemy acknowledged to about fifty killed, and a larger number wounded." The Lushais were then pursued up a precipitous mountain for two and a half miles, through two stockades, the latter of which was defended, but turned by the 44th Native Infantry. During this distance an ascent was made of 2,500 feet, and by the evening all the baggage, &c., was brought within the stockade surrounding Kungnung, which was occupied by the troops. The English ammunition found on the slain proved that they had been the raiders of the previous year on Monierkhal and other villages.

On the 26th a detached column destroyed Poiboy's village of Jaikum, about seven miles distant. On February 1st the force marched for Sellam, Poiboy's stronghold, which was reached on the following day. It consists of a group of five villages, situated on the Long-ton range of mountains, at an average elevation of 5,800 feet. Preparations were now made for an advance on Lalburah, and intimation was sent to Poiboy that if he did not come in, his villages would be burnt on the General's return. The baggage was reduced

to a minimum ; one suit off, one suit on, with bedding, was the allowance. An ample supply of bedding was a necessity, as the nights were freezing. On February 12th the General, with two mountain guns carried on coolies, and 400 infantry, with two days' food in haversacks and ten on coolies, started from Sellam for Lalburah's locality, the distance or whereabouts of which no one knew. The mountain on each flank of the valley, known as the "Gates of Lalburah," loomed stupendously in the distance. About four miles on the road they passed the deserted village of Romong, forty or fifty Lushais retiring before them. On threatening to fire upon them if they did not come in, several came, but the rest disappeared in the forest. By evening they arrived at Julcheng, a distance of at least nine miles. They passed through one very strongly stockaded but deserted position, built in the re-entering gorge of a precipitous mountain. Not only was the stockade strong, and provided with flanking defences, but the trees felled within fifty yards of it formed an almost impassable barrier—a natural abatis. On the 16th they crossed a range of mountains near the village of Murth-lang, at an elevation of 6,650 feet, and passed through magnificent forests of oaks, firs, rhododendrons, and ash. "The headman of the village," says the General, "the oldest man I have seen in these mountains, crawled out to meet me, knelt at my feet, and taking off his blanket, said we were gods, and that 'their all' was at our disposal ; women and children flocked round us ; they told us Lalburah, who owned their village, wanted them again to fight us ; but that, as they saw we did not come to take their wives and children, they refused, and feared they would suffer for their refusal." Next day they marched to Chumfai, Lalburah's chief village, which they found deserted. "In the centre of the village was the tomb of Vonolel, an elevated platform surrounded by a palisading, on every point of which were hung skulls of metnas, elephants, deer, tigers, &c., while in the centre, on a pole, was the head of a fresh-slain Sukti, with his arm and foot." The work of the expedition was now done. They had subdued the tribes of Vonpilall, Poiboy, and Vonolel ; they had marched unmolested to the capital of the latter, and it now only remained to dictate such terms as would save the remainder of the villages from destruction. "I drew up the column," says the General, "round Vonolel's tomb, addressed a few words to the troops, thanking them in the name of the Viceroy, the Government, and the Commander-in-Chief, for their devotion to the cause we had at heart, and the

fine spirit of discipline evinced by all. Three cheers for her Majesty were given as the British colours were hoisted over a spot no British eye had ever before seen. The troops were withdrawn, and the village, consisting of 500 houses, was burnt. On the 18th I marched to Chumsin. The inhabitants, armed and unarmed, seemed well inclined to resist us, but dispersed before our steady advances. The troops were drawn up around the village, which I occupied by a detachment for the protection of the survey department. Here I dictated the terms on which alone this and the other villages of Lalburah would be spared, and warned the inhabitants that if not acceded to within twenty-four hours I would return and destroy Chumsin, to begin with. The terms were—first, that agents from the Government should have free access to Lalburah's villages, and transit through his country ; secondly, that three hostages, responsible for our unmolested return, should accompany the column to Tipai Mukh ; thirdly, that the army taken at Monierkhal or Nundigram, or an equal number of their own, should be surrendered ; and fourthly, that a fine of two elephants' tusks, one set of wargons, one necklace, four metnas, ten goats, ten pigs, fifty fowls, and twenty maunds of husked rice, should be delivered within twenty-four hours. The arms were the difficulty—they came in by ones ; but before morning everything, except a small portion of rice, was delivered." The column was withdrawn on the 21st, and arrived at Tipai Mukh on March 6th, and on the 10th at Cachar. "The story of our return," continues the General, "is soon told. Not a shot was fired. The villagers, as we retired, flocked around us ; and although Poiboy had not come in at Sellam, his not doing so was the result of abject fear. Three of his head muntris accompanied me as hostages to Tipai Mukh. To have burned his villages, whence some thousands of inhabitants had been driven for weeks to find scanty shelter in the forest, would have been cruelty, especially as my lines of communication while *en route* to Lalburah had never been harassed. This was the only case in which I threatened and did not keep my word. Scores of the inhabitants came within the enclosed compound of my hut, and there implored forgiveness and tendered submission. On our return to Tipai Mukh the hostages were released, and other Lushais, who had hung about us pretty nearly from first to last, left us with apparent regret. The Lushais (particularly those living in the heart of the country) are far from being the savages we supposed. They are to me a highly interesting, intelligent race, given at present in war

to savage habits, but I am convinced that they are capable of being brought gradually into a state of high civilisation." In his field-force order on the breaking up of the column, General Bouchier remarked, "From the beginning of November, when the troops were first put in motion, to the present time, every man has been employed in hard work, cheerfully performed, often under the most trying circumstances of heat and frost, always bivouacking on the mountain-side, in rude huts of grass or leaves, officers and men sharing the same accommodation, marching day by day over precipitous mountains, rising at one time to 6,600 feet, having made a road fit for elephants from Lukipur to Chipui, a distance of 103 miles. The spirits of the troops never flagged, and when they met the enemy they drove them from their stockades and strongholds until they were glad to sue for mercy. The expedition from first to last has been sheer hard work."

We now turn to the proceedings of the Chittagong column under General Brownlow. Before the General's arrival at Chittagong on October 26th, 1867, a great deal of preparatory work had been done under the orders of Captain Lewin, the Deputy Commissioner of the hill tracts, in clearing jungle for encampments, running up sheds for commissariat stores, and temporary shelter for troops at different points on the banks of the Kurnafuli River. The Kurnafuli is navigable by river steamer as far as Rangamattea, a distance of sixty-one miles; thence to Kassalong, seventeen miles. Boats not drawing more than eighteen inches can proceed. Above this place to Lower Burkal it is navigable only by country boats drawing but a few inches of water. Leaving his brigade-major at Chittagong to receive troops and coolies on arrival, and forward them up the river, the General set out, on November 7th, with the 2nd Gurkhas and the 3rd company of sappers and miners, and the following day arrived at Rangamattea, from which the day after they moved to Kassalong, where the first dépôt was established. From Kassalong to Lower Burkal is eight miles, and Upper Burkal is two and a half miles farther. The General arrived at the latter place on the 12th, with headquarters and two companies of the 2nd Gurkhas. The rest of the regiment followed by detachments, part marching, and part by boat from Kassalong, leaving a British officer and a subdivision at Kassalong, and the same number at Lower Burkal, for the protection of these posts. Upper Burkal is situate just above the rapids, at a point where the river widens out to some three hundred yards across. The day after the General's arrival

he was visited by the chief, Ruttun Puca, who expressed his desire to be friendly and promised assistance, though he seemed to be greatly alarmed at the consequences to himself of an alliance with the British against the other tribes. He was assured of future protection if he should behave well, and after spending three days in camp, during which he was chiefly engaged in drinking rum, he set out to conduct a detachment under Major Macintyre to Demajiri. The same day the General with the head-quarters proceeded by the river to Demajiri, which was reached on the 18th,—the distance from Burkal by this route being thirty-eight miles. "The fleet consisted of ten Chittagong boats (which had with considerable difficulty been dragged up the Burkal falls and rapids) and about eighty canoes. The river—which runs in a clear and deep but sluggish stream, except at the rapids, which are of frequent occurrence, is on an average about seventy yards wide, the hills on either side being beautifully wooded to the water's edge." "From the Demajiri and Ohipum ranges, on either side of the gorge we occupy," writes the General, "a fine view is obtained of the country of the Sylhus, and also of the Howlongs, the farthest of the tribes to be dealt with. The natural obstacles the force has to overcome are most formidable. The mountains, rising to 4,000 and 5,000 feet, are very difficult, and covered with forests to the summit, a mere track connecting the different villages. There are five such ranges to be crossed. The intervening valleys are intersected by rivers and streams often unfordable. To the troops these obstacles are of no account, but they must of course cause much delay to the movements of coolies and commissariat. The water supply, except in the valleys, also is limited." On December 1st the march was commenced to Vanunah's village, where the first show of resistance was expected from the Sylhus. "For some distance above Demajiri the Kurnafuli River runs through a narrow defile in a succession of rapids, which laden canoes cannot ascend. To get over this break in the water communication a road had to be made along the right bank of the river, from the falls, where it is crossed by a bamboo bridge, to a spot above the highest of the rapids, where the stream again becomes navigable, and where a dépôt was established as a fresh starting-point for the canoes, and called Hyslop's Ghat. For the river transport above Demajiri fifty canoes were lifted over the falls on skids, and dragged up the rapids to Hyslop's Ghat. The hill coolies were called on for volunteers to man the canoes, but they begged to be decapitated rather than asked to go a step farther in the

direction of the much-dreaded Lushais. The service consequently had to be undertaken by the police. From Hyslop's Ghat to Vanunah's Ghat the distance is about twelve miles." On December 9th the General marched with his head-quarters to Lingurah's old village (eleven miles), and on the 10th to Vanunah's Ghat (six and a half miles), where he found Colonel Macpherson with six companies of his own regiment, and a half-company of sappers, and two guns of the Peshawar mountain battery. On the 11th the head-quarters and four companies of the 2nd Gurkhas were moved forward to the Belkai jooms or farm-lands (four and a half miles), being little more than half-way up to Vanunah's village. On the 12th the General followed with his staff, and next day was joined by the artillery and two more companies of Gurkhas. On the evening of that day a messenger who had been sent by Captain Lewin to the chief of the Sylhus returned from Vanunah, where he had found four or five chiefs assembled, who would not permit him to proceed on his mission, but ordered him to return and inform the General that he was not to come any farther. The messenger, whose name was Lingurah, was a sub-chief of Ruttun Puea's tribe, and was married to a daughter of Savunga, the chief of the Sylhus. Ruttun Puea having expressed doubts of his loyalty, his wife and child were made over to that chief to be kept as hostages for his good behaviour. The village of Vanunah occupies a very strong natural position on the Belkai portion of the Rhai Ian Klang range. It is situated in a slight dip or hollow between two peaks, 1,700 feet above the jooms on the western face, where the force was encamped; and the ascent to it, for the last four hundred yards, is almost precipitous on every side except the north. The path from the jooms to the village is not quite three miles, and close to the village it runs along a scarped rock, above which was found an arrangement of loose stones and boulders, supported by logs of wood tied up with creepers, which was to do duty as an avalanche on the advancing troops. On the 14th two parties were sent out to reconnoitre the approaches from the north and south. Major Macintyre went to the north, and on his approach the enemy's pickets fired and retreated. Having obtained the information he desired, he returned without loss. Colonel Macpherson made for the south of the village, where the jungle was dense and unbroken by jooms as on the north. Misled by his guide, after three hours' hard climbing, he found himself on the ridge some way beyond the point he wished to arrive at. Late in the day he reached the peak overlooking the village,

of which his leading files declared they saw Major Macintyre's party in possession. Suddenly becoming aware of their mistake, they dashed down among the astonished Sylhus, and gave them a volley as they dived into the jungle below. A few guns and spears were taken, and seven or eight of the enemy fell. Next morning the village was reoccupied by two companies, and on the 18th the head-quarters and other troops were moved up. As the latter were starting, sharp firing was heard in the rear, and two parties of Gurkhas, dashing down the hill, came, within half a mile of the camp, upon three of their own men bringing letters from Vanunah's Ghat, who had been attacked from behind an ambush. One of them was mortally wounded, and the two others were standing over him, keeping at bay twenty or thirty of the enemy, of whom they had each accounted for a man when assistance arrived. The Kukis fled and were pursued for some distance, and another of them killed. During a five days' raid from Vanunah's village to the east, Colonel Macpherson destroyed three villages and an immense amount of grain; and in a similar raid of three days in a north-easterly direction up the valley of the Kahu Dung, Major Macintyre destroyed two villages, with rice granaries supposed to contain 8,000 maunds. He also captured fifty gyals or tame bisons, which constitute the chief wealth of the Lushais, and were valued at Rs. 100 each. Of these twenty-five broke away, but the rest were brought into camp. "All the grain," writes the General, "that falls into our hands, viz. unhusked rice, which we have not the time or the means to render fit for consumption, is found stored in houses on the jooms or patches of cultivation where it has been harvested, and, I believe, constitutes the whole stock in hand of the Sylhus. It is of this year's growth, and requires to be dried before it undergoes the tedious process of husking, which in these countries is performed by the women, according to the daily consumption of the household." On the 27th, after a severe march of twelve or thirteen miles along the ridge, the troops arrived at Vanunah's old village, three miles north of the Kothier Klang. Another village farther up was occupied, and the jooms in the neighbourhood destroyed. On January 2nd, 1872, the advanced force was at the village of Upper Hulien. "From this place, which is 4,000 feet high, or rather from a peak beyond it 700 feet higher, where the survey had cleared the station the day before—for even at this elevation, though the undergrowth is not so great, the hills are clothed with forests to their summits—a fine view could be ob-

tained of the surrounding country. Sylhu Savung, the capital of the chief, lay ten miles to the east, or a little to the north of east, but separated from us by a deep and difficult valley intersected by the head-waters of three rivers (running, like the ranges, north and south), two towards Cachar, and one into the Kurnafuli, — a confusion of minor ranges and spurs involving, as we afterwards found, ascents and descents, aggregating in this comparatively short distance 4,200 feet of the latter and 3,300 feet of the former. Farther to the east, and on the third and fourth ranges from the one on which we stood, were to be seen the most important of the Howlong villages, and our direct road to their country was clearly through Savung's. About ten miles due north stood the deserted village of Lal Gnura, and eight miles beyond that again a large and newly built one belonging to the same chief, one of the sons of Savunga." The deserted village was at once occupied, and on the 4th, Colonel Macpherson took the strongly stockaded village of Lal Gnura, losing one man and an officer and nine men wounded. The village was burnt and a large quantity of grain destroyed. On the 6th the main column moved forward to Lal Ngur, a village on the road to Savunga's. "This march of seven miles took the troops as many hours, and the coolies were not up until three hours later. Where the path did not ascend or descend at an angle of 35° , it followed the tortuous bed of a mountain torrent, overhung by trees and precipices, and blocked up with rocks and boulders, through which we waded and stumbled for three miles, chilled by the cold clammy atmosphere, and feeling that fifty determined men might do as they liked with us, for there was no possibility of protecting our flanks. The Lushais engineer their tracks with considerable skill, and at tolerable gradients along the top or face of a range, and keep to the high ground as much as possible; but when they have to cross a valley they do so by the shortest lines, and a day's journey, such as I describe, is a fair specimen of its kind." The village was taken, and on the 11th the General started for Sylhu Savung with 200 Gurkhas, a half-battery of artillery, and a half-company of sappers. The march was difficult and tedious, and finding by four in the afternoon that there was still before him an ascent of 2,000 feet, and expecting more than usual opposition at the head-quarters of the tribe, he resolved to halt for the night. For the sake of water the spot selected was just above a stream. It was covered with jungle, but the force had now had considerable experience in bivouacking, and enough space

was soon cleared to enable them to get through a very unpleasant night; "for the thick mist which gathers in these valleys immediately after sunset penetrates everything, and the drip from the trees as it condenses can only be compared to rain. The wood in such places is too damp to burn, and altogether the situation, not unfrequent in this campaign, is trying to the strongest." Next morning a dose of quinine was administered to every soldier and follower, and after a steep ascent of two hours Sylhu Savung was occupied without a shot being fired. "The village, which consisted of between three hundred and four hundred houses, had been burnt on the 7th. It occupied a fine position, at an elevation of 3,200 feet, with the river Klung-Dung, or Dullessur, flowing under it to the east, and two tributaries, one of the Gudur and another of the Kurnafuli, rising at its western base." On the 21st Lal Jika, the village of one of Savunga's sons, was attacked and taken, after which the General returned to Sylhu Savung. Meanwhile the chief Ruttun Puea, accompanied by a subadar of the police, was dispatched on a mission to the Howlongs. On their way they met two messengers, who had been sent previously, and some Howlongs returning with the child Mary Winchester, who was made over to the subadar, and brought by him to Ruttun Puea's village near Demajiri, while the chief continued his journey. Mary Winchester was forwarded to Chittagong, to remain in charge of the Commissioner until the wishes of the Government should be known with regard to her. Taking the unconditional surrender of the child as an earnest of the desire of the chiefs to come to terms, the General acceded to Ruttun Puea's request not to invade Howlong territory before the 28th. Mary Winchester is described as a very pretty girl of six or seven years of age, with hazel eyes and good features. She talked nothing but Kuki, smoked a pipe, and ordered about the Lushais with an air of authority that showed she had been well treated.

At this point in his dispatches the General gives the following as his impression of the Lushais:—"The Lushais, or Kukis—for the former term, properly speaking, applies only to the family from which the chiefs of all the so-called tribes are descended—appear to me, in spite of their misdeeds, very far removed from the savages they are supposed to be. They live in comfortable houses, on high and healthy ranges. Their mode of cultivation yields the most abundant and certain crops. They are surrounded by pigs and poultry, goats and gyals. They fish and shoot, and brew both beer and whiskey. Their domestic

and tribal arrangements appear most happy, and altogether their condition contrasts very favourably with that of many of our own subject races; so much so, that I am not surprised to hear that the majority of their captives, whom they treat as their own people, would look upon a return to civilisation as a doubtful boon. The men are of middle height, well-limbed and fair, with the Indo-Chinese type of face. Most of those who have hitherto fought against us are armed with flint muskets, but I imagine a spear or javelin, and the universal dao, are the more common weapons. We have seen no others."

The mission of Ruttun Puea and the subadar, who rejoined him after bringing back Mary Winchester, proved unsatisfactory. The Southern Howlongs expressed their readiness to do everything that was desired at Demajiri, but would not come into camp, while the Northern Howlongs returned no message whatever. The General thereupon determined to attack the latter. On February 11th, Colonel Macpherson moved forward with a portion of the troops, and after a severe march of thirteen miles in a north-easterly direction, bivouacked within a short distance of Lienrikum and Chungmama, which were close to each other, and which the Howlongs burned the moment they saw the troops. Next day the General followed with the rest of the column. "From Sylhu Savung to the Dullessur is a steep descent of 2,300 feet; the path then ascends 1,500 feet, runs along a ridge for a short way, and again descends 1,100 feet into the bed of a stream, which it follows for a couple of miles; another spur of 1,200 feet is crossed, and then there is a final ascent of 1,600 feet on to a rolling upland, the drainage of which flows into the Dullessur on the west, and Kolodyne to the east, and on which the two villages were situated. This finishes a day's journey that it took the greater part of the coolies twelve hours to accomplish." Next day Captain Lewin, who was out with a reconnoitring party, induced some Howlongs to come into camp, who stated that they had no wish to make any opposition, and that their chiefs were ready to come and make their submission. On being informed that until the latter presented themselves the advance would be continued, some of the headmen replied that they would convey the message to Lalburah and Benkœa, and started off at once. On the 14th the force was moved to Chungmama. "To the east of it, and beyond the deep valley of the Kolodyne, at a distance of one and two days' march, were the villages of Benkœa, Sangbunga, and their mother (the widow of Lalpi-

tang), consisting of three or four hundred houses each. On the Mowi Klang, and about as far to the north, were four others belonging to the brothers Lalburah and Jatoma, containing altogether about a thousand houses. The ranges on which these two great groups of villages stand are between 4,000 and 5,000 feet high, and have been so well cleared for cultivation that they could be ascended through a succession of jooms and open ground likely to afford full scope for both artillery and rifle fire, and inviting attack under the most favourable circumstances." Next day a reconnoitring party came upon a small body of the enemy, who said that their chiefs were then on their way to make their submission, and that if they were met by a large armed party they would probably get alarmed and go back. On the 16th the chiefs Sangbunga and Benkœa arrived, preceded by their headmen, who said that, under the assurances given by Ruttun Puea, the chiefs were anxious to make their submission and to comply with the British demands. The question as to what the demands should be then came to be considered. Captain Lewin was of opinion that the restoration of the captives and an oath of friendship towards the British Government, with the pledge to commit no more raids and to allow free access to their country now and always, were the only terms that should be insisted on. "He thought," writes the General, "that to demand hostages for future good behaviour, or to propose any conditions that might not be complied with, or be evaded hereafter, would be impolitic. Though both these chiefs were concerned in the Cachar raids of last year, he deprecated the imposition of any special penalty on that account, as likely to alarm them and put them to flight. They were represented to be in the most abject fear of treachery on our part. The old story of Lall Chokla—the chief who is said to have given himself up at Silhet or Cachar many years ago, on a promise or expectation of pardon, and to have been afterwards transported for life—was revived, and it was quite clear that no considerations whatever would have any weight against those of personal safety, of which they said they could not be sure until Captain Lewin had sworn friendship. Before taking the oaths our ultimatum had to be given, and on this it depended whether they remained or absconded. If they absconded, there would of course be no further hope of seeing them or any other of the Howlong chiefs again, and, together with the captives, we should lose the opportunity of showing that our object was not retaliation, but security

against future raids, and to instil into them some ideas of our policy in addition to our power, which had been amply demonstrated. In a congratulatory telegram, dated only a few days before his death, the late lamented Viceroy, while doing me the honour to express his pleasure at the recovery of Mary Winchester, had referred to the liberation of the captives as one of the main objects of the expedition. This object would certainly be sacrificed by a persistence in punitive measures. The Howlongs had removed all their grain and property out of our reach, and with the example of the Sylhus before them, as well as the most exaggerated ideas of our guns and rifles, it could not reasonably be supposed that they would stand and take any punishment by fighting. We might burn their empty villages, or they would probably do so themselves immediately before we advanced; but there our presentability to hurt them would end. After a careful consideration of all the circumstances of the case, I determined to accept their submission on the terms proposed by Captain Lewin; and the next day that officer, to whom I left all personal communications with the chiefs, went through the required ceremonies with Sangbunga, Benkœa, and Chungmama, each of whom, in addition to the usual peace-offerings of elephants' tusks, gongs, and gyals, presented him with either his gun, dao, or plume of bhimraj feathers (worn only by chiefs), as tokens of allegiance and friendship. They expressed a wish that Captain Lewin should settle on the Sirthay or Demajiri range, where they might come and see him, which they could not do while he lived at such a distance as Kassalong or Rangamattea. On the 18th, Lalburah, Jatoma, and Lienrikum—who, together with those already named, represent the whole of the Northern Howlong villages—came in and made their submission on similar conditions. The same day the first instalment of captives was sent in. From the evidence of the latter, Captain Lewin was satisfied we should get all that survived of those that were taken from Alexandrapur and the adjacent garden—the only places on the Cachar side that the Howlongs are known to have raided. They (the captives), in describing their adventures subsequent to being carried off, said that, some days before reaching the limits of the latter tribe, the Kukis broke into three or four parties, and that of these one only, to which Mary Winchester and some twenty of their number belonged, came as far south as Sangbunga's. It may, therefore, very fairly be assumed that the others went to more northern villages, and that Sukpilal or his sons, through whose

country the raiders must have passed, which they could not have done without invitation or consent, shared in the expedition as well as its results. Each tribe, I believe, has its own raiding ground, which is very jealously preserved. As a rule, the Shendus prey on Aracan and the southern portion of the Chittagong hill-tracts, the Howlongs on the country to the south and east of the Kurnafuli, while the Sylhus attack Hill Tipperah. The more northern tribes resort to the Silhet and Cachar districts, and having the credit of doing so, would naturally object to incur suspicion and the chances of a visitation for raids in which they did not participate, and which they would certainly prevent. Immediately after the submission of the chiefs, and during the remainder of the time that the force was at Chungmama, the camp was crowded with Howlongs—men, women, and children—and a brisk trade in every kind of local produce was carried on. The impression left on our minds was, I think, that the Lushais could bear comparison with most Eastern races in physique, natural intelligence, and character. Their thews and sinews and well-turned limbs indicated health and freedom from want or toil; their faces showed a happy genial disposition, without any expression of cruelty, and very little of courage. They were all clad in homespun cotton—the sheets or plaids worn by the men being often a dark tartan, and the highland sporran a frequent article of apparel among them." On the 23rd the General returned to Sylhu Savung, and on the 27th Lal Gnura and Lal Jika (the sons of Savunga), Vanunah, Vandula, and three other chiefs, representing the whole of the Sylhu tribe, made their submission under the same forms and conditions as the Howlongs. Savunga's absence was excused on the grounds of old age and illness. When the chiefs were asked why they had persisted in their opposition and shut their ears to the repeated messages of peace conveyed to them, they replied that their young men would fight in spite of their elders, and they had been told the most alarming stories of the intentions of the British, and they (the chiefs) were afraid to put themselves in their power. The General now returned to Demajiri, where he learned that the Southern Howlongs had sent a certain number of captives, but that the chiefs hesitated about coming in to make their submission personally. Captain Lewin recommended a show of force in the direction of Sypuea and Vandula, whose villages lay to the east of Ruttun Puea, which he considered would be sufficient to make the chiefs present themselves. On March 7th the General marched his troops forty miles

over as bad a country as any they had yet encountered, and on the third day, after a final ascent of more than 4,000 feet, reached Sypuea's village, when the chief came out to meet Captain Lewin, and did all that was required of him. Another forward movement was made on the 12th, when the troops were met at the Dullessur River by Vantonga, whose captives were brought into camp at midnight, "weeping bitterly at parting with their captors." The next morning Sangliena, the eldest son of Vandula, came in and made his submission on behalf of his father. The General then returned to Sypuea's. It was hoped that the relationship of Ruttun Puea to Sypuea and Vandula—he being married to their sister—would prove the means of bringing the last two within the same pale of civilisation as the first. Sypuea is described as "a very distinguished-looking and intelligent Lushai, who so far succumbed to the animal magnetism of Captain Lewin as to express a desire to accompany him and Ruttun Puea to Calcutta, which the latter chief is quite prepared for." The task of the expedition being now completed, the return march was made to Demajiri, whence the troops were dispatched to their respective stations. The results of the four months' campaign are thus summed up by the General:—"The complete subjection of two powerful tribes, inhabiting upwards of sixty villages, of which twenty that resisted were attacked and destroyed; the personal submission of fifteen chiefs, and their solemn engagement on behalf of themselves and tributaries for future good behaviour; the recovery of Mary Winchester, and the liberation of upwards of one hundred British subjects who had from time to time been made captives. In addition, the operations of the column, which, by frequent departures from the main line of advance, covered a large area, have enabled the officers of the survey to triangulate 3,000 square miles of country, more than half of which was surveyed in detail, and also to complete the connection between the Cachar and Chittagong districts." The General records his belief that if Captain Lewin "were located with two or three hundred men for the next year, or even a few months, on the Demajiri range, while the impressions of our power and the friendliness of our intentions are still fresh, he would bring the Sylhus and Howlongs into the same relations with us as Ruttun Puea and his men, to the permanent pacification of at least a portion of his frontier. Such a measure would be quite feasible without any increase to the local police force, as the nature of the position in question, apart

from political considerations, would render unnecessary so many of the present small posts, which seem only to invite attack. It would also, in addition to its other recommendations, insure the health and efficiency of a certain number of men who are now every year prostrated by fever at a time when their services are most wanted." The casualties in this expedition against the Lushais were, in General Bouchier's column, 8 fighting-men killed and 14 wounded, and 85 who died from various causes. Of camp-followers, 2 were killed and 5 wounded, while 386 died from various causes. In General Brownlow's column, of fighting-men there were 4 killed and 13 wounded, while of the non-combatants there died in all 118.

Much useful work was done by the surveying parties which accompanied the two columns under Generals Bouchier and Brownlow. The northern party, under Captain Badgeley, started for Cachar, and accomplished about 600 square miles of triangulation in connection with the great Trigonometrical Survey, besides nearly 200 miles of linear route survey and 4,800 square miles of topography, extending to $93^{\circ} 30'$ east longitude, and nearly to 23° of north latitude. The country surveyed includes the whole course of the Tui-vi and its tributaries, whose waters flow into the Barak River at Tipai Mukh. A part of the watershed between the affluents of the Barak and those of the Koldan was also carefully mapped out. The southern party, under Major Macdonald, started from Chittagong, and completed a triangulation of 2,300 square miles and a topographical survey of 1,700, in connection with the east frontier series of the Trigonometrical Survey, over a tract of country lying between $23^{\circ} 30'$ and $23^{\circ} 45'$ north latitude, and $92^{\circ} 30'$ and 93° east longitude. A large portion of the water-parting between the Cachar and Chittagong and Akyab water system was thus determined. The Lushais raise abundant crops of rice, cotton, melons, gourds, maize, vetches, and chillies. The cotton-bolls, which are of vast size, bear very fine thread with short staple, and the made-up cotton is unrivalled for strength and durability. The people are well sheltered, well clothed, sleeping softly on thick cotton counterpanes, and well fed. Like the Chinese, to which race they belong, they eat dog's flesh, and everything, in short, that flies, runs, crawls, or creeps, "as well as the grub in its antenatal tomb." Their houses are built on raised piles, the family living above, and the pigs, which do their scavenging, below. Their rivers teem with fish, and the forests furnish them with ample sport. The Lushais

are represented as far more civilised than any of the aboriginal races of India. Their social polity is described as a kind of communism under the despotic rule of an hereditary chief. They are said to be an eminently pious race. Before eating his fowl or pig, the Lushai invariably kills it in front of his god—"a kind of stool four inches square, surrounded by a small fence hung with cotton wool dyed in bright colours." They are also great hunters, flying at all kinds of game, from an elephant to a field-rat, from a hornbill to a wagtail, and very clever they are in shooting, snaring, or otherwise catching their prey. War with them consists of surprises and bush-fighting, and in their first brush with the sepoys, the latter were called upon not to stick like cowards in the open, but to come into the jungle like men. Before setting out on the war-path they dress themselves in their best—"a large square cloth or two put on together, according to the temperature," and passed under the right arm, "with two corners thrown in opposite directions over the left shoulder." The Lushais are fairer than the Bengalis, and average five feet six in height, with full muscular figures. They have well-shaped heads and good foreheads, with straight black or brown hair, and features unmistakably of the Chinese type, and an open, bold, and generally pleasing expression. They are great smokers, and drink a peculiar fermented liquor called seepa, out of cows' horns, or sucked through bamboo tubes.

The hills measured by the northern party increased gradually from 3,650 to 7,000 feet. From the highest point reached, the loftiest ranges lie north-east and south-south-east, and between these and Burmah, which is shut out by another elevated ridge, the country is crossed by lower lines of hills stretching from north to south, and rising in height as they approach the watershed line of the Barak and the Koladan. The hill ranges traversed by the southern party varied in height from 2,700 feet in the Sailu country to 6,000 feet in that of the Shindus, while one distant peak measured 8,000 feet. "Looking down," writes Major Macdonald, "from any commanding point, the whole looks like a series of great mountain waves in a sea of forest, dotted here and there with broad patches of yellow light which mark the cultivation." These hill ranges are all sandstone, apparently of recent formation, and are believed to be totally devoid of mineral wealth. Splendid lemons, however, grow there, and the tea-plant has been found on the Towrong Hill. The general aspect of the country traversed by the northern party

may be gathered from the following passage in Captain Tanner's report:—"I have described the panorama from this point as embracing an extensive view of mountain and of valley, of serrated ridge-like mountain chains piled one behind the other, and rising higher and higher towards the east until the view in the far-off distance is backed up by a faint blue mountain range of great altitude, of mountains separated from each other by deep land-locked valleys, and by streams walled in between high abrupt ridges, and over mountain and valley, from the highest peaks down to the very bottom of the dark ravines, there is a clothing of the most profuse vegetation of every hue and colour. The shades which towards evening overspread the valleys, and which gradually creep up the sides of those hills which are not far distant, and the shadows which fall across the ranges beyond, are of the deepest purple blue; the evening sun at the same time lighting up the more prominent peaks and spurs with a most exquisite, rich golden rose. The lovely tints which pervade the landscape on a bracing December evening, when the air is pure and clear, far surpass in vividness anything I have before seen in any part of the world. In no other country has it been my fortune to see such wonderful effects of aerial perspective. Then, too, the foreground is as striking as the rest of the picture; there are long cultivated, half-cleared slopes, dotted here and there with gigantic forest trees, which, from their size, have resisted the axe and the fire of the cultivator when preparing his lands for crops. Artistic groups of graceful trees, intermixed with bamboo, adorn these slopes, and at your feet lie deep gorges, whose sides are clothed with tropical vegetation of the most luxuriant description. Pleasantly situated in the open cultivated spots may be seen the cheerful, neatly built bamboo houses of the cultivators, thus giving a finish, as it were, to one of the most striking pictures that can be imagined."*

In the quarrels on the Persian Gulf, Lord Mayo interfered only when the interests of British subjects were endangered. After his expulsion from Muscat in 1868 Syad Selim betook himself to Bunder Abbas, leaving his brother-in-law, Syad bin Ghas, master of the position. Turned out of Bunder Abbas in March, 1869, through the cunning of his minister, Haji Ahmed, with the loss of his last remaining vessels and their contents, he found an asylum at Debay on the Arabian coast with a Wahabi chief, named Sadairi, who holds that part of the country for the Amir of Riad, where he plotted the over-

* Condensed from *Allen's Indian Mail*.

throw of the usurper. The government of the latter was far from popular, and quarrels among the tribes along the coast were unceasing. In one of these a gunboat of the Bombay marine was fired upon from a fort close to Muscat. The insult, however, was speedily apologized for. On an explanation being demanded by Colonel Pelly, the Political Agent in the Persian Gulf, the ruler of Muscat tried to get out of his awkward position by saying that the Muscatine authorities had expected an invasion from Zanzibar, and they had fired on the gunboat thinking her to be a Zanzibar vessel. Disturbances having been created in the Persian Gulf by the pirates of Bahrein, a naval expedition under Captain Douglas and Colonel Pelly was dispatched to that island. Proceeding to Maharag Fort, the boats were run in, and Mohammed bin Khalifa, the principal pirate chief, who was supposed to be confined in the fort, was demanded, and was surrendered by the garrison, who found themselves completely surprised. Another of the pirate chiefs, Nazir bin Ahmed, was caught at sea, endeavouring to escape, by a pearl merchant, and delivered up to the commander of the expedition. Manameh Fort was next attacked, and, a breach being made, a landing was effected, when the fort was found to have been abandoned. It was then rendered untenable. The fort of Maharag was given up without a shot being fired. Soon afterwards three principal chiefs surrendered. The hereditary chief, Esau bin Ali, was then placed in power, and the fort delivered over to him, amid the rejoicings of the people of the town. The five chiefs were taken prisoners to Bombay. Meanwhile Syad Selim had left Debay and was wandering about the coast with a few followers, always saying that he was going to recover his kingdom, but never attempting to do it. About the middle of 1870, Syad Turki, Selim's brother, who had for some time been an exile in Bombay, exchanged that city for Debay, where he struck up a friendship with the chief of that place and with some neighbouring chiefs, and endeavoured to raise an army to oust Azan bin Ghas. Proceeding to Bunder Abbas, he unfurled his flag, and soon had around him four hundred men, whom he dispatched to Muscat. Turki himself followed in a sailing vessel, but was pursued by Colonel Pelly, whose mission it was to preserve the maritime peace of the Gulf. Turki, however, escaped and returned to Bunder Abbas to await a more favourable opportunity. Having received encouragement and money from his kinsman, the Sultan of Zanzibar, Syad Turki landed in August at Soor, to the south-east of Muscat, with a

body of Persians and Beluchis. He rapidly gained ground, chief after chief offering him assistance, until after a number of small indecisive engagements he succeeded in catching Azan bin Ghas at a disadvantage. The latter had been deserted by a large number of his followers, whom he had disappointed of some promised rewards. Notwithstanding this he proceeded with about two thousand men and two guns to besiege the fort of Zauk, held by a few of the Naim and Denah tribes. On his march thither he was suddenly attacked in the Pass of Wadi Haham, near Zauk, by Syad Turki's forces. He lost several hundred men and both his guns, and among the prisoners and the slain were many chiefs of note. Turki then passed on to Jaalan, where he succeeded in winning to his side the Beni bu Hassan and Beni bu Ali tribes, and while he was thus engaged his lieutenants reduced to subjection the country about Mozabi. Towards the close of January, 1871, the portion of Turki's forces under Syf bin Sulliman occupied the country around Ruce. They were attacked near Fulluj by Syad Azan, who was repulsed with loss. They then attacked and took the town of Mattoah, when Syad Azan and Syf bin Sulliman were killed. Next day Ibrahim bin Ghas fled from Muscat, which was taken on the following day, February 1st, by Turki's troops. Turki afterwards led his successful troops against Syad Ibrahim, whom he besieged in Sohar. When a breach had been made and the assault was imminent Ibrahim came to terms. It was arranged that he should retain Sohar and the coastline from Sullan to El Khaborels, the remaining ports and districts being given up to Syad Turki. On August 8th the intimation of his recognition as ruler of Muscat by the British Government was intimated to Syad Turki, when a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired from one of her Majesty's ships. Many circumstances combined to render the event of special interest and importance for the people of Oman, and it was generally hoped and expected that it would mark the inauguration of a more peaceful era.

The re-establishment of order in the Gulf tended greatly to develop the growing trade of that region. In May no fewer than two hundred chests of opium were shipped from the Gulf to Aden on their way to China. Colonel Pelly's Report of 1870 gives an account of the nature and extent of the trade of India with the Persian Gulf and Oman. In 1844 the trade with Bombay amounted to £792,460. In 1866 it amounted to nearly £3,500,000. In the trade with Calcutta there had been an increase of nearly Rs. 3,000,000 in the previous five years. Karachi in

twenty years showed an increase of upwards of Rs. 800,000. No estimate is given of the Madras trade, much of it passing through Bombay. The highest total of the three ports above named for any one year was £4,055,579. Besides these the Malabar coast, Katch, and Kattiawar contributed between them £200,000; Jedda and the Red Sea £120,000; the opium trade with China £300,000, and the pearl fisheries £750,000. With the Tigris and Euphrates valleys there was a trade worth £30,000 a year, and the same amount was contributed by Zanzibar and the African coast. The trade with Java was reckoned at £200,000, with England and America at about the same figure, and with Mauritius at £40,000. The gross total for one year was not far short of £6,000,000 sterling, besides the trade carried on in small coasting craft. Eight years before, no steamer traded in the Gulf, but in 1870 steamers plied at an average of one a week. A line of steamers from England and another from Constantinople were about to be started.

In connection with this subject the following description of places in the Persian Gulf by a correspondent of the *Times of India* will be found interesting:—

“At 6 A.M. of the 2nd January, 1872, we anchored in the sheltered roadstead of Muscat, the capital and chief port of Oman, now in possession of Iman Syad Turki. The water is deep enough for large ships to anchor very near the shore, and at a few miles eastward on our track we had, according to the charts, passed over soundings of 2,020 fathoms with mud bottom, or depths of over two and a quarter miles. The hills, several of which are fortified, rise from 500 to 600 feet high, far higher than the bay is deep, while the mountains a few miles to the south-west rise to the height of 6,000 or even 8,000 feet. In Muscat there was very little shipping—H.M.S. *Bullfinch* and a few country traders being all. The city contains about 20,000 inhabitants, chiefly Arabs, though there are many Sidhis or Africans from Zanzibar, and a sprinkling of Hindu Borahs. It is poorly built, though the houses along the beach, some of which were erected by the Portuguese, present a strong and pleasing appearance. In the forts are a number of rusty old iron guns of various calibre. Some appear to have been spiked, and then again bored out, as some of the touch-holes are an inch or more in diameter. The forts, though presenting outwardly a new appearance, are tumbling to ruin, having been greatly injured in the disturbances and fights connected with the late succession to the government, about two or three years ago. There is a bazaar

well stocked with dates and halwa, fruit and vegetables, piece goods, &c.; but it is narrow, tortuous, and dirty, and covered with mats to defend the goods from sun or rain. The Portuguese, it will be remembered, held this place in the time of their maritime prosperity from 1507 to 1648, when probably it had a greater trade than at present,—though it has even now a trade with India and China; while a few small native vessels are built here. There are one or two English merchants or agents, and a surgeon, besides Major Ross, the English Consul.

“A little more than a day under steam brought us, early on the morning of January 4th, to Bunder Abbas, or Gombroon, where our vessel moored beside the hulk of the SS. *Coromandel*, long known in Bombay, but now used here as a store-ship. Bunder Abbas is in a barren-looking region, on the southern slope of lofty hills, on the top of which snow rested, it having fallen a day or two previously; thermometer 69° F. The town, which may contain 5,000 inhabitants, is mud-walled, and is badly built,—the houses being of mud and plaster, and in some instances stone or brick. The residence of the native Persian Governor, who has just been in prison for debt, is the best built. It is said to have been the old Dutch factory. Trade was transferred from Ormuz to here in 1622 by Shah Abbas, who, with the aid of the English, drove the Portuguese from the island and port of Ormuz, about twelve or fifteen miles to the south-east. The bazaar is well stocked with fruit and vegetables, oranges being in great plenty. Piece goods and other European as well as Chinese articles are also sold. But like Muscat the streets, if such they can be called, are narrow and tortuous, and roofed over with matting wherever there are shops. The island of Ormuz, which was passed just before we anchored here, was formerly held by the Portuguese from 1507, when it was captured by D’Albuquerque, the founder of Portuguese power in the East, till 1622, and was a port of great trade, with a town of 4,000 houses and 40,000 inhabitants. The ruins of this may yet be seen on the north side of the island, where there are an old fort and tower. There are not probably now more than a few hundred inhabitants—fishermen and salt-workers; for the sea abounds with fish, and the island with salt and other minerals. The peaks of several of the hills resemble cones or hay-ricks. This island must have been a place of much wealth in the days of Milton, who, in his ‘Paradise Lost,’ alludes to the ‘wealth of Ormuz and of Ind.’ The strait is also referred to by Nearchus, who passed through it nearly 2,200 years ago, with the fleet and army of Alexander, on his voyage

from the Indus to the Tigris. After a pleasant sail amid picturesque islands, we arrived early next morning off Linga, having passed Larak and Bassadore on our way. The town of Linga contains probably from 6,000 to 7,000 inhabitants; and it is by far the prettiest and most imposing town I have yet seen in the Gulf. The houses of stone and plaster are well built, and stretch for nearly two miles along the shore. In one place they form a pretty crescent around a small bay. At another place a wall or breakwater protects a large dock or shipbuilding yard, for the construction of native vessels; while at the back of all the houses, and peeping out from among them, is a green border of tall feathery date-palm trees. The bazaar was busy in the morning, and was well stocked with fruits, vegetables, and European goods. But the streets, like those elsewhere noted, were in many places scarcely wide enough for two persons to pass, and hardly admit of carrying an umbrella, though this is not much needed, as in many parts the streets where the shops are are covered with mats, like the bazaars in Canton and other places in China. There is everywhere a great want of sanitary arrangements, both for the sake of health and decency; though Linga is perhaps better in this respect than most places on the Persian coast. Indeed, its well-built houses and pleasing and even imposing appearance I am disposed to think entitle it to be called the Brighton of these parts, if not of Persia."

On August 31st, 1871, Lord Mayo held a durbar at Simla for the reception of the chiefs of the Hill States between the Jamna and Sutlej. The introductions having been completed and the khilluts or robes of honour conferred, his Excellency addressed the chiefs as follows:—

"Rajahs, Chiefs, and Thakurs,—I rejoice to see you here to-day, coming, as you do, to pay homage to the Queen in the person of her representative, and to show your friendly feelings towards the British Government.

"For a long time, under its protecting rule, the chiefs and people of these Sub-Himalayan hills have not heard the voice of war; safety everywhere prevails; crime is happily scarce; serious disputes are rare; the industrious cultivator takes undisturbed from the steep hill-side such produce as it can yield; and for fifty-six years profound peace has prevailed in all your villages—from the snowy peaks to the plain—from the Sutlej to the Jamna.

"Since the days of the Gurkha war, you have ever evinced towards our Sovereign the most unwavering loyalty; on some occasions, when opportunity offered, you have given practical proof of the sentiments you entertain.

"I am happy to think that in no part of Hindustan are chiefs and people better affected towards British rule than in the Cis-Sutlej Hills.

"I know that you will always continue in this course, and in return let me assure you that you will ever receive the constant protection of this Government; that your rights, your property, and your dignity will ever be maintained. All we ask is, that you will discountenance and absolutely forbid oppression in every form within your states, and do what lies in your power to assist, improve, educate, and enrich your dependants and your ryots—that you will discourage the evil-disposed and promote and reward the good. Thus will your states flourish, your revenues increase, you and your families maintain your ancient rank and position, and command the respect of all.

"In the present Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and his officers, to whose peculiar care your interests are committed, you will find disinterested councillors and true friends. Apply, then, freely to them when you are in want of assistance and advice.

"I now bid you farewell, assuring you that it will always give me the greatest gratification to hear of your health, prosperity, and happiness."

On September 20th, 1871, Calcutta society was thrown into consternation by the murder of Chief Justice Norman, who was proceeding to assume his usual judicial functions when the deed was committed. Mr. Norman had just ascended the steps in front of the Town Hall, and had scarcely put his foot within the vestibule, when a man, who had been concealed in a doorway, sprang out and stabbed him in the back. The Judge turning round was stabbed a second time in the abdomen. He then ran backwards, and endeavoured to keep off his assailant with stones and bricks which he picked up on the way, until help came from a native, who knocked down the assassin, while others wrested the knife from his hands and secured him. Mr. Norman died early the following morning, and was followed to the grave by members of all sections of the community, among whom regret was universal. The murderer proved to be a Punjabi, named Abdullah. Being a Mohamadan, his act was popularly ascribed to the Wahabis, but it is probable that private vengeance was mixed with the motive, since Amir Khan, the chief person interested in it, had been detained in custody under Mr. Norman's warrant, upon a charge of treason and conspiracy at Patna, and a motion by counsel for his release had been negatived by the decision of this judge. The murderer, however, expiated his crime on the gallows without breathing a word of confession

which could implicate any comrade in any pre-concerted plot. His own story was that he went to the Judge to present a petition, and on his refusing to take it he was seized with a frenzy which led him to take a sudden and, as it proved, a murderous revenge. Whatever was the real motive of the crime, the leading Mohammadans of Calcutta lost no time in declaring their abhorrence of the act, and expressing their heartfelt grief at the murder of "one of the most upright and conscientious judges that ever sat on the bench of the Calcutta High Court." Mr. Justice Phear described his colleague's death as a public calamity, "because a more upright, honest judge than Mr. Justice Norman never sat in any court; a more generous noble-minded gentleman never lived to elevate, by the active exercise of his wide sympathy and lofty principles, the society in which he moved. He felt sure that the deed would be universally execrated, by men of all classes, colours, and creeds, wherever the name of Norman was known; in other words, throughout the length and breadth of Bengal." Mr. Norman was the senior puisne barrister judge of the Bengal High Court, and had been officiating as Chief Justice in the absence of Sir R. Couch.

In the last month of the year died Lord Ellenborough, who was Governor-General of India from 1842 to 1844, and under whom Sind was absorbed into British India. From January to July, 1846, he filled the post of First Lord of the Admiralty in Sir Robert Peel's Administration, and in 1858 he undertook for two months his former office of President of the Board of Control. His spiteful dispatch in censure of Lord Canning has already been noticed. After his resignation he did not again take office, but he continued to be a most powerful and eloquent speaker in the House of Lords. "His own India Bill came to nought; but his scornful eloquence helped to modify more than one clause in the Bill which, under Lord Stanley's guidance, swept away the rule of the East India Company, and secured the virtual triumph of the competitive principle throughout every branch of the old Indian services."

The financial history of Lord Mayo's viceroyalty is of interest on account of the resolute stand which at the outset of his career he made against deficits, the reforms he made in the financial system, and the success which attended his efforts to produce a permanent equilibrium between revenue and expenditure.

Sir Richard Temple's financial statement was delivered on March 6th, 1869. The deficit in 1867-68 amounted to £1,610,157,

which rose in 1868-69 to £2,801,244, including £1,830,773 spent on extraordinary works. For 1869-70 the revenue was estimated at £49,340,840, which was expected to leave a surplus of £52,650, after all ordinary expenses had been paid. The extraordinary public works were to cost rather over £3,500,000, which was to be covered by a loan of £5,000,000. Instead of the license-tax, which yielded £500,000, an income-tax of one per cent. was to be levied on all incomes alike, which exceeded Rs. 500 a year. This was expected to produce £900,000. No returns of individual incomes were to be called for, but time was to be allowed to every one to appeal against his assessment. £12,850,000 was the estimated military outlay, and £3,202,061 was the sum required for the pay of troops and establishments at home. The cost of ordinary public works, such as barracks, hospitals, roads, &c., was reckoned at a little over £6,000,000. Salt and customs were expected to yield some thousands more than in the previous year, and opium was rated at £500,000 less than the receipts of that year. Notwithstanding the "safe, just, and sound" financial policy of Sir R. Temple, as he himself characterized it, Lord Mayo found it necessary in August to publish the following resolution:—

"The Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council is determined that, as far as lies in his power, the *ordinary* expenses of the Empire shall not for the future exceed by a single rupee the revenue of the year. If, from adverse circumstances, the income declines, the charges of every department must be proportionately reduced. Political and financial considerations of the highest importance are involved in this determination, and his Excellency the Viceroy in Council has fully resolved to adhere to it.

"The distribution of the Budget grants is based on a careful investigation and comparison of national requirements, and the Viceroy in Council is determined that the grants made shall, no matter at what inconvenience, be regarded as final, and shall neither be exceeded nor re-appropriated except under circumstances of peculiar exigency.

"His Excellency the Viceroy in Council expects the cordial support of every officer of the Government in carrying out a resolution which is so evidently a matter of political necessity, and which must commend itself to the judgment of every man who has given any thought to the financial position of this great Empire.

"The subordinate Governments are of course bound, as a primary duty, to use the most honest and rigid economy in the pre-

paration of the estimates of their requirements; but it would be wholly impossible for the Government of India to promise that, even after that shall have been done, the entire estimates will be granted without scrutiny or retrenchment.

"When, as is usually the case, the acceptance of the demands of the several subordinate administrations would create a large deficit, the Government of India has before it only two alternatives—to impose additional taxation, or to curtail the estimated expenditure.

"It is one of the most important duties of the Supreme Government to decide which alternative shall be adopted; and if the latter, where, upon a comparison of the entire demands of the Empire, it is right and expedient to enforce the needful economy.

"The circumstances appear to the Viceroy in Council to exclude the propriety of remonstrance against retrenchment by a subordinate administration, except upon the most undeniable grounds.

"The completed accounts of the year 1867-68 show an actual excess of ordinary expenditure over ordinary income of no less than £1,007,695. The revenues of 1869-70 are expected to exceed the revenues of 1867-68 by £1,060,397, leaving a small margin of £52,702, which might be allowed for increase of expenditure in 1869-70 over 1867-68 with due regard to the maintenance of an equilibrium. The military estimates, however, after the exercise of all possible economy, show an increase, as compared with 1867-68, of £246,533, and the ordinary charges of the Public Works Department show an increase of £50,781, so that the Government of India had to meet a net deficiency of £244,612, either by reducing the estimated civil expenditure by that amount below the actual expenditure of 1867-68, or by imposing additional taxation.

"Having, in the exercise of its high functions, rejected this latter alternative, the Government of India distributed the deficit in the manner it deemed most fair and most expedient among the several subordinate Governments and administrations."

This resolution was followed by a General Order in which Lord Mayo expressed a doubt as to the amount of energy shown by the Local Governments in assessing and collecting the income-tax. He was further dissatisfied with the mode of administering the license and certificate taxes, and counselled greater efforts to realise the income-tax, and so secure to the State its just dues. In September a long dispatch was sent by the Indian Government to the Secretary of State, containing revised estimates for the year, and

"earnestly" entreating all the assistance and support that could be given them in their attempts to reduce "the present enormous charges for the army," and in their efforts to make arrangements whereby the income should always be in excess of the expenditure. The following are disconnected extracts from the dispatch:—

"The entire deficit now estimated in the current year is £1,727,402. The modifications on which our Budget estimate upon this result is based are not, we are confident, due to any overstrained or gloomy view of the situation. There are items, such as customs, salt, and opium, which *may possibly* turn out better than we now expect; but there are others, such as land revenue and stamps, of which we can scarcely hope that even our present estimate will be realised. Upon the whole, we shall be gratified if our present revision do not prove to be still too sanguine. And we cannot, in respect to 1869-70, find any relief from the thought that our embarrassment is due, to any considerable extent, to the Public Works expenditure, or to other than ordinary circumstances. It is true that some of the sources of our revenue are much depressed; but it is also true that if the large nominal receipts of 1868-69 be deducted, the gross estimated revenues are very little worse than the gross actual revenues of that year. Nor are they very largely worse than those of any recent year. On the other hand, we have provided for no very unusual expenditure; and the charges show no temporary or abnormal excess.

"We have shown that the past year, 1868-1869, instead of closing, as was anticipated in the Budget estimate, with a surplus of £243,550, or, as was anticipated in the regular estimate, with a deficit of £970,471, has closed actually with a deficit of £2,273,362. We have shown that the present year, 1869-1870, which, according to the Budget estimate laid before the Legislative Council in March last, was to close with a surplus of £52,650, will probably close with an actual deficit of more than £1,700,000.

"The necessary conclusion to which we are led is, that nothing short of a permanent improvement in the balance now subsisting between our annual income and expenditure of at least three millions sterling will suffice to place our finances in a really satisfactory condition.

"We are satisfied that there is only one course which we can properly follow. We must no longer continue to make good the deficit of each succeeding year by adding to the public debt. And we must determine, whatever be the difficulty of the task, that

there shall, henceforth, be no room for doubt that, in time of peace, our income will always be in excess of our ordinary expenditure.

"We have described to your Grace the dangers and difficulties which, in our opinion, surround our present position. We must, however, in conclusion, assure your Grace that, notwithstanding the somewhat gloomy picture which we have been obliged to draw, the general aspect of affairs inspires us with the fullest confidence in the future prosperity of India.

"We entertain no apprehension of foreign invasion or domestic disturbance. For all purposes of defence, and for the preservation of peace, our military and police organizations are strong and efficient.

"The splendid revenue of the Empire is contributed by a population which, compared with that of other countries, is lightly taxed. As was proved by the success of our late loan, the credit of India never stood higher.

"The enriching and civilising effects of the great railway and irrigation works which have, within the last twenty years, been constructed, are beginning to be felt throughout the length and breadth of the land.

"By the blessing of Providence, with the seasonable and plentiful rainfall of the last few weeks, all danger of famine and of the continuance of the late severe distress has passed away.

"The steady rise which has taken place in the value of labour must, ere long, materially increase the wealth and contentment of the people.

"With us, then, it rests, by careful administration, and by a strict adherence to those simple rules of prudence and economy which, in the conduct of the affairs alike of nations and individuals, are indispensable to the attainment of safety and success, to use to the utmost extent, for the benefit of the people, the mighty resources of this great Empire.

"It is because we believe that a healthy and permanent system of finance lies at the very foundation of real national progress, and even safety, that we commend to the most favourable consideration of your Grace the measures which we shall deem it our duty immediately to propose for the speedy attainment of the objects we have described."

This dispatch was followed in October by a resolution on a reduction of the grants for Public Works Expenditure. The gist of the reductions proposed by the Government is thus briefly put by the *Saturday Review* :—

"What the Indian Government ask is to be allowed to spend a million and a quarter less.

"The first head under which the expenditure, they (the Indian Government) think, is capable

of being reduced is that on military works and buildings, with which is classed the outlay on Government dockyards. The estimate for 1869-70 was £1,800,000. It is proposed for the future to fix the grant for all military purposes at a million and a quarter. The experience of the last few years shows that the necessary outlay on repairs for this class of work is about one-fourth of a million, so that there will remain about one million for carrying out new works. The Government think that the barracks, to which the bulk of the outlay is devoted, may be built more cheaply. Some costly superfluities, it is said, may be rejected in the future without any loss of comfort to the soldier; and that there may be no doubt as to what is meant as the great secret of reduction, it is expressly stated that by more closely limiting the accommodation to what is really necessary, much economy could be effected, and real convenience in no way sacrificed. This statement will of course provoke much discussion, and in many quarters it will be said that 'the vessel is going to be spoilt to save a ha'porth of tar,' and that the British soldier is to suffer in order that a little less may be spent in properly housing him. Still, if the Governor-General is so convinced, and is supported by competent military authorities in his opinion that everything necessary will be provided by the expenditure of a smaller sum than that originally contemplated, he is quite right to disregard any possible outcry from other and more enthusiastic friends of the soldier. The next item of expenditure in which a reduction is to be made is that of communications and roads. About a quarter of a million less is to be spent under this head: and it is explained that this reduction marks, and is intended to mark, the beginning of a new policy. The Government has for some years been satisfied that to attempt, from ordinary revenues, to provide and maintain all the roads required for the intercommunications of so vast a territory would be to enter on an altogether impracticable task. What is wanted is that the districts requiring the roads should make them for themselves, and that the cost of the construction of the means of communication auxiliary to railroads should be defrayed by local assessments. The Government would like to contribute more than a million in aid of local assessments, if it had more than a million to spare for the purpose. But it cannot honestly and properly contribute more than a million, and so the districts requiring roads must do the best they can with the help afforded them. In the same way the Government proposes to spend a quarter of a million less on civil buildings, and the reduction of operations in public works

will permit a considerable reduction under the head of Establishments and in miscellaneous outlays, which reduction, again, will amount to about a quarter of a million. Thus the total reduction of a million and a quarter is made up. But the Government point out that even after this reduction has been made, a vast sum will be annually laid out on the public works of India. Borrowing for railways and irrigation works will still go on, and something more than four millions a year will be expended from this source. The Indian Government will furnish from revenue, even after all reductions have been made, little short of four millions more; and when to these sums there is added what will be paid out of revenue for guaranteed interest on railways, the total amount of annual outlay on Indian public works will reach the respectable figure of ten millions. No one can doubt that it is far better for India that ten millions should be laid out on public works with the finances in a thoroughly healthy state, than that eleven millions and a quarter should be spent under a system of perpetual deficits. The Indian Government, therefore, will do all it can to put things straight, but there is much that does not lie in its power, and as to which it can only implore the Home Government to do its share in reducing the expenditure. There are, first, the home charges, in which the Indian authorities evidently believe, rightly or wrongly, that reductions could be made, but which they refrain from examining in detail because it is not for them to criticize the conduct of their masters. Far more important, however, is the military expenditure, in which the Indian Government are confident that very large reductions are feasible. Measures might, they think, be adopted, which, while they would lead to an immense saving of money, would not in the least diminish the real military strength of the Government. Such measures are, to a great extent, beyond the control of any one in India. The Home Government must come to the rescue."

Before the Legislative Council on November 19th, Sir Richard Temple reviewed the financial position. He thought at the time of his Budget estimate that all was fairly stated, and that he had not taken a more sanguine view of things than circumstances warranted. He then noticed the disturbing elements of the revenue. Opium had caused a deficiency of half a million, and the income-tax was likely to be less productive than was anticipated by about the same sum. It was apprehended in September that there might be a deficiency of £140,000, but again it was hoped that the timely rains would remove even this. But the famine in Northern India had been very severe,

and they would not realise as much as they had anticipated from the land revenue, though that great source of the State had not been impaired. Then there were three items of expenditure that had not been foreseen—interest in India, extra expenditure on the cultivation of opium, and interest in England. The deficit on the year might be taken at a million and three-quarters. This was proposed to be met by a reduction in Public Works of £792,500, cut off from ordinary expenditure. Whether that would be really saved he could not say. Reductions had been proposed in the Police. Army reduction had also been proposed, but whether the latter would be approved by the Secretary of State he could not say. Under any circumstances the change would give no relief this year. Sir Richard then referred to the proposed increase of the salt duty. This had been estimated to yield £200,000, but not wishing to be over-sanguine he would take it at about £190,000. The reductions in the Public Works Department would not reach a million, and there would then be a deficiency of about three-quarters of a million, which must be met by the income-tax. This tax it was proposed to double for the half-year, making it $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the year. The income-tax was not so productive as anticipated. The revised estimate gave it at £680,000, and taking half of that—£340,000—there would still be a deficiency of about £400,000 to make up. Sir Richard, after accounting for the discrepancies between the old estimates and the revised ones, appealed to the candour of the Council to consider whether the existing difficulty did not mainly arise from fiscal misfortunes hardly to have been anticipated, from fluctuations in trade generally, and in the China market particularly. "The Government of India," he said, "should be judged, not by the extent of fiscal misfortunes which cannot be prevented nor reasonably be foreseen, but rather by the degree of energy, efficiency, and resolution with which a deficit is met as soon as it is proved to be approaching." At the same meeting Colonel Strachey entered into a defence of the Public Works Department. He concluded as follows:—"The Public Works Department is very commonly regarded as the great enemy of public economy, and the first cause of financial disorder. We are told of the tyranny of the Public Works Department, from which no Government can escape. But, in fact, what is this department? It is the agency, and nothing more than the agency, through which the Government, in all its various departments, supplies itself with extravagancies. The Public Works Department does not desire to build palatial barracks, nor splendid hospitals, nor vast court-houses. It

has no wish to stud the country with police offices and stations. All these works are undertaken to satisfy the various civil departments of the administration, and the difficulty of the Public Works Department is to bring their demands within reasonable and practicable limits. So it is in truth with all other works. The Public Works Department receives from the Government that sum which the Government thinks fit to spend from year to year on this class of objects, and does its best to apply the money suitably. And the remedy against any final inconvenience that can arise from the operation of this department is in the most complete manner in the hands of the Government; indeed, in a far more complete manner than in any other branch of the administration. How truly this is shown by the occurrences of the last few months! The Government having become really alive to the necessity for economy, at once reduced the public works expenditure by £800,000, and next year will reduce it by a million and a quarter. To speak of a mere disbursing agency as in any sense responsible for the extent of the outlay it manages is a complete misuse of terms; and in future, I hope, that when it is thought proper to find fault with any excessive expenditure on public works, the responsibility will be attributed where it is due, to the administrative departments, and to the Executive Government."

The Viceroy in the course of his speech on the financial question observed—

"After the very great amount of information which has been placed before the public, both in the financial dispatch which we addressed some time ago to the Secretary of State, and also in the clear statements which have been made hereto-day, as to the reasons and causes which rendered it incumbent on the Government of India to take the unusual course which has been adopted with regard to Imperial Finance, I have but few additional remarks to make. Nothing has been kept back. Everything has been fully described. The means which we propose to take to remedy the evils which exist have been also, as far as is possible, laid with the utmost care before the Council. And it is gratifying to me, as it must be to my colleagues in the Executive Government, to know that, however much the public, in common with us, may regret the necessity of the course we have taken—however much some of the details of the proposals we have made may be criticized—yet we have received, both from the public, as far as we can judge, and certainly from the Press, a generous, and I may almost say a cordial approval. I have little doubt that those sentiments which have been so

generally expressed in India will be shared in by her Majesty's Government and by public opinion at home, and that every candid man will, on careful consideration of the facts of the case, come to the conclusion that the course we have followed was the wisest and safest that could have been taken under the peculiar circumstances of our position.

"I am quite aware that that course is most unusual, but it is not altogether unprecedented. If history be examined, and inquiry made into occurrences that have taken place in countries where a representative system of government is in full force, it will be found that, on special occasions, a similar proceeding has been adopted.

"I have said that its necessity must appear to every one to be absolute. There were, in truth, only two courses open to the Government of India. Every one can form an opinion on the matter, for our financial position has been before the public during many weeks. The facts, as we have described them in our financial dispatch, being fully known and verified, we had either to adopt a policy of concealment or of candour. Had we adopted the first course, we must have placed ourselves in this position:—We must have remained in a state of silence till next March, with the full knowledge that the public were under a grossly erroneous impression as to the true financial state of the country. This was a position in which I think no body of honourable men could for a moment have thought of placing themselves.

"For though the statements which were made have been now for a considerable time before the public, we have found that the financial credit of the country has not been seriously damaged, but that the public, knowing the worst, and feeling and appreciating the efforts of the Government to deal with the difficulty, have seen that these difficulties can be surmounted, that there is no real danger to the permanent financial position of the Empire, and that administrative reforms and strict adherence to the ordinary rules of economy and prudence are all that is necessary to place our financial affairs on a sound and healthy basis.

"Some foreboding was certainly expressed in one or two quarters. It was said that, by the premature disclosure of the real financial state of the Empire, we should run the risk of damaging national credit and throwing a general air of discomfiture upon the whole proceedings of the Government.

"I, in common with my colleagues, took a different view, which I think the result has shown to be the right one. I must say, in justice to my colleagues, that the resolution

to take, at the earliest possible moment, the public into the confidence of the Government was unanimously agreed to ; and that, as soon as our financial position was ascertained beyond a doubt, we felt that it was our duty to lay those facts before the public, and ask for its generous support in the measures which we deemed it indispensable to propose.

"I rejoice, therefore, that, casting aside the adherence to general routine, we adopted this course. I am not at all insensible to its disadvantage and its manifold inconvenience ; it is certainly not a line of action I should ever desire to repeat, and I am strongly of opinion that, except under the most extraordinary circumstances, it would be most unjustifiable.

"But when we look to the situation of affairs—when we look at the great deficit into which we were for a fourth year about to be plunged—when we knew that means were in our power to avoid the evil,—I think the public will agree with me in saying that routine and ordinary rules of administration were not considerations which ought to have guided or controlled the Government.

"There is no doubt that a great deal of the evil that has existed for years has been owing, not so much to the fault of the administration as to the circumstance that the Government have never been in possession of the great financial facts of the year at a sufficiently early period to make real use of them for the purposes of administration. I am quite aware that there are great difficulties in this matter. When people compare our system with that of a small, rich, and compact country like England, they entirely forget the enormous size of this Empire—the great distances which exist—the variety and complicated nature of our accounts—the amount of adjustment which is necessarily carried on between various treasuries and various accounting bodies. They also forget that the system which has been in existence in England for a very long period has only been recently introduced into India,—within, I may say, half the time of what may be called the present generation. I therefore, when men blame us for inaccuracy of forecast, insist that they should at the same time remember the peculiar circumstances of such an Empire as India.

"There is no doubt, however, that the cause of our present position is owing in part to the inaccuracy of forecast which has for some years existed ; but I believe that, by care and firmness in administration, a great portion of the inconveniences which are occasioned from a want of early knowledge of the actual current and financial position of the Empire can be obviated. The evil is one of

great magnitude, and is strongly proved by the discrepancy which has taken place within the last four years between the Budget estimate and the actual revenue and expenditure.

"Now the figures I am about to lay before you are very suggestive, and show how necessary it is that the Government should use every effort in its power to improve and to prevent the recurrence of the state of things which they disclose. I am far from saying that a recurrence can be altogether prevented during the present year or the next, or that, at any time, precise positive accuracy can be arrived at. But I am certainly convinced that, as the true merits, the publicity, safety, and many advantages of the Budget system are more closely brought home to the minds of the vast army of officials who serve the Government of India with so much ability and devotion, these evils will gradually disappear.

"Now, I find that in 1866-67 we budgeted for a deficit of £72,800, the real deficit turning out to be two millions and a half.

"I find that in 1867-68 a surplus of £1,764,478 was budgeted for, the result being a deficit of one million.

"In 1868-69 I find that a surplus of upwards of two millions was budgeted for, but a deficit of two millions occurred. In 1869-70 a surplus of £52,650 was budgeted for, but a deficit of nearly two millions is expected. I attach no blame to any one for this. I am fully aware that explanations, more or less satisfactory, may be offered ; and that, during the periods I have mentioned, the financial policy of the country was more than once changed in the course of the year. But, nevertheless, the facts I have mentioned are incontestable, and betoken, to my mind, a position of danger which ought to terminate. It is a state of things, at all events, which is sufficient to justify us in using every effort to obtain at the earliest possible moment the actual current facts with regard to our revenue and expenditure. Revenue must always fluctuate to a certain extent. Expenditure may occasionally exceed the amount budgeted for, though it is more under control. But it is clear that no administration can be conducted with safety and with success, unless events connected either with revenue or expenditure are known to the controlling power almost at the time of their occurrence.

"I believe, therefore, that by invoking the assistance of every department of the Government in preventing delay in forwarding useful information—in trying as far as possible to avoid the leaving of any unequal or unusual disbursement to the end of the year—in

endeavouring as far as possible to spread the expenditure over those months of the year in which it generally occurs,—I think that by these means, and also by a great effort on the part of the Government of India in condensing, analyzing, and bringing into use the information at their disposal, much of what has already occurred may for the future be avoided.

“I hope it will not now be supposed, from the remarks I have made, that it is my belief that inaccurate information has been supplied to the Government. On the contrary, I believe the information which has been placed at the disposal of the Government is thoroughly accurate and completely trustworthy. But what I object to is, that that information is often given too late, and the details are not available in sufficient time to make them thoroughly useful for administrative purposes. I believe that, considering the great power of this Government, and looking also to the rare advantages which it possesses in having in its service so many able and experienced officers, there can be really no substantial difficulty in obtaining at an earlier moment the vast amount of information which is every year so carefully collected, and which has generally been found to be so thoroughly trustworthy.

“I wish to say that we have embodied these opinions in a dispatch to the Secretary of State, and I have little doubt that in the efforts which we intend to make in this direction, we shall receive the hearty approval and support of her Majesty’s Government.

“I have merely now to add, on the part of the Government of India, how deeply we feel the general support which has been given, both by Local Governments and also by the public generally, to our proposals as a whole.

“When the financial position was at first disclosed, I received from many quarters the most hearty assurance of active assistance. From Madras, whose Government was the first to come forward without invitation or suggestion on our part, we received by telegraph an offer saying that, if necessary, it was ready to add a considerable amount to the salt-tax in that presidency.

“The proposal was immediately acquiesced in by Bombay, and I may say that, though there may be some differences of opinion as to the details of the reductions we propose, we have never received any expression of doubt as to the necessity of the case, or as to the duty of the Local Governments to assist to the utmost of their ability the Government of India in the difficult and arduous task which we have undertaken.

“We all know there must always be a con-

siderable difference of opinion among men who are engaged in the conduct of great affairs, especially if they happen to be Englishmen. Yet I believe there has never been known an instance in Indian history of any great crisis in which the Local Governments failed in their duty, and refused their support to the Supreme Government. I can only say, as has happened before, so it has now, that the Government of India is most anxious to defer in all matters under discussion to those opinions; but at the same time we must express our firm determination to arrive, at all hazards, and in the shortest time, at the great financial result at which we aim.

“We are engaged in great interests and dealing with enormous sums—we are engaged in an attempt which may be summed up in two or three words. We have to change the financial condition of this country in such a way as to give, at the earliest possible moment, a probable advantage of upwards of three millions of money.

“I am now speaking not only the opinion of the Government of India, but also that of the Secretary of State, when I say that it is decided that—looking to the many fluctuating items in the resources of the country, to the risks to which we are liable, and the magnitude of the interests involved—unless such a result is obtained, it cannot be said that Indian finance stands upon a sound and substantial basis.

“Although the effect of this great reduction of expenditure may be, in a few cases, somewhat to injure individual interests, or, what is far more important, to postpone for a short period works of usefulness in which we are all deeply interested; yet, by making these sacrifices now, we shall lay up for ourselves a great store of safety and welfare for hereafter. For unless such a course is taken, we cannot hope to carry on with success, and finish within reasonable time, those great works of improvement which are so necessary to the life, the comfort, the health and safety of the people, and to the speedy completion of which the honour and the credit of this Government are pledged.”

Towards the close of November, a Bill was brought forward for improving and cheapening the production of salt in Upper and Central India. The working of the existing fiscal rules had caused an artificial salt famine, so that within the salt customs’ line only six and three-quarter pounds of salt were consumed per head, whereas in the salt-bearing districts outside the line the consumption was all but doubled. The new Bill aimed at remedying this state of things, by multiplying the main sources of supply and providing cheap means

of access to those sources by rail. One of the lines would connect Agra with the great Salt Lake of Sambhur, leased from the Rajah of Jaipur; another would join Delhi to the salt-fields of Sultanpur in Oudh; a third would tap the salt ranges of the Punjab; and a fourth would fill up the gap between Multan and Rori, on the left bank of the Indus. Improved methods of making and storing the salt were also indicated in the Bill. By these means it was expected to diminish smuggling, and add a million to the revenue from the consequent increase in the consumption of salt.

The financial statement of 1870 was made by Sir Richard Temple on April 2nd. The following are its principal details:—The ordinary outlay for 1868-69 amounted to £54,431,688, or £2,750,000 above the receipts. For 1869-70 the revised estimate showed an income close upon £53,000,000, against an outlay of more than £53,500,000. The former exceeded Sir Richard's Budget estimate by nearly £750,000, and the latter by a million and a third. This excess of outlay occurred in spite of reductions made during the autumn to the extent of more than a million. A number of causes contributed to this, such as the taking up of a loan in India instead of England, the payment of a subsidy to Sher Ali, the non-payment of interest claimed from the English Government for the Abyssinian loan, increased charges for forests, marine, superannuation allowances, army, and miscellaneous items. The deficit for the year amounted to £625,594. The home expenses were £872,119 above the estimate. The extraordinary outlay on irrigation, State railways, and a Bombay Special Fund, amounted to more than £2,500,000, but this was covered by a loan. For 1870-71 the receipts were estimated at £52,327,755, or about 52½ millions. No increase was allowed for in the customs, while the half-million gained the previous year on land revenue was wiped out on account of bad harvests and doubtful prospects. No reduction was made in the rice duty, but the export duty on shawls was taken off, and the duty on galvanised iron was to be levied *ad valorem*. The salt revenue was taken at £6,177,370, or about a third of a million over the receipts for the previous year. The returns from opium were reckoned at £6,922,281, or a million less than the sum received the year before. The whole outlay for the year was estimated at £52,164,315, or nearly £1,500,000 below that of 1869-70. This allowed for an increase on interest, on forests, law and justice, and superannuation allowances—caused by reductions in the police, on rail-

way charges, on telegraphs, and on education. A decrease was made in the army charges of £750,000, in the marine of £481,000, in the police of nearly £121,000, and in public works ordinary of more than £1,000,000. Not quite £4,000,000 were allowed for public works for the year, of which two-thirds of a million were set apart for barracks. The amount of assessed taxes was set down at £2,180,000. The yield of a 1 per cent. income-tax being £700,000, Sir Richard, by raising the tax to 3½ per cent., counted on getting more than thrice that sum. This increased rate he regarded as the only possible way of preventing a deficit at a short notice. The tax was to be levied according to the English method of taxing, so many pence in the pound. It would therefore be at the rate of half an anna in the rupee, and would be made on individual incomes, and not, as before, on the average income of each class. The surplus anticipated was £163,440. As was to be expected, the increased income-tax aroused a storm of indignation throughout the whole European and official community. In the Legislative Council the measure was denounced by the three independent members, was practically condemned by Sir Henry Durand and Colonel Strachey, and accepted by the rest only as a last desperate resource. Public meetings in Bombay and Calcutta, and in fact all over the country, with one voice demanded the removal of the financier who could find no better way of escape from a deficit, partly due to his own misreckonings, than by adding to a burden which already pressed hard enough on its chief victims. The *Englishman*, after denouncing the increased tax as a glaring breach of faith, besought all Calcutta to "oppose this man and his disgraceful measures with heart and voice." The *Daily News* entreated Lord Mayo not to make himself a party to a measure "condemned by its inherent injustice." The *Friend of India* remarked, "The principal argument against a sensational Budget is to be found in the widespread discontent of the services all over India. It is not too much to say that ever since 1861 the administrative establishments of the country have been the sport of successive Governments. All over the land there has gone up a cry for finality, for fixity. . . . There was a reason in Lord Canning's time why the revolution should be thorough and sweeping; but it has never stopped,—it is ever assuming new and more odious phases. All trust is destroyed, all loyalty is dissipated, confidence is impossible. Incompetent financier succeeds incompetent financier, and Governor-

General follows Governor-General, each with plans of his own, each adding to the confusion to which he has fallen heir. They will not let well alone. They will pull up the young plants placed in the ground by their predecessors, to see how they are growing; and when vitality has thus been destroyed, they make that an excuse for putting their own crop in the same place, only to have that similarly treated by their successors. This is as true of great reforms as of leave-rules and allowances, and both tell on the most highly educated officials in the country." The *Bombay Gazette* observed, "Anything more humiliating than Sir Richard Temple's apology for the Budgets of 1868-69 and 1869-70, it never was our lot to read. From end to end it is a confession of miscalculations which we do not hesitate to call reckless.

"He committed the fault common it seems to the schoolboy and the budget-maker—he over-estimated his probable revenue and under-estimated his probable expenditure. He showed on many points not an iota of foresight; he made no allowance for that unforeseen expenditure so characteristic of India; he knew that there had been a succession of deficits, yet he only provided the most paltry arrangements to stop the perennial leakage in the treasury. And he has to confess that, setting aside the barrack expenditure, the two millions and three-quarters of excess in 1868-69 'represent deficit pure and simple without any special justification.' In 1869-70 the same want of insight and foresight is manifest, the same superficial cleverness was visible, the same results followed—modified by the measures adopted at Simla, but for which the excess, "without special justification," in 1869-70 would have been as monstrous as that of 1868-69. He over-estimated his opium revenue; he over-estimated his customs revenue; he did not choose to provide for the probability that a loan would have to be raised and paid for. This careful financier forgot altogether to provide for 'the payments and presents to the Amir of Kabul.' He went upon the principle that every item should be omitted, for the omission of which an excuse might 'turn up.' What wonder, then, that his house of cards blew down at Simla, and that he has had to sit on the cutty-stool at Calcutta? We say 'he,' but of course the whole Government must share the responsibility. Nor can we put any confidence in the Budget of 1870-71, for such are the principles of the Supreme Government that their action can command none. All we can be sure of is that Sir Richard Temple, Government assenting, *thinks* he will obtain a revenue of £52,327,775, and that he

thinks, Government assenting, that he will only spend £52,164,315; but we have no ground for believing that a great deal of these estimates are not works of imagination." Lord Mayo shared the unpopularity of his finance minister. Petition after petition against the tax was presented by the Chambers of Commerce, and other bodies representing European or native interests in the three presidencies, and loud complaints were made of the hardship or the extortion involved in the collecting of it. But the Indian Government declined to remove the obnoxious impost even after it was ascertained that the expected deficit had become an actual surplus. The abolition of the income-tax was reserved for Lord Mayo's successor. The tax was, however, reduced to one-third in the year 1871-72, as will be seen from the following summary by Sir Richard Temple of the contents of his Budget for that year:—

"The main points have been:—

"That for 1869-70, instead of an anticipated deficit of £625,594, there has been an actual surplus of £118,668;

"That for 1870-71 the surplus estimated in the Budget at £163,440 is now estimated at £997,100, or one million;

"That this surplus is really due to an unlooked-for accession of opium revenue;

"That without this accession of opium revenue there would have been little more than an equilibrium between income and ordinary expenditure;

"That for 1871-72 there is estimated a small surplus of income over ordinary expenditure of £93,400; that this estimate is arrived at after a large abatement of the income-tax; the lowest incomes assessable, namely, those between Rs. 750 and Rs. 500, being exempted altogether, and the rates for all classes being lowered from $3\frac{1}{8}$ to a fraction above 1 per cent.;

"That this change in the income-tax causes a reduction of $1\frac{1}{8}$ million of direct taxation;

"That the exemption of incomes between Rs. 750 and Rs. 500 reduces the total number of persons assessed, 480,000, by fully one-half, and releases 240,000 taxpayers;

"That the ordinary expenditure for the coming year shows a decrease of one million of expenditure as compared with the current year;

"That subject to certain conditions, an increased financial control has been intrusted to the several Local Governments in respect to gaols, registration, police, education, medical services, printing, roads other than military, and civil buildings;

"That the grants by the General Treasury for these services have been reduced by

£331,038, and that a fixed limit is imposed on the imperial expenditure on these departments;

“That for these provincial services throughout India allotments have been made of four and three-quarter millions, distributed among the various Local Governments;

“That apart from the allotments made to the Local Governments under these provincial services for roads and buildings, the ordinary public works grant in India has been brought down to two and one-third millions;

“That three and a half millions have been raised by loan in England since my last statement was made, while only a little above one million has been expended on public works extraordinary;

“That three and a half millions are proposed to be spent on public works extraordinary during the coming year, 1871-72, two and one-third millions being provided for by loan;

“That owing to the improvements in the account of the income and ordinary expenditure of Government, and the temporary diminution of expenditure on public works extraordinary and on construction of the guaranteed railways, the cash balances in India are very high, and no loan is proposed in this country;

“That during the current year various measures relating to finance have been carried out, such as the coinage of ten-rupee and five-rupee gold pieces; the legalisation of a five-rupee note in the paper currency; and the introduction of district Savings Banks in the interior of the country.

“I must now conclude my exposition. If it be found (as I fear it will) meagre and imperfect in many respects, still I hope the Council will remember that my subject is really too varied and extensive to be fully treated in all its particulars within the limits of the patience of my hearers. At all events, within the necessary limits, I have striven to compress as many facts and considerations as possible.

“In 1869 I spoke of flourishing revenue and growing commerce. In 1870 the burden of my story was diminished income and depressed trade. In 1871, however, I have now once more to tell of national prosperity, of abundant harvests, of rising income, of falling expenditure, and of improved public credit. In two successive expositions (1869 and 1870) I have had to lament the existence of deficit. But on this occasion, in my third exposition, the picture is at last relieved by the prospect of a surplus. The Council knows what strenuous exertions have been made to obtain equi-

librium and even surplus. Those efforts seem at this moment likely to be attended with even more success than we at first ventured to hope for.

“In 1869 I affirmed that the Government of India had aimed at a financial policy to be at once safe, sound, and just. Since then two years of trial and labour have passed, and I affirm once more that the same principles have been strictly observed, notwithstanding that the observance caused much trouble and difficulty.

“We have maintained a strict distinction as to what expenditure shall, and what shall not, be considered extraordinary to be provided for by loan. All expenditure, however beneficial, not yielding a direct pecuniary return, has been classed as ordinary expenditure. We have resolved that, so far as may be possible, the whole of the ordinary expenditure of each year shall be defrayed from the revenues of that year. We have jealously guarded against everything that might tend to shift the burden of these just charges from the present to the future. We have steadily refrained from providing by loan for any branch of ordinary expenditure, or for any public work not yielding direct pecuniary return. We have even refused to entertain proposals for temporary or terminable loans for such purposes. In preference to any such course, the alternative of enhancing the existing taxation has been adopted. But that taxation has been so adjusted as to fall rather on the richer than the poorer classes of the country. Though the revenue has been augmented, yet no fresh burden whatever has been imposed on any branch of trade or of industry; no new imperial tax has been introduced; no fiscal innovations have been applied to British India generally. In so far as any fresh tax may be needed in any part of India, the disposition has been to rely on local rather than imperial arrangements.

“Retrenchments in both the civil and military branches of expenditure in India have been made. To afford further relief, the expenditure on ordinary public works has been cut down by more than one-third. Strict economy in details has been enforced by the Government of India and by the Local Governments. The better enforcement of economy was one of the reasons for investing the Local Governments with increased financial control in several departments. That measure also has been commenced by a further reduction of one-third of a million of expenditure.

“On the other hand, liberality has been shown in the provision by loan for public works of an extraordinary and reproductive character. But this operation has been so

far guarded financially, in that the interest on the borrowed capital is charged against ordinary revenues."

During the debate on the Budget on March 31st, Lord Mayo made the following defence of his Government:—

"I admit the comparative poverty of this country, as compared with many other countries of the same magnitude and importance, and I am convinced of the impolicy and injustice of imposing burdens upon this people which may be called either crushing or oppressive. Mr. Grant Duff, in an able speech which he delivered the other day in the House of Commons, the report of which arrived by last mail, stated with truth that the position of our finance was wholly different from that of England. 'In England,' he stated, 'you have a comparatively wealthy population. The income of the United Kingdom has, I believe, been guessed at 800 millions per annum. The income of British India has been guessed at 300 millions per annum. That gives well on to £30 per annum as the income of every person in the United Kingdom, and only £2 per annum as the income of every person in British India.'

"I believe that Mr. Grant Duff had good grounds for the statement he made, and I wish to say, with reference to it, that we are perfectly cognisant of the relative poverty of this country as compared with European states.

"But as a matter of fact, are the people of India heavily taxed? Figures are not always satisfactory, and calculations of this kind must be, to some extent, open to cavil; but still as statisticians accept the facts that I shall state, we may consider that they represent pretty fairly approximate accuracy.

"I have made from reliable documents a comparative statement of the incidence of imperial taxation in India, and in some European states, England excluded. I have deducted from the resources of the Indian Empire all those sources of revenue which cannot strictly be called taxation. I have deducted land revenue for the reason that it is not taxation, but is that share of the profits of the land which the Government, in its character of chief proprietor, has from time immemorial deemed it its right to demand. The opium revenue is excluded, because no one in India pays it. I have also deducted contributions from native states, the receipts received in the army, postal, telegraph, and all the spending departments. The result is, that the revenue received from taxation proper in India amounts to 14½ millions from a population of 150 millions, which gives a result of 1s. 10d. per head per year. I have followed the same investigation with regard to five European states, some of

which are not the richest, and I find that while Indian taxation is but 1s. 10d. per head per year, the subjects of the Sultan are paying 7s. 9d.; those of the Emperor of Russia 12s. 2d.; the inhabitants of Spain 18s. 5d.; Austria 19s. 7d.; and Italy 17s. It must be remembered, however, that a shilling bears a larger proportion to the income of a labourer in India than to that of a labourer in any of the countries mentioned; but still there is no such difference between the value of labour here and in Europe as is represented by the difference of taxation that I have described. Notwithstanding this, the fact is that the financial credit of our Empire is far better than that of any of those states to which I have referred. I have mentioned these facts to show that the term 'crushing taxation' is wholly inapplicable to the countries subject to the authority of the Government of India. At the same time I am far from saying that this happy state is not right. I believe it is. The greatest security to Government is given by the feeling entertained by the people that they are lightly taxed. And by avoiding, as much as possible, additions to the burdens of those who contribute to the interest of the State, we add much to the safety of our rule. When gentlemen accuse the Government of extraordinary inaccuracy in estimating, they forget this, that an estimate is a matter of opinion, and is, to a great extent, a prophecy. My hon. friend, Sir Richard Temple, described with great force in his financial statement the difficulties that are to be met in this respect. The Indian estimates are an aggregate of facts, collected over an immense area by a large body of officers. These facts are carefully adjusted, compared with the estimates of former years, analyzed and summed up, and from this mass of evidence deductions are drawn. Owing to the peculiarity of some of these chief items of revenue—items which hardly exist or are totally unknown in many countries—the difficulty is vastly increased. It is not possible to avoid error. The most sagacious man cannot foretell the price of opium for a month, far less for a year, and opium produces nearly one-sixth of our revenue. The land revenue (which gives two-fifths of the revenue) is also subject to risks which no man can foresee. The traffic receipts of the railways fluctuate considerably, and depend to a great extent on the general prosperity of the country. The customs revenue fluctuates also to a great extent according to the condition of the people.

"We have been advised to meet the difficulty by what is called 'sanguine estimating.' I think it is quite right in estimating to leave such a margin as will, in our opinion, secure

our calculations from some of the disturbing causes which I have mentioned ; but sanguine estimating, which informs the country beyond or within the facts that are in our possession, for the object of diminishing or increasing taxation, is, in my opinion, nothing less than dishonesty. I am sure my hon. friend, Mr. Robinson, would be the last man to recommend anything like dishonesty ; but what he appears to suggest is that we should disregard the facts which were laid before the Government, and come to a different conclusion from that which we thought these facts would warrant. I cannot help thinking that if we had taken that course we should not have been acting in accordance with the principles which ought to guide us in all our transactions. We think we know a good deal about finance, but certainly we do not know anything about 'financing,' and it is our duty to present the public with the most accurate results we can obtain, and the soundest opinion we can form. We never can, and never will, take any other course.

"But with regard to this accuracy of estimate, the Secretary of the Financial Department has supplied me with a curious statement, showing the comparison of English and also Indian estimates with actual facts. The English accounts are on the average better than the estimates, whereas, hitherto, the Indian accounts have been on the average worse than the estimates. It is intended to take precautions against a recurrence of this ; but it, of course, involves some additional severity in providing ways and means. The Indian estimates, however, appear to approximate more closely to facts than do the estimates in England. It is curious that if we compare the English estimates for the last ten years with the actuals, we find that the annual average difference of actual from estimate was £2,132,700, on a revenue varying from 70 to 74 millions. In India the annual average difference from estimate was £1,874,600, on a revenue varying from 41 millions to 50 millions ; so that we find that, notwithstanding all the difficulties which lie in the way of the financial member in laying his statement before the public, his estimate does not compare unfavourably as to accuracy with that made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"It has frequently been stated that a great deal of our misfortune has arisen in that we have given undue liberty to the Public Works Department in the way of expenditure. Let me remind the Council as to what has been done in this respect. It is probable that some useless works have been stopped, but at the same time a great many useful undertakings have been unavoidably postponed.

The fact remains that whilst in 1868-69 the expenditure was £6,272,000, and in 1870-71 £4,797,000, for the present year it is £3,802,000 ; so that the expenditure in the Public Works Department has been reduced nearly one-half in the period named.

"But the most serious charge made is, that the public was unnecessarily taxed in 1870-71, that is, in the present year ; that there was no necessity to raise the income-tax to the extent it was done, and that the surplus of nearly a million which had been obtained shows that grievous error was committed. If after what has occurred we had been over-careful, and taken our estimates of revenue somewhat low, in order to make security doubly sure, even as 'skilful surgeons cut beyond the wound to make the cure complete,' we should not have been much to blame. But we did nothing of the kind. The estimates on both sides were as near the known facts as we could put them. As my hon. friend has reminded the Council, the surplus which has been attained this year has arisen from one special cause—namely, opium. We had no right to take it otherwise. We took it at Rs. 975 a chest. There had been a steady fall in price for months ; we consulted all the authorities which were available, and I know that my hon. friend opposite (Mr. Bullen Smith) entertained the same gloomy anticipations as we did with regard to price for the remainder of the year. But on this particular occasion, while the estimate was being prepared, we had the advice of her Majesty's Minister in China, Sir Rutherford Alcock, a man who had spent his whole life in that country. He gave us, in this very room, at great length, his views as to the course that he thought the opium trade was likely to take. Nothing will tend more to show how unreliable are any forecasts with regard to opium when I state that on this particular occasion we were in possession of better intelligence, and what might have been supposed more accurate information, than we ever had before.

"However, all the great authorities were wrong. The market, soon after our estimate was made, took an unexpected turn ; prices rose, and the result was, that in the article of opium alone we have received about £900,000 more than we expected. I will not condescend to notice certain unworthy charges which have been made against the department, such as 'cooking accounts,' 'adjustments made to suit convenience,' and 'credits taken which did not exist.' They are utterly baseless, and reflect no credit on those who made them. Had some of them been uttered against the directors of a respectable com-

pany, the probability is that they might have subjected those who made them to those liabilities which the law provides as a protection against libel and defamation.

“ But I have said enough to show that in reality there was no unnecessary alarm in September, 1869 ; that the accounts of this great Empire are as correct as accounts of so complicated a nature can be ; that in accuracy our estimates compare advantageously with those of other countries ; and that unless we had been prepared to endure another year’s deficit, and I may say financial disgrace, the measures of March last were absolutely indispensable.”

The following table shows the revenue and ordinary expenditure of each year from 1867-68 to 1871-72, as returned in the official Annual Financial Statements at the nominal exchange of two shillings to the rupee :—

Year.	Revenue.	Ordinary Expenditure.	Deficit.	Surplus.
	£	£	£	£
1867-68	48,429,644	49,437,339	1,007,695	...
1868-69	51,657,658	54,431,688	2,774,030	...
1869-70	50,901,081	50,782,413	...	118,668
1870-71	51,413,685	49,930,695	...	1,482,990
1871-72	50,109,093	46,984,915	...	3,124,178

Many useful and important legislative measures were passed during Lord Mayo’s viceroyalty. In 1809 the marriages of natives, who, like the Brahmoists, belong to no sect recognised by Hindu or Mohamman law, were legalised. Before a person can obtain the benefits of this Act, he must declare that he is neither a Christian, a Jew, a Hindu, a Mohamman, nor a Parsi, as each of these religious sects has its own special form of marriage. The rights and privileges of the Oudh talukdars were defined. An Act was passed for checking the nuisance of European loafers, making provision for arresting in India and removing from India all Europeans who are reduced to a state of vagrancy and pauperism,—about as helpless and wretched a class of persons as is to be found in any country. Another was passed for obtaining the evidence of prisoners. In the Bengal Legislature a Bill was carried for the regulation of Coolie labour in the tea gardens of Assam, and in that of Bombay a Bill for the repression of fraud among the dealers in cotton, which, however, was resisted by the Indian Government. In England an Act was passed which limited the service of members of the Indian Council to ten years, with a pension on retirement, and took away from the Council itself the right of appointing half its own number. In 1870 the Punjab Tenancy Act defined the rights of occupiers,

which were now guarded as under former settlements that had been called in question. The Hindu Wills Act for the suppression of perpetuities became law. By an amendment of the Penal Code the law of India touching sedition was assimilated to that of England. An Act was passed for the prevention of female infanticide, a custom widely prevalent in certain tribes and families, which were prohibited by their caste rules from marrying their daughters, except into certain families and at a ruinous expense. By Colonel Strachey’s Bill the management of canal and drainage works in India was regulated. At home a Bill was carried empowering the Viceroy to legislate at need without his Council, and to defy at pleasure a majority in his Council. The Civil Service of India was opened without examination to any native selected by the Indian Government. For the first time the Government of Bengal was empowered to levy cesses on all classes connected with the land for the maintenance of roads and schools. But a more important extension of the application of the principle of local taxation for local deeds was the sanction given to the Local Governments to spend, at their own discretion, a certain proportion of their respective revenues on roads, schools, gaols, police, civil buildings, the medical services, registration, and other items, hitherto supervised wholly or in part by officers of the Central Government. To each Government was assigned its share of a total sum of more than four and a half millions. Any outlay beyond this share must be met by local rates. By this arrangement the Local Governments, whose powers and responsibilities were enlarged, were provided with an incentive to a careful economy, and the Imperial Treasury was relieved of a serious burden. The following are extracts from Lord Mayo’s “ Decentralizing Resolution,” bearing date December 14th, 1870 :—

“ The Governor-General in Council is satisfied that it is desirable to enlarge the powers and responsibilities of the Governments of presidencies and provinces in respect to the public expenditure in some of the civil departments.

“ Under the present system these Governments have little liberty, and but few motives for economy in their expenditure : it lies with the Government of India to control the growth of charges to meet which it has to raise the revenue. The Local Governments are deeply interested in the welfare of the people confided to their care, and, not knowing the requirements of other parts of the country or of the Empire as a whole, they are liable, in their anxiety for administrative

progress, to allow too little weight to fiscal considerations. On the other hand, the Supreme Government, as responsible for the general financial safety, is obliged to reject many demands in themselves deserving of all encouragement, and is not always able to distribute satisfactorily the resources actually available.

"Thus it happens that the Supreme and Local Governments regard from different points of view measures involving expenditure; and, the division of responsibility being ill defined, there occur conflicts of opinion injurious to the public service. In order to avoid these conflicts, it is expedient that, as far as possible, the obligation to find the funds necessary for administrative improvements should rest upon the authority whose immediate duty it is to devise such measures.

"This is the more important, because existing imperial resources will not suffice for the growing wants of the country. Writing of roads and communications in October, 1869, the Government of India in the Public Works Department stated that it had for some years 'been satisfied that to attempt to provide and maintain all the roads required for the intercommunications of so vast a territory from the ordinary revenues would be to enter on an altogether impracticable task. The matter,' it was added, 'has been before this Government on several occasions since 1862, and the view now taken of it has already received, in general terms, the approval of the Secretary of State. It is only by a judicious system of local assessment and control that what is needed can be accomplished.' This is not less true of some other departments of the administration.

"The Supreme Government is not in a position to understand fully local requirements, nor has it the knowledge necessary for the successful development of local resources. Each province has special wants of its own, and may have means for supplying them which could not be appropriated for imperial purposes. A tax adapted to the circumstances of one part of the country may be distasteful or inapplicable elsewhere; and everywhere rates may be proper for provincial or local purposes which could not be taken for the imperial revenue.

"These principles are now generally recognised, and important steps have been already taken to develop provincial resources. The Government of Bombay has for some years raised a considerable revenue for local purposes. Important measures to the same intent are under the consideration of the Legislative Council of Madras. The Government of Bengal is maturing a scheme, in accordance

with the decision of the Secretary of State, for the levy of a rate for local objects in the Lower Provinces of Bengal. In all the other provinces of India provincial revenues have long been raised, and measures for increasing them are now being devised.

"These measures have been promoted chiefly to provide for urgent administrative wants, the means for which are not otherwise forthcoming. It is inexpedient that the funds so raised should be intercepted, to any considerable extent, for objects the cost of which has been hitherto defrayed from the general revenues, even though such objects be of an admittedly local character. Moreover, the Governor-General in Council is not desirous that the demands on the people for provincial purposes should be indefinitely or too rapidly increased.

"It would have been satisfactory had the Governor-General in Council been able to propose the enlargement of the power and responsibility of the Local Governments without charging upon local resources any part of the existing imperial expenditure. This cannot be done; but it has been determined to make as small a demand upon these resources as possible. At the same time it should be remembered that the relief of the imperial finances has been a principal object in the discussion of such measures on former occasions.

"The income-tax of six pies in the rupee imposed for the current year was never intended to be permanent, and the Governor-General in Council has already announced a resolution not to renew the tax for next year at this high rate, unless some unforeseen contingency compels him to do so.

"It was thought at first that the income-tax could not be reduced to the desired extent without imposing upon local resources almost as large a sum as might be given up. Anticipations made so long before the beginning of the financial year must be uncertain; but, as far as the Governor-General in Council can now judge, it will be possible next year to give substantial relief from existing taxation, without the substitution of any considerable new burdens.

"The Government of India is accordingly pleased to make over to the Local Governments, under certain conditions to be presently set forth, the following departments of the administration in which they may be supposed to take special interest; and to grant permanently, from the imperial revenue, for these services, the sum of £4,688,711, being less by £330,801 only than the assignments made for the same services in 1870-71:—

"Gaols, Registration, Police, Education, Medical Services (except 'Medical Establish-

ments'), Printing, Roads, Miscellaneous Public Improvements, Civil Buildings.

"The Governor-General in Council is fully aware that this resolution will effect a wide change in Indian administration. It has been adopted after long and careful consideration, in the hope that it will be received by the Governments in the spirit in which it is promulgated. The Governor-General in Council believes that it will produce greater care and economy, that it will impart an element of certainty into the fiscal system which has hitherto been absent, and that it will lead to more harmony in action and feeling between the Supreme and the Provincial Governments than has heretofore prevailed.

"But beyond all this, there is a greater and wider object in view. Local interest, supervision, and care are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to education, sanitation, medical charity, and local public works. The operation of this resolution in its full meaning and integrity will afford opportunities for the development of self-government, for strengthening municipal institutions, and for the association of natives and Europeans to a greater extent than heretofore, in the administration of affairs.

"The Governor-General in Council is aware of the difficulties attending the practical adoption of these principles. But they are not insurmountable. Disappointments and partial failures may occur; but, the object in view being the instruction of many peoples and races in a good system of administration, his Excellency in Council is fully convinced that the Local Governments and all their subordinates will enlist the active assistance, or, at all events, the sympathy of many classes who have hitherto taken little or no part in the work of social and material advancement.

"The additional powers of financial control which will now be assumed by the Governments must be accompanied by a corresponding increase of administrative responsibility. It is the desire of the Governor-General in Council to confine the interference of the Supreme Government in India, in the administration of the 'Provincial Services,' to what is necessary for the discharge of that responsibility which the Viceroy in Council owes to the Queen and her responsible advisers, and for the purpose of securing adherence to the financial conditions now prescribed, and to the general policy of the Government of India.

"The procedure of the departments of 'Registration,' 'Gaols,' and 'Police' is to a large extent governed by law. No law exists upon the subject of 'Education,' but the policy of

the Government has been declared and prescribed in dispatches from the Secretary of State, and in the rules sanctioned by the Government of India regarding 'grants in aid' and other matters of general principle not affected by this resolution.

"Subject to these general restrictions, the Governments will henceforth enjoy full liberty in the expenditure of the funds appropriated to 'Provincial Services.' It must, however, be understood that in thus divesting himself of control, the Governor-General in Council divests himself also to a large extent of his former responsibility. If responsibility for expenditure is retained, control cannot be renounced.

"The Governor-General in Council delegates to the Local Governments this large additional share of administrative power without hesitation or distrust, believing that it will be exercised with wisdom, liberality, and prudence."

In 1870 a reformed system of weights and measures after the French or metric system was introduced. The primary standard of weight is a seer, equal to a weight of 2·20462125 British pounds avoirdupois, which is equal to the kilogramme known in France as the *kilogramme des Archives*. The primary standard of length is a mètre, equal to a length of 39·37079 British inches, which is equal to the mètre known in France as the *mètre des Archives*. The units for weights and measurement are:—For weights, the said seer; for measures of capacity, a measure containing one such seer of water at its maximum density, and being equal to 0·2202443 of a British gallon; for measures of length, the said mètre; for measures of area, the square mètre; for measures of solidity, the cubic mètre. The Executive Government was empowered to frame scales of weights and measures based on these new standards and units, which are to be regarded as the authorised weights and measures of India. The use of the new authorised weights and measures was to be made obligatory by specific orders of the Executive Government, and then only under certain limitations. It might be made obligatory on Government departments, municipal offices, and railway companies, when the Government was satisfied that proper standards had been made available for the purpose. For the community generally, no power was taken to make obligatory the use of the new measures, but only of the new weights. Further, the general obligatory use of new weights in any locality could only be required when the Government had been satisfied, after a public local inquiry, that the introduction of them was expedient.

In the same year Government District Savings Banks were also established.

During 1871 the paper currency was extended by the introduction of five-rupee notes, and the notes issued in each province were permitted to be circulated in any of the others. An important measure was passed for dealing with the criminal tribes throughout India. A Bill regarding advances by Government for the improvement of estates, and a measure for regulating the rates charged on irrigated lands, also became law. A novelty in the administrative work of the year was the formation of a new department of Trade and Agriculture, and an event of special promise for the future well-being of the Public Works Department in India was the opening, on August 5th, 1871, of the new Civil Engineering College at Cooper's Hill.

The new department of Trade and Agriculture was inaugurated in accordance with the following resolution of Lord Mayo:—

"The Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that the new department shall be constituted from the present date, June 6th, 1871, and that it shall be designated the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce. It shall be placed under charge of an officer who shall be styled Secretary to the Government of India in that department.

"All matters relating to the following subjects, so far as they affect the provinces of British India, will, with certain exceptions hereafter to be specified, come under the cognisance of the new department, namely—Land Revenue and Settlements, Government Advances for Works of Agricultural Improvement, Agriculture and Horticulture, Fibres and Silk, Studs and Cattle Breeding, Cattle Disease, Forests, Meteorology, Commerce and Trade, Customs (Sea and Inland), Opium, Salt, Excise, Stamps, Minerals and Geological Survey, Fisheries, Industrial Arts, Museums, Exhibitions, Statistics, Gazetteers, Weights and Measures, Census, Surveys: Revenues, Topographical, and Trigonometrical. Besides the above, which fall properly within the scope of the new department, H.E. the Governor-General in Council has, for reasons of administrative convenience, decided to transfer to it temporarily the following subjects—Municipalities, Sanitary (Lock Hospitals), Emigration, Settlements of Port Blair and Nicobars (excepting so far as relates to the management of convicts)—from Home Department. The actual transfer of the business connected with Sea Customs, Opium, Excise, and Stamps, will, however, not be made to the Financial Department until further notice.

"These arrangements will admit of the

transfer to the Home Department of certain portions of work at present performed by other departments, but which properly belong to it. A considerable part of the business connected with the internal administration of the Punjab and Oudh, and of the Central and other Non-Regulation Provinces, is still conducted in the Foreign Department. This arrangement was originally one of evident propriety and necessity; but the circumstances of the more important of the so-called Non-Regulation Provinces are now entirely different from what they were some years ago. Both the substantive law and the laws of procedure which were then in force are now, for the most part, identical with those of the older provinces, and it is inconvenient and anomalous that the Foreign Department should have to deal differently with matters of a precisely similar character to those which come before the Home Department for other parts of India. The relief given to the Home Office by the formation of the new department now enables the transfer to be made."

Lord Mayo showed himself ever anxious for the extension of commerce, and to provide the roads, railways, and harbours which its development requires. Under him road-making was pushed forward with vigour, and railways and irrigation works were greatly extended. "In the consideration of all these matters," he said, at the opening of the Khangaum Railway, "we must first take into account the inhabitants of this country. The welfare of the people of India is our primary object. If we are not here for their good, we ought not to be here at all." Early in 1869 the first sod was turned of a State line of railway from Lahor to Peshawar, and it soon became known that the Government had resolved to take into its own hands the construction of several thousand miles of railway, as an improvement on the slower and costlier process of intrusting the work to guaranteed companies. "Under the old system, to use the words of the Duke of Argyll, 'the money was raised on the credit and authority of the State, under an absolute guarantee of 5 per cent., involving no risk to the shareholders, and sacrificing on the part of Government every chance of profit, while taking every chance of loss.' Under the new system, the Government now borrows its railway capital at 4 per cent., and thus makes an initial saving of £100,000 a year on every ten millions. Under the former system there was a double management, and the cost of construction averaged about £17,000 per mile. Under the new system there is a single firm control, the Government gets its work done

by contract at the lowest market rates, and the cost of construction on the narrow-gauge State lines is less than £6,000 per mile.”* New lines were begun to tap the salt-bearing districts in the Punjab, Oudh, and Rajputana. The first State line, the Khangaum Railway, linking the cotton-fields of Berar with the new port of Karwar, was opened by the Viceroy early in 1870. The opening of the Jabalpur line closed up the last gap in the chain of railway from Bombay to Allahabad and Calcutta, and by the opening of the Chord line on the East Indian Railway the journey from Calcutta to Bombay was shortened by several hours. By the opening of the great Sutlej Railway Bridge in October, a mile and a quarter in length, the last link was completed in the line of rail from Bombay through Allahabad to Lahor. On the last day of 1870 the Eastern Bengal Railway was completed to Goalando, in Assam. In 1871 a complete line was opened between Bombay and Madras, only one link, the bridge over the Kistnah, being still to finish. By the close of March, 1871, the railway mileage amounted to 5,051 miles. The system of lines projected by Lord Dalhousie was thus complete, all the presidency towns being brought into a certain connection with each other, and with the capitals of the Punjab, Oudh, the Central Provinces, and the North-West Provinces. These lines represent the continuous labour of twenty years, and an average yearly profit of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon a total outlay of £70,000,000. By the close of March, 1872, the mileage amounted to 5,204 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Only 68 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles of open railway belonged to the Government, and only 13 had actually been laid down by the State. There were, however, 2,440 miles in course of construction, of which 1,503 were being laid by the Government at a probable cost of eleven millions, including two already expended. The net earnings of the guaranteed lines came to £2,839,338, leaving rather more than a million and a half to be defrayed as interest out of Indian revenues. “All things considered,” says *Allen’s Indian Mail*, “this is not a very serious charge on the Indian taxpayer in return for the benefits already flowing, and sure in time to flow yet more abundantly, from the spread of Indian railways. The guarantee system may have fairly been condemned for future purposes, but with all its shortcomings no better, we think, could have been devised for India, on its first introduction by Lord Dalhousie.” The discovery of coal at Chauda in 1869 opened up the prospect of a time when the western railways would no longer be dependent on coal from England.

* Hunter’s *Life of the Earl of Mayo*.

To irrigation, which was the subject of much solicitude to his predecessor, Lord Mayo devoted great attention, and there was no time in which more was performed in this direction than during his administration. “The Ganges Canal was extended, and, after seventeen years of deficit, took its place as a work no longer burdensome to the State. A new irrigation system, starting from the Ganges opposite Aligarh, and which will water the whole lower part of the Doab from Fathigarh to Allahabad was commenced. The eastern half of Rohilkhand and the western districts of Oudh were at the same time being placed beyond peril of drought and famine by the Sardah Canal. Similar works for Western Rohilkhand were being carried out by a canal from the Ganges. Plans were prepared, and the sanction of the Secretary of State partially obtained, for a project which would bring the waters of the Jamna to the arid tracts on the west of Delhi. While the Western Jamna Canal was thus to receive a vast extension, the Lower Jamna Canal was being pushed forward in the districts to the south-east of Delhi. Proceeding farther down the Gangetic Valley, we find works of equal promise being carried on from the Son (Soane) River through the province of Behar—the province destined in 1874 to be the next Indian territory which was to suffer dearth. On the seaboard, Orissa (the province of Lower Bengal which had last passed through the ordeal) saw its districts placed beyond the peril that had from time immemorial hung over them, by a vast system of canals and the development of means of communication with the outside world. Still farther south, the Godavari works were going forward. In the far west, projects for the drought-stricken districts of Sind were drawn up and investigated; while in Bombay, Madras, and other provinces, many works of great local utility, although of less conspicuous extent, were initiated, pushed forward, or matured.”* The cost of these undertakings was great, and the financial difficulties involved in their construction were carefully considered by Lord Mayo, whose principles with regard to them were thus expressed by himself:—

“We must establish a system of irrigation and finance which will throw the main burden of the cost of these works upon the land that benefits by them. We must follow the same principles which have been adopted by all other countries in the world in which similar works have been constructed. Everybody seems to wish for irrigation, but many appear to desire that somebody else should pay for it. We must take such measures as will

* Hunter’s *Life of the Earl of Mayo*.

oblige the people whose lives are preserved and whose wealth is augmented by these works, to contribute in a fair proportion to the cost of their construction. If a work is not sustained by local resources, it can only be sustained by the enforced contributions of the general taxpayers. I ask, is it fair or right that works constructed for the exclusive benefit of the Punjab or the North-West should be paid for out of the pockets of the people of Madras and Bombay? It was the early adoption of the principles which I now advocate that has led to the successful administration of the enormous sums borrowed from the State, or on municipal security, for agricultural, civic, maritime, and other undertakings in England. I believe that had England adopted the principle which has hitherto been accepted in India, that is, that the general revenues of the country were to be made liable for improvements of a limited and local character, not only would the expenditure on these works have been most extravagant, but that the charge thrown upon the general revenues would have become so enormous that the construction of all such works would long ago have been arrested."

In accordance with these principles a Canal Act for the Punjab passed the Indian Legislature, by which the cost of any local irrigation work was to be defrayed by a compulsory cess on the owners and occupiers of the lands to which the water was brought.

So heavily did the vast accumulation of debt requisite for the protection of the people from famine weigh upon Lord Mayo's mind, that he resolved that such undertakings as were connected with irrigation should be classed under an entirely distinct branch of Indian finance. He once said, "I believe that unless the whole of our loans for reproductive public works (that is to say, the whole debt incurred for improvements of a remunerative character, such as canals or railways) is removed from the ordinary finance, you will find it impossible to continue these most necessary works on a scale commensurate with the requirements of the country." He therefore desired that the whole charge of such works should be kept separate, and that the entire profits derived from them should be applied to the discharge of the debt which had been incurred in constructing them. He laid it down as a fundamental principle of the policy which he wished to inaugurate, "that until the entire debt upon such works had been cleared off, the income received should not be considered as part of the revenues of the year, or applied to reducing taxation." A letter, which still remained in draft at

the time of his death, advocated the making of a definite public statement "that we shall borrow money for a special class of works on the security of the revenues, but on the understanding that the loan shall be repaid from the first earnings of those works." He believed that the only possible security against indefinite and disastrous accumulations of loans for such works is the absolute "hypothecation" of the income to discharge the capital debt.* To carry out this determination, Lord Mayo desired to constitute a special body of Commissioners, at least one of whom should be an officer of the Government, the duty of which Commissioners it would be to certify, as an independent Board of Audit, with the public as witnesses, that the sum raised for the construction of public works had really been applied and repaid in strict accordance with the conditions under which the loans were made.

It was thought by some that such a policy would fetter the future action of the Government in regard to the income derived from such undertakings. But "for my own part," wrote the Viceroy shortly before his death, "I say frankly that I do desire to fetter the discretion of Government in dealing hereafter with receipts from reproductive works. I believe that the whole of the returns from these works should be kept apart from the ordinary resources of the country, and, after deducting the interest on loans, should be spent in providing for new works, and so avoid borrowing as far as possible. The whole of the returns would appear in the annual receipts of the State as they do now, but the sums obtained in return for these works should go solely in aid of the loan expenditure of the year, and the Budget should be constructed accordingly. I have no hope of this ever being done unless a separate body is constituted such as I have always advocated, armed with powers intrusted to them either by the Government or the Legislature; and, until such a course is taken, I cannot think that we shall be safe from the recurrence of those evils which, in respect to the cost of construction of these great works, have constantly arisen."†

But Lord Mayo's sudden and lamented death left many of his plans in regard to irrigation and railways and other matters unfulfilled. He lived to carry out a certain number of individual measures, but not long enough to consolidate the carefully devised systems, of which they formed parts, into permanent administrative facts. It may be

* Hunter's *Life of the Earl of Mayo*.

† Private letter, afterwards published in *Calcutta Observer*.

briefly said of his irrigation schemes that the local undertakings to which he had given so much earnest attention have been vigorously carried out; that the compulsory canal cess, although passed into law by the Indian Legislature, was disallowed by the Secretary of State; and that the difficult problem of an entirely separate system of finance for reproductive works, while daily making progress in points of detail, has not yet obtained practical solution as a whole.

The Governor-General felt, however, that the question before him in India was not merely one of material development. The barriers of caste have done much to shut off one class from the sympathies of another, and to dwarf the growth of that local public opinion which, more than any written law, regulates an Englishman's conduct towards his neighbours. In India the strong have always oppressed the weak. The village capitalist is invariably regarded as the village usurer, and from time immemorial his life and property have been liable to be swept away in ebullitions of popular resentment. The British District Officer does not permit such ebullitions. He brings to trial the slayers of a Bombay *soukâr*, a North-Western *banîyâ*, or a Bengali *mahajan* as ordinary murderers, and he hangs them. Neither will the British District Officer allow the native landholder to recover his rent by the summary process of imprisonment, or by tying up defaulters by their thumbs to a wall against which they are obliged to stand on tiptoe. Instead of the old processes of *agrestis justitia*, whether carried out by the rich or by the poor, we have substituted uniform Codes of Procedure for both. If the strong do still oppress, as they may do in all countries, it must now in India, as elsewhere, be by due course of law. But, on the other hand, the husbandmen of Lower Bengal have repeatedly shown that two can play at going to law, and that in a country of *petite culture* no landholder can stand against a sustained conspiracy on the part of his tenants to withhold their rent. At the same time, although such combinations are occasionally threatened, their actual occurrence is exceedingly rare. In the ordinary course of rural life our system of regular justice has immensely strengthened the hands of the educated and wealthy classes in the struggle which goes on in a densely populated country between the rich and the poor. Our system of public instruction, however, had in some parts of India supplied an excellent education to the opulent and upper middle classes at the cost of the State, and made scarcely any provision for the education of the masses.

Soon after his arrival Lord Mayo was struck

by the differences in this respect between the various provinces of India. For example, he found schools scattered over the whole of Bombay in large numbers, public instruction being furnished on a wide and popular basis. In the North-Western Provinces, in like manner, he saw the indigenous hamlet-schools (*halkâbandî*) carefully conserved, and proving their vitality, under the intelligent supervision of Sir William Muir. But in Lower Bengal he found quite a different system recognised. High-class education flourished there. The Calcutta University, with its knot of able and distinguished professors, set the example to the whole schools of Bengal, and practically prescribed the teaching in most of them. The wealthier section of the community had educational facilities lavished upon them such as no other province of India enjoyed. The State tried zealously to do its duty in instructing the people, and it interpreted this duty to mean a high-class education for a small section of them. It devoted a very large portion of its Education Grant to this object, and it obtained a brilliant success. The "Bengali Bâbu" has become the recognised type of the educated native of Northern India. But the Bengal system gained its triumph at the cost of the primary education of the masses. Its district and upper schools rose on the ruins of the old indigenous hamlet-schools (*pâtsâlâs*). If the parents of a youth were well off, and could afford to pay for his education, the State stepped forward to save them the trouble. But the indigenous agency of primary instruction received no encouragement. The village teacher (*gurumâhasay*) who, from generation to generation, had gathered the children of the hamlet into his mat-hut and taught them to trace their letters on the mud floor, found himself deserted by all his pupils who had been accustomed to pay him—only those whom he instructed gratis remained. He and his fathers had all their lives been in the habit of communicating their little stock of knowledge to all comers of decent caste, and to support themselves by the offerings of a few of their wealthier disciples. They had looked upon the instruction of youth as a religious duty, and regarded their office as a priestly one. But their faith was sorely tried under a system which swept off the well-to-do youth of the village to the Government school, and left only those who could afford to pay nothing on their hands. At the date of about a dozen years ago (1878) the indigenous rural schools in Bengal were being crushed out, and although a stand was even then made on their behalf, the system of public instruction in the province still sacrificed the teaching of the

masses to high-class education, when Lord Mayo arrived in India.

The Bengal authorities, however, had not without consideration adopted their system, and they were prepared to defend it. Their basis was what has been called the "filtration" theory of education. With 67,000,000 of people to educate, and an Education Grant of £186,000, or £2 15s. 6d. per thousand of the population, any attempt at the primary instruction of the masses would swallow up the entire allowance, and leave results utterly insignificant. They therefore preferred to concentrate their efforts on middle, and especially on upper-class schools, and thus secure a sound education to a small but important section of the community. They contended that the effect of this system would not be confined to those who were immediately benefited; it would "filtrate" downwards, and even meanwhile they had a tangible result to show for the money which they spent. Still it was much to be regretted that the peasantry of Bengal should sink into deeper ignorance, and that the ancient mechanism of rural education should come to ruin while the other process was going on. Besides, the practical result of the system was to arm the rich and powerful with the new weapon of knowledge, and to burden the poor with an additional dead weight of ignorance in the struggle for life.

Writing to a friend, Lord Mayo says, "I dislike this filtration theory. In Bengal we are educating in English a few hundred Bábús at great expense to the State. Many of them are well able to pay for themselves, and have no other object in learning than the qualifying of themselves for Government employment. In the meanwhile we have done nothing towards extending knowledge to the million. The Bábús will never do it. The more education you give them the more they will try to keep it to themselves, and make their greater knowledge a means of tyranny. If you wait till the bad English, which the 400 Bábús learn in Calcutta, filters down in the 40,000,000 [now, 1878, 67,000,000] of Bengal, you will be a Silurian rock and not a retired judge. Let the Bábús learn English by all means; but let us also try to do something towards teaching the three R's to rural Bengal."

Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal during the principal part of Lord Mayo's viceroyalty, has the credit of turning these aspirations into administrative facts. No one who is capable of forming a judgment in regard to Sir George's mental power and idiosyncrasies, or who has seen his official utterances on the question, will doubt that he was perfectly strong enough to

have initiated and carried out the reform without help from the Government of India. All that the Viceroy had to do was to give him the political and financial support which the Supreme Government of India wields. Lord Mayo did this, and cordially and skilfully opened the way for Sir George Campbell's educational efforts at the very outset of his administration. It was Lord Mayo's practice to bring to bear upon every important question the special knowledge possessed by any member of his Government, or acquired during the course of his previous career. In the present instance, one of the under-secretaries in the Home Department of the Government of India, who had formerly been an inspector of schools in Bengal, rendered valuable assistance. The whole system was analyzed, and its defects indicated. Sir George Campbell had been but recently appointed to the Lieutenant-Governorship, and a courteous and mild letter was addressed to him asking to receive his views on the question. In India no Viceroy or Provincial Governor ever changes the policy of his predecessor. He only "develops" it. But the reforms in the present case mark a new era in the history of the province. In 1870-71 the Department of Public Instruction was educating 163,854 children in Lower Bengal at a cost of £186,598 to the State.* In 1874, when Sir George Campbell retired from the Governor-Generalship, he left 400,721 children under instruction, they being educated at a cost to the Government of £228,151.† He had in the interval covered Bengal with elementary schools; pieced together and resuscitated the old indigenous mechanism of rural instruction; and, without curtailing in any of its essential features high-class education, created a *bonâ fide* system of public instruction for the people of the country.

The missionaries had up to that time stood foremost as popular educators in Bengal. The late Rev. Dr. Duff was conspicuous among these friends of the people in this department. But missionaries of whatever denomination or nationality, European or American, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, Wesleyan, Roman Catholic, or by whatever name known in Christendom, all shared in this laudable enterprise. Lord Mayo early realised this fact, and gave his cordial sympathy to those engaged in the work. Before his brief rule closed he had an opportunity, in connection with a missionary memorial, of stating that the educational policy of the

* *Report by the Director of Public Instruction, L.P., for 1870-71, pp. 2, 3.*

† *Administrative Report of Bengal for 1873-74; Statistical Returns, cxi.-cxiii.*

Government had become in accord with that of these friends of India, and he added, "The desire which I expressed when I first came to India, namely, that no very long time would elapse before a serious and decided commencement would be made in the great work of educating the masses of Bengal, will now be realised."

Lord Mayo found that the Mohammadans of Bengal stood aloof from the Government system of education, and were rapidly dropping out from among the instructed classes. As a natural consequence, they lost in the race of life, and were being gradually excluded from Government and other lucrative employments by the Hindus. He also found that the Mohammadans were much dissatisfied with this state of things, and that their discontent assumed in Bengal a form which was anything but pleasant to the Government. A fanatical camp on the north-western border of India was fed by recruits and remittances from the lower part of the province of Bengal. This camp stood as a permanent menace to the British frontier, and repeatedly involved costly expeditions against it. Lord Mayo was not in anywise a man likely to trifle with rebellion, and he invariably went sternly to the root of disaffection wherever he found it. In the present instance, by substituting a competent knowledge of the facts of the case for the old mixed system of *laissez-faire* and surprises, he was able to accomplish much. He withdrew the Wahabi movement from the operations of war into the calm, persistent action of the courts. A series of continual trials sent the leaders of that movement across the sea for life, and cowed and dispersed their followers. The Government did not permit to any traitor the honours of a political offender in connection with his execution, neither did they allow to any fanatic the glory of martyrdom,—and thus was stamped out, never again to appear, the Wahabi disaffection.

The stern suppression of active disloyalty, however, formed only a part of Lord Mayo's policy. He found the Government system of education to be one which the Mohammadans could not, with proper regard to their religious sentiments, avail themselves of. He therefore set himself earnestly to study their requirements, and, if possible, was resolved to meet them. In one of his viceregal notes he says, "As regards the Mohammadan population, our present system of education is, to a great extent, a failure. We have not only failed to attract the sympathies and confidence of a large and an important section of the community, but we have reason to fear that

we have caused positive disaffection."* His lordship then carefully reviewed the statistics of Hindu and Mohammadan pupils in the public elementary schools throughout the various provinces of India. He found that in Bengal, the chief seat of Mussulman disaffection, there were only 14,000 Mohammadan pupils against 100,000 Hindus; that is to say, while the Mussulmans form about one-third of the population of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, the Mohammadan pupils formed less than one-seventh of the attendance at the Government schools. After commenting on the lamentable deficiency in the education of a large mass of what was, not very long ago, the most powerful race in India, the Viceroy says, "Assuming that, after the experience of years, we have failed to attract the mass of the Mohammadan people to our system of education, and have, moreover, created a cause of disaffection, inasmuch as they find themselves unable to participate in the material advantages which Government education has conferred on the Hindus, it remains to be seen what remedy can be applied. . . . It is found that, first, among his own people, the Mohammadan is not a gentleman until he has acquired a certain amount of Arabic and Urdu learning. Second, that he will not come to a Hindu school to be taught by a Hindu teacher. Third, that we must, therefore, give way somewhat to their national prejudices, and allow to Arabic, Persian, and Urdu a more prominent place in many of our schools and examination tests. That we should aid Urdu schools as we do Bengali schools, open out classes and scholarships in our colleges for Mohammadans, and in every way give them a more equal chance of filling those lucrative positions which are now almost monopolized by Hindus. A very small change in educational tests will, I believe, effect much of the desired object. I think a Resolution, brief and carefully worded, might with safety be issued. It would be scarcely prudent to enter into details, or to found the Resolution" on reasons plainly stated. "I would rather, in more general terms, say something like this,—'The condition of the Mohammadan population as regards education has of late been frequently pressed upon the attention of the Government of India. From statistics recently submitted, it is evident that in no province, except perhaps in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, do the Mohammadans adequately, or in proportion to the rest of the community, avail themselves of the educational advantages which are offered by the Government. It is much to be regretted that so large and important a

* *Madras Mail*.

class, possessing a classical literature replete with works of profound learning and great value, and counting among its members a section specially devoted to the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge, should stand aloof from active co-operation with our educational system, and should lose the advantages, both material and solid, which others enjoy. His Excellency in Council believes that secondary and higher education conveyed in the vernaculars, and rendered more accessible than heretofore, coupled with a more systematic recognition of Arabic and Persian literature, would be not only acceptable to the Mohammedan community, but would enlist the sympathies of the more earnest and enlightened of its members on the side of education.' "

But perhaps the most distinctive feature of Lord Mayo's policy consisted not so much in his efforts to instruct the people of India as to educate their rulers. At the time of his accession the Government did not know the population of a single district of its most advanced province, and the first census of Bengal—taken under Lord Mayo's orders—unexpectedly disclosed a population of 66,750,000, instead of 40,000,000 of people in that lieutenant-governorship. No data existed for estimating the practical effects which any national calamity would have upon a district. When famine burst upon the Bengal seaboard in 1866, the Government remained unaware that the calamity was imminent until it had become irremediable, and scarcity had passed into starvation. The proportion which the crops of a province bore to its food requirements, the fluctuations of its internal or external trade, and everything connected with the operations by means of which wealth is distributed or accumulated, and by which the needs of one part of the country are met by the superfluities of another, remained unknown factors in administrative calculations of the most important practical description. The East India Company had repeatedly endeavoured to obtain an accurate knowledge of the territories which its servants had won. Individual administrators had laboured, in some instances with much success, to collect such information. But no organization existed in the Government of India for working up the results thus obtained, or for extending such local efforts on a uniform system over the whole country. This absence of systematic investigation and knowledge of the resources of India had, from time to time, been urged alike by eminent thinkers and by practical men in England, and it had not unseldom landed the Government of India in disastrous surprises. But the twenty years which pre-

ceded the viceroyalty of the Earl of Mayo had done much to meet this just reproach.

When the country passed to the Crown, the Calcutta Home Office, which was a vast and overgrown department, still supervised the whole administration of India. It is true certain changes had partially relieved the department under the rule of the first three Viceroys; and whatever aid it could derive from a methodical distribution of work, it had obtained during Lord Lawrence's administration. When the Earl of Mayo succeeded, he found it officered by a strong and experienced staff, presided over and directed by two under-secretaries, chief secretary, and two members of Council. Practically it was divided into two branches, each with an under-secretary and member of Council; while the chief secretary, so to speak, stood between the cross-fire of work which daily poured up from the two under-secretaries through him to the two members of Council and the Viceroy. The task was burdensome. One man cannot permanently do the work of two. The Earl of Mayo accordingly resolved to give formal recognition to what had for some time been an actual fact, and to erect the two branches of the Home Office into two separate departments, each with a proportionate part of the old staff, and an under-secretary, secretary, and member of council of its own. In this arrangement he gave effect to a process which had been going on ever since India had come under the direct rule of the Crown.

During even the short space of a generation of Indian officials several great departments had almost grown out of the Home Office. The Public Works Department, the Legislative and the Financial, had attained to entirely new proportions from this cause. Thus the management of the customs, the salt duty, and opium was transferred from the Home to the Financial Department in 1863, and in 1867 the control of the post-offices throughout India followed the same course. Still, notwithstanding these transfers, the Indian Home Office remained in 1869 the overgrown double bureau which has just been described. In redistributing the work, Lord Mayo retained for the Home Department the functions of government in the ordinary sense of the term. To the War Department he assigned the duties which arise from the special relation which the ruling power holds, as the principal Indian proprietor, to the land and the people. Under the War Department he placed settlements, or the arrangements which the ruling power makes with the people for the land; the rental derived therefrom, and a variety of subjects connected with the improvement of agriculture; the survey of its estates,

and the commercial development of their resources.

The Viceroy, in all these arrangements, keenly realised, as more than one of his predecessors had felt before him, that the foreign rulers of India had fallen short of their duty in the study of the country and its people. He saw that the chief source of their errors in the past, and of their peril in the future, was the want of knowledge. Since their first short period of unrighteous rule in the last century, the one desire of every great Indian administrator, and the permanent policy of the controlling body in England, had been to govern justly. This he saw: where they had failed, they had failed from ignorance. Of this also he was convinced: the same fault would be predicable of any other foreign administrators who tried to rule in the interests of the people; but, unhappily for the world, the English in India are the first historical example of an alien conquering race striving to govern in such a manner. The Earl of Mayo resolved to accomplish what the most eminent of his predecessors had looked forward to and longed for—the practical organization of a great department of knowledge. In redistributing the work of internal administration, he concentrated under the new department every branch of inquiry respecting the country and the people. The trigonometrical measurement of India, the topographical mapping of its provinces, the revenue survey of its districts, the explorations of its coasts and seas, the geological scrutiny into its mineral wealth, the observation and record of its meteorological phenomena, the obtaining of reliable statistics in regard to its agricultural products and capabilities, and the making of minute researches by settlement officers into the details of rural life—all these and other isolated branches of inquiry he gathered up into a firmly concentrated whole. Where he found the search for knowledge already going on, he systematized it, and endeavoured to complete the missing limbs by organizing a statistical survey of every district in India. To instance one only of the portions of work executed under the new department before its founder's death, it may be remarked that here, for the first time, was made a proper census of the people of India. This time the census was not for one province, but for the entire country. Papers of the utmost importance, intimately connected with that census, have, from time to time, been prepared by the department and given to the public on that large class of Indian products which possess capabilities not yet developed—such as the rhea fibre, which is destined to

change the textile fabrics and industries of the world; silk, tobacco, lac, &c. In agriculture he believed that the rulers had something to teach, and still more to learn. In developing the trade and products and capabilities of the country, he held that the duty of the Government ceased when it had, by practical experiments, pointed out the way and removed the obstacles. For the fruits of his efforts, whether in agriculture or commerce, he looked to private enterprise. But he held that it was a proper function of Government, situated as the Indian Government is, to supply the initial knowledge, without which private enterprise in India cannot come into play. Such views, on the part of Lord Mayo, were the growth of several years. They began to form themselves in his mind during the first months of his viceroyalty, and the process of development was visibly going on till the time of his lamented decease. A lasting administrative reform seldom leaps forth in full panoply from any single brain. The Earl of Mayo's reforms certainly did not. They grew with the growth of his knowledge. Even after he had laid his plans officially before the Secretary of State at home, in the second year of his viceroyalty, his views received important modifications. In regard, for example, to the new department, instead of placing it under the charge of a Director-Generalship, as he had at first proposed, it was ultimately formed into an independent Secretariat of the Government of India.

His conception of the duties of such a department sprang primarily from the necessity which the Indian Government felt for a more accurate knowledge regarding the agriculture and commerce of the country. Manchester and Glasgow were demanding a larger supply of cotton, with a longer staple, and some sort of security that the bales did not consist too largely of broken bricks and stones. The tea-planters on the north-eastern frontier had become objects of great interest, with many wants to be satisfied, and a most difficult labour problem to get adjusted. Jute and oil seeds were yearly engrossing more of the soil of Bengal, and the population requiring food-grains was at the same time rapidly multiplying. Proposals were constantly being made to Government for improving the native breeds of cattle, for introducing better descriptions of seed, better processes of agriculture, better implements of tillage, and more remunerative crops. In short, the increase of the population, the vast outlets for Indian products to Europe, and the accumulation of wealth had raised the problem of how far, and in what forms, would the

application of capital to land in Bengal be profitable. The time seemed to have come when there ought to be started something like an Agricultural Department in the Government of India, with branches in the presidencies and the lieutenant-governorships. Agriculture had hitherto been much neglected by the Government. Every day the want of an Agricultural Department, which might also connect itself with trade, was more keenly felt. But no small amount of discretion and shrewdness was necessary in the introduction of a new order of things. In his viceregal notes Lord Mayo says, on this subject, "In connection with agriculture we must be careful of two things. First, we must not ostentatiously tell native husbandmen to do things which they have been doing for centuries. Second, we must not tell them to do things which they can't do, and have no means of doing. In either case they will laugh at us, and they will learn to disregard really useful advice when it is given."

He did not infer, however, that nothing could be done. He understood that, for generations to come, the progress of India in wealth and civilisation must be directly dependent upon her progress in agriculture. Agriculture must long continue to furnish the most important part of her products and exports, and the future development of Indian commerce will mainly depend upon the improvement in the quantity and quality of existing agricultural staples, or on the introduction of new products, which shall serve as materials for manufacture and for use in the industrial arts. The efforts of the Government of India and of English enterprise have doubtless been largely beneficial. Thus important progress has been made in regard to cotton. Large sums of money were spent in former years in attempts to improve its cultivation, but with small result, on account of the mistaken system under which they were made. It has now become manifest that its improvement, by the introduction of exotic seed, can only be secured by careful and prolonged experimental cultivation. Renewed attention has more recently been given to this subject, and with much better effect. The success of our tea, coffee, and cinchona plantations shows what has been and may be done in introducing into India new and valuable products. Jute, which not long ago was hardly used, has now become an article of important commercial interest. The world derives from India nearly the whole of its supply of indigo—a staple which was promoted by the Company's example in the last century.

There is, perhaps, no country in the world in which the State has so immediate and direct an interest in such questions. The Government of India is not only a government, but the chief landlord. The land revenue, which yields twenty millions sterling of the annual income, is derived from that proportion of the rent which belongs to the State, and not to individual proprietors. Throughout the greater part of India, every measure for the improvement of the land enhances the value of the property of the State. The duties which, in England, are performed by the landlord—if he be a good one—fall, in India, in a great measure, upon the Government. Speaking generally, the only Indian landlord who can command the requisite knowledge and capital is the State. The Government, at least by its legislation, has always recognised this duty. The system of giving advances of public money, called *takāvi*, has prevailed more or less since 1793 up to the present time. The security is complete, the land being responsible for the repayment. This system is identical with that which has been carried out in England and Ireland by means of the Land Improvement Acts, and the principle which is thus acted upon undoubtedly admits of a wider development. At the same time, advances of money ought usually to be made only for those descriptions of work which can be designed and efficiently carried out under the direction of the local proprietors. It would be unwise that they should be made for great works requiring, in their design or construction, engineering skill of a high order, or the employment of large bodies of labourers. Such works must, of necessity, be undertaken by the Government through the Department of Public Works. The works for which advances might properly be made would ordinarily be: 1, wells, and other engineering means for the storage, supply, and distribution of water for agricultural purposes, and the preparation of land for irrigation; 2, drainage; 3, the reclaiming of land from rivers; 4, the protection of land from floods; 5, the reclaiming, cleaning, and enclosing of waste lands for agricultural purposes; and, 6, the clearing of lands from stones or other obstacles to cultivation.

The Viceroy was under the impression that much might be effected through the new department towards improving the breeds of horses and cattle. Measures, he also believed, were urgently required for preventing and alleviating the destructive murrains which so frequently occur, and which are lamentable and ruinous causes of injury to Indian agricultural life. Attention was now also directed to the fisheries of India—a subject which had

hitherto been but little cared for, but which appears likely, in the future, to prove of considerable economic importance.

As far back as 1854 the Court of Directors had declared that there was no single advantage that could be afforded to the vast population of India which would equal the introduction of an improved system of agriculture. But there were many practical and economic difficulties which barred the way to the introduction of the changes which were required. Lord Mayo was well aware of these. Still he believed that something might be done by the Government, as setting the example in small model farms, and thus proving, though silently yet visibly, to the cultivators of the soil the value of improvements by the result of actual experiments. "In Europe," he was accustomed to say, "progress in this direction has been mainly based on private effort, and by the application of the intelligence of the agricultural classes themselves to the ends in view. In almost all civilised countries, even in those in which, unlike England, the form of government is centralized, the efforts of the people are powerfully aided by the co-operation of a State Department of Agriculture, and which works in part directly through its own agency, and in part through agricultural and other societies. Even in India such societies have been extremely useful, and they might properly receive more encouragement from the Government than has hitherto been given them. But great results cannot be expected in this way. The work that is performed by the great agricultural societies of Europe must be performed in India by the Government, or not at all."

With the practical exhibition of the results of such experiments Lord Mayo held that the direct efforts of the State towards the improvement of Indian husbandry should cease. Excepting in these cases, he declared that the Government could not with advantage attempt to carry on any of the operations of agriculture. In regard to this as to other branches of industry, the State may do much to foster and encourage the efforts of private individuals, but it can do comparatively little through the direct agency of its own servants. Nevertheless, the exceptions to this rule will in India be important; and it may often be the duty of the Government to act as the pioneer to private enterprise. So it has done to some extent already. For example, the introduction of tea and cinchona cultivation in India has been mainly due to the Government. But the Government of India had not chiefly to teach the natives how to improve their husbandry. It was important that that Government should learn how to cultivate its

own lands. The ruling power in India is a great forest proprietor, and in the earlier part of its existence, as belonging to the Crown, it had not been a very successful one. The forests had been handed over to the Public Works Department, in the absence of any special branch of the administration to supervise them. Lord Mayo resolved that their efficient management should be one of the distinct duties of his new department.

The forest lands are in many parts of India inhabited by wild tribes, who still cling to the nomadic stage of husbandry—burning down a spot here and there in the jungle, and, after exhausting it with a rapid succession of crops, deserting it at the end of three years for fresh clearings. This manner of cultivation is most wasteful, and has often wounded the economical susceptibilities of the British District Officer. But it is a natural stage in the progress of agriculture; and where virgin soil is abundant and the population sparse, it rests not only on deeply rooted tribal traditions, but on economic grounds. Any rough interference with it would cause discontent and misery. Similar effects had several times resulted from other improvements. Even irrigation itself occasionally displaced a population, and in various parts of India created a safeguard against death only at the cost of desolating the villages by malaria. Lord Mayo held that the new department should be responsible for seeing not only that work was well done, but that it was done without sacrificing the pre-existing interests of the people.

The Indian Government, besides being the chief landholder, is also a great mineral proprietor. Lord Mayo gave much attention to the labours of the Geological Survey, and supplemented them by special researches, conducted with a view to ascertaining the marketable value and the commercial capabilities of the ores and coal-fields.

India is at this moment on the verge of a new future. The dense population, which has hitherto been crushed down upon the soil and forced to live upon the one industry of tillage, will within the next generation have vast new outlets opened to it by the development of the mineral resources. In India there are inexhaustible stores of coal, iron, and lime; but India, in regard to these sources of wealth, is different from England. For instance, while we have in India coal, iron, and lime in plenty, they do not occur as here in England near to each other in quantities sufficient to justify the establishment of smelting furnaces on a great scale. With few exceptions, the iron manufacture of India is still in the hands of the semi-aboriginal jungle tribes, who scratch about for their ore, get

their flux in handfals of nodules from the river-beds, and make their fuel by burning patches of the forest into charcoal. It was an important question, in addition to all this, how to bring the limestone of the Son valley to the coal and iron ores of Raniganj. There was still another difficulty: English coals yield, on an average, under 4 per cent. of ash; the Indian coals give over 15 per cent. This not only increases the cost of carriage, but it augments the amount of care required in the maintenance of the uniform and continuous high temperature required in smelting. English capital in India wisely shrinks from the perils incident to wholly unexplored industries; and the element of the unknown has always acted as a deterrent in mineral enterprise in India. Still, the coal of the Central Provinces is now used throughout the railway system of the Bombay Presidency; and from the same sources experimental works are being conducted by the Government for the pioneering of the way for private mining enterprise in Central India. The petroleum of Burmah also holds forth prospects of a new source of wealth in an opposite part of the empire.

The more striking ores of India—its gold, silver, nickel, copper, tin, and lead—were less regarded by Lord Mayo. He was of opinion that a Government might safely leave those attractive metals to private enterprise. What he more particularly strove after was the solving of the special problems connected with the coal and the iron ores of India. Western India is at this moment being covered with steam-power mills, destined yet to derive their whole fuel from the Indian coal measures; and efforts are being made by private capitalists in Bengal to commercially solve the problem of iron manufacture on a large scale.

During Lord Mayo's viceroyalty municipal institutions received a marked development throughout India. It was established, under his rule, that the rural towns were not towns at all, but merely clusters of hamlets; that the people neither desire sanitary measures nor wish to pay for them; consequently, if municipal work is to be done at all, the people cannot be trusted with the actual local power which municipal institutions involve. The great difficulty was found to be the giving of a certain amount of self-government to the municipality, while yet there should be left sufficient power in the hands of the District Officers, by means of which they might compel the municipality to do its work.

Prison discipline had the special consideration of Lord Mayo; and his Indian diaries

are full of observations noted down after inspecting the local gaols. He was, moreover, successful in introducing many changes for their better management. Among other points, he made up his mind that European convicts should cease to be the formidable difficulty they had hitherto proved to be, and that a sentence by an Indian court should not be a device for obtaining a comfortable journey home. On the other hand, it was not allowed that a European ought to be released from gaol because he was merely in a delicate state of health, which he would probably have been in if he had been free.

The Earl of Mayo perceived that the "Poor White" had become a grave administrative problem in India. For the fallen European he provided by a Vagrancy Act, and he laboured to keep down the numbers of this unhappy class by fostering schools and asylums for the poorer English and Eurasian children. Such institutions had, up to that time, received scant aid from the State, and, unhappily, Lord Mayo did not live to carry out the improvement which he intended. The truth is, our whole system of State instruction in India has been designed, and rightly designed, for the natives. The poorer classes of the European community are still inadequately provided for by the Government. Lord Mayo thought that the first thing to be done was to place the existing schools for European children on a sound and efficient basis before building new ones. In the presidency towns he exerted his influence to increase the means of instruction for the Christian poor, and especially of the class immediately above the poorest.

During the viceroyalty of Lord Mayo there were various administrative improvements effected. The great question of emigration, for example, was reconsidered, the emigrants being protected by legislative enactment against private cupidity or mismanagement during their voyage over seas. In like manner a series of stringent provisions put an end to overcrowding in pilgrim ships and native passenger vessels, a practice which had yearly cost many lives. The innumerable and perplexing varieties of weights and measures throughout India demanded and obtained investigation, and, as we have already stated, an Act was passed, after long and careful discussion, fixing the *mètre* and kilogramme as the uniform units of measure and weight. Each province received in turn the attention of the Viceroy and his counsellors. In the North-Western Provinces of Bengal protection to person and property was secured by the Village Police Act—a measure which, although brought to

its last stage after Lord Mayo's accession, belongs more properly to the preceding viceroyalty. The ancient nobility of Oudh had not yet emerged from the ruin and confusion in which native misrule and the mutiny of 1857 had left them. By a comprehensive measure, of the nature of a very mild Encumbered Estates Act, Lord Mayo provided for the settlement of their debts, and the efficient management of their property during the process of liquidation. Throughout all India, in Oudh, in the North-Western Provinces, and in the Punjab, he organized, on a legislative basis, a system of local rates for the construction of roads, the maintenance of the rural police and district post, the building and repair of school-houses, hospitals, dispensaries, lunatic asylums, markets, wells, and tanks. The series of measures by which he effected this are fraught with importance to millions of men. The Earl of Mayo's policy in its great lines was essentially his own; but it derived several distinctive features from a peculiar combination of secretariat ability with practical administrative experience which he found in the responsible heads of the Home Department, and placed in charge of the new one which he developed out of it. Of his two Home Ministers, Sir John Strachey and Sir Barrow Herbert Ellis, the former had his reputation as the ablest District Officer in Bengal, and who then sprang almost at a bound to high command in the Central Government. Sir John Strachey exercised his great influence on the side of progress in India, as indeed each generation of his family had done since his grandfather went out as private secretary to Lord Clive, for the work of regenerating the Company's services. Sir Barrow Ellis's experience lay in the high functions of government. He had for many years held the most important place in the direction of the Bombay Presidency, and he knew how to manage the Local Governments, and to gauge the effect which an order of the Viceroy in Council would have upon their very various systems. In like manner, the Chief Secretary in the Home Department, Mr. Edward Clive Bayley, C.S.I., represented the highest result of long experience in the central direction of affairs, and has since attained to one of the highest posts; while Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, C.B., brought, as Chief Secretary in the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce, an exact knowledge of local facts and district requirements to the new duties which the Government of India had taken up. This combination of district experience with the talent for large affairs, alike in his two Home Ministers and their

chief secretaries, greatly strengthened the Viceroy's hands, and did much to produce that practical knowledge of detail, tempered with the calm breadth of view, which formed so marked a feature of Lord Mayo's internal administration.

Lord Mayo was a thorough believer in private enterprise. In his first youthful book he had denounced "Protection," and the same conviction remained with him when he was governing an empire. He grudged neither personal toil nor public money in helping to develop the resources of India; but he rigidly marked out the limits of such aid. He believed that the safe increase of the Indian population, and the possibility of raising the Indian revenues to the level required for efficient government, depended on the extension of private enterprise, especially of undertakings conducted by English capital. But his belief in the need of such enterprise made him the more hostile to spurious imitations of it, and would have rendered him the more resolute to do justice in any conflict between Indian and strictly English interests. He thought that the system of guaranteed railways, among other bad features, falsely bore the name of private enterprise, and was not so in reality. He thought that the cheap labour of India, instead of being a danger to the British manufacturer, would prove a new field for his energy. He looked forward to the day when the true interest of Manchester would be understood, and when the jealous manipulation of a comparatively powerless dependency's tariff would seem an incredible episode in the history of a city which taught the language of free trade to the world. English cotton-spinners are at this moment only learning the lesson which English landed gentlemen have long practised. Manufacturers, almost alone among Englishmen, have hitherto been able, when they pleased, to keep their children around them, and to settle them, one after another, in their own line and near their own homes. In going about Scotland nothing strikes one more than the sight, not uncommon in even small manufacturing towns, of as many as three handsome separate mansions, each almost a country seat, built for the sons of a single family in one generation, and constructed and maintained out of the profits of the neighbouring mills. At no distant date British manufacturers will accept the necessity of sending out their sons to the children states of England, where a small capital, guided by previous training, goes furthest in connection with their own industry—precisely as the English squire and the English farmer, in their different lines, have accepted this necessity, and in various colonies have

acted upon it. As well might the Cheviot laird look askance at the sheep-runs of Australia, or the Lothian agriculturist feel jealous of the Tasmanian wheat-fields, as the Lancashire magnate dread the rivalry of the Bombay cotton-mills. What Canada and New Zealand have been to the landed classes, India will probably prove to the manufacturing; and thus the whole circle of the nation's deep requirements, alike in numbers and in wealth, will be fully provided for. Lord Mayo did not live to see it, but the day will come when the two great currents of English capital and Indian labour will freely meet, and as they meet they will flash out a new force for the world.

In India hospitality forms one of the public duties of the governing race, and this is a duty which they faithfully discharge. The splendid hospitalities of Lord Mayo to all ranks and all races amounted to an additional source of strength to the British rule. He regarded it as a proud privilege that it fell to his lot to present, for the first time, a son of the English Sovereign to the people and princes of India. His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh's progress touched chords in the Oriental imagination which had lain mute since the overthrow of the Delhi throne, and called forth an outburst of loyalty such as had never before been awakened in the history of our rule. It was really the seal of peace—an act of oblivion for the struggle which placed India under the Crown, and for the painful memories which that struggle left behind. It proved, however, to be the harbinger of a visit more stately and more august, and destined to produce a still deeper effect on the Indian heart.

But now comes the sad end. On the 24th of January, 1872, he left Calcutta on his cold-weather tour. His purpose was to visit Burmah, next to call at the Andamans on the return passage across the Bay of Bengal, and then to inspect the province of Orissa. In each of those three places weighty questions of internal policy demanded his presence. He took leave of the Lieutenant-Governor and other Bengal authorities at the river-side with a somewhat anxious face. He was uneasy about Khelat affairs on the north-western frontier, and also in regard to the safety of the British representative, who was at the time on his way to Sistan. This was the first time since he had come into office that he was about to cut himself off for many days from telegrams and dispatch-boxes; and he was anxious about the fact, and said that if any bad news of importance reached him in Burmah, he would give up the Andamans and Orissa, and return direct to Calcutta.

But we must hasten. Many months had

elapsed since, in far-off Simla, the authorities received hints that the Viceroy's life was in danger. But he himself seemed to be unapprehensive of evil. On the 11th of February, 1872, the *Glasgow* cast anchor off Hopetown, on the Andamans. A careful arrangement had been made to protect the life of the Viceroy. He was ever unconscious of danger. On landing at Hopetown, shortly after five in the afternoon, the Viceroy found gay groups awaiting him, and he had a smile and a kind word for each of them. He ascended the height, pleasantly said, "There is plenty of room here to settle two millions of men," and then sat down to admire the brilliant sunset. He rose and said, "It's the loveliest thing I ever saw." But ah! what was to follow? About three-quarters of the way down, torch-bearers from Hopetown met the Viceroy and his attendant group of officials and guards. Two of his party had hurried forward to the pier, saw the intermittent gleam of the torches threading their way through the jungle, and then the whole body of lights issued by the bridle-path from the woods, a minute's walk from the jetty. The *Glasgow* frigate lay out on the left, with her long line of lights low on the water; the *Scotia* and *Dacca* were also lit up beyond her; and another steamer, the *Nemesis*, was coaling near to Hopetown on the right. The ships' bells had just rung seven. The launch, with steam up, was whizzing at the jetty stairs, and a group of her seamen were chatting on the pier end. It was quite dark by this time, and the black line of the jungle seemed to touch the edge of the water. The Viceroy's party passed some loose stones to the left at the head of the pier, and advanced along the jetty—two torch-bearers in front. There was the light shining strongly on the tall form of Lord Mayo, in a grey tussa silk coat, and on either side of him were his private secretary and the Superintendent. There were likewise near at hand the flag-lieutenant of the *Glasgow* and a colonel of engineers, with a number of armed police. The Superintendent turned aside, with Lord Mayo's leave, to give an order, and the Viceroy stepped quickly forward before the rest to descend the stairs to the launch. The next moment the people in the rear heard a noise as of "the rush of some animal" from behind the loose stones. One or two persons saw a hand and a knife suddenly descend in the torchlight. The private secretary heard a thud, and, instantly turning round, he found a man fastened like a tiger on the back of the Viceroy.

Twelve men, in a second of time, were on the assassin. An English officer was pulling

them off, and, with his sword-hilt, keeping back the native guards, who would have killed the assailant on the spot. The torches had gone out; but the Viceroy, who had staggered over the pier side, was seen rising up knee-deep in water, and clearing his hair off his brow as if recovering himself. But the end was at hand. His private secretary was instantly at his side, helping him up the bank. "Burne," he said quietly, "they've hit me." Then, in a louder voice, which was heard on the pier, he said, "It's all right. I don't think I'm much hurt." In another minute he was sitting under the smoky glare of the re-lit torches, on a rude native cart at the side of the jetty, with his legs hanging loosely down. Then they lifted him bodily on to the cart, and saw a dark patch on the back of his light-coloured coat. The blood came streaming out, and it was in vain to try to stanch it. For a moment or two he sat up on the cart, and then he fell heavily backwards. "Lift up my head," he said faintly; and said no more. This was the earthly end of the Earl of Mayo. When he was appointed to his high office, men believed him to be a mere partisan of the Government which happened to be in power; but he proved himself to be one of the ablest administrators which India has ever known; and in regard to financial and other measures India will not soon forget him.

They carried him down into the steam-launch—some silently believing him dead, others angry with themselves for the bare surmise; and they cut open his coat and vest, and stopped the wound with hastily torn strips of cloth and the palms of their hands. Others kept rubbing his feet and legs. Three supported his head. The assassin lay stunned and tied a few yards from him. As the launch shot out in the darkness, eight bells rang across the water from the ships. When it came near the frigate, where the guests were waiting, the lights were suddenly put out. When Lord Mayo was lifted into his cot, every one saw that he was dead. To all on board that night stands out from among all other nights in their lives. There was a silence which seemed as if it never would be broken. The doctors held their interview with the dead. Two stabs from the same knife on the shoulder had penetrated the cavity of the chest, either of them sufficient to cause death. Men moved about solitarily through the night, each saying bitterly to his own heart, "Would that it had been one of us!" But the anguish of her who received back dead her loving husband was not, and is not, for words.

At dawn, the sight of the frigate in mourn-

ing, the flag at half-mast, the broad white stripe a leaden grey, all the ropes slack, and the yards hanging topped in dismal disorder, announced the calamity to those who had during the night persisted in their disbelief. On board the frigate there was going on a hushed and solemn industry. The chief officers of the Government of India were engaged, as duty required them, in adopting steps for the devolution of the viceroyalty. The trial of the murderer then took place. And in a few hours, while the doctors were still engaged on their sad secret task, a steamer had hurried north with the member of Council for Bengal, and another was ploughing its way, with the Foreign Secretary, to madras, to bring up Lord Napier of Ettrick, as Acting Governor-General. *Uno avulso, non deficit alter*. The frigate lay silent and alone. At half-past nine that night the partially embalmed body was placed in its temporary coffin on the quarter-deck, and covered with the Union Jack.

The trial of the assassin was in accordance with the usual forms. Shortly after he had been apprehended and brought on board in the launch which carried his victim, the Foreign Secretary asked him why he had done this thing. His reply was, "By the order of God." To the question whether he had any associates in this act, he answered, "Among men I have no accomplice. God is my partner." At the usual preliminary inquiry before the local magistrate, next morning, when called to plead, he said, "Yes; I did it." The evidence of the eye-witnesses was then recorded, and the prisoner was committed for murder to the Sessions Court. The Superintendent, sitting as chief judge in the settlement, conducted the trial in the afternoon. The accused simply pleaded "Not guilty." But each fact was established by those who had seen the deed done. The prisoner had even been dragged off the back of the bleeding Viceroy with the reddened knife in his hand. His sentence was that he should suffer death by hanging; and this sentence was duly carried out at the usual place of execution on Viper Island, on the 11th of March. This man was a highlander from the British north-western frontier. He had taken service in the Punjab mounted police, and had been condemned to death at Peshawar for slaying a man on British soil; but the evidence having been chiefly circumstantial, his sentence was commuted to transportation for life to the Andamans. A pity! In his dying confession, years afterwards, he stated that although, in that former case, he had not struck the blow, yet he had conspired to do the murder. At the same time, he held that

the slaying of an hereditary foe in cold blood was no crime ; and, ever since his conviction in 1869, he said he had made up his mind to revenge himself by killing "some European of high rank." He therefore established his character as a silent, doggedly well-behaved man ; and in due time was set at large as a barber among the ticket-of-leave convicts at Hopetown. During three years he waited sullenly for some worthy prey. There was therefore no personal enmity on this man's part against Lord Mayo. On the morning of the 8th of February, when he heard the royal salute, he felt that his time had come, and forthwith sharpened a knife. His resolution was to kill both the Superintendent and the Viceroy. But throughout the whole of the day the close surveillance gave him no chance of getting to the island which Lord Mayo was visiting. Evening came, and his victim landed at his very door. He crept into the woods—slipped up Mount Harriet through the jungle side by side with the Viceroy. He then dogged the party down again into the dark. Still he got no chance. At the foot he almost gave up hope, and resolved to wait for the morrow. But as the Viceroy stepped quietly forward on the jetty, he rushed round the guards, giving up all idea of his own life, and in a moment was on his victim's back. He was a man of immense personal strength ; and when heavily fettered in the condemned cell, he overturned the lamp with his chained ankle, bore down the British sentry by brute strength of body, and wrenched away the man's bayonet even with his manacled hands. He never professed to be penitent, but was rather childishly fond of being photographed as the murderer of a Viceroy.

The passionate outburst of grief and wrath which then shook India, the slow military pomp of the slain Viceroy's re-entry into his capital, the uncontrollable fits of weeping in the chamber where he lay in state, the long voyage of the mourning ship, and the solemn ceremonial with which Ireland received home her dead son—all these were fitting at the time ; but they are past. Earth shuts him in with his glories and his triumphs. No ! he will live in India, although they laid him at last in the secluded graveyard which he had chosen in his own land.

When the sad intelligence reached London by telegraph, the Prime Minister and the Duke of Argyll announced it to horror-stricken audiences in either House. The murdered Viceroy had already made his mark among Anglo-Indian statesmen, and won the hearts of all who came in contact with him by his genial manners, strong good sense, and unwearied zeal for the public good. During

the three years of his Indian rule he travelled unweariedly to and fro over the dominions which had been placed under his care. Secret plotters against England, who hated in him her most prominent representative, and fanatics who would have deemed it no wrong to shed his blood, must often have lurked about his path, or braved it out, not far off, with impudent airs of safe defiance. His Government had used much power and forethought in ferreting out and punishing the leaders of the Wahabi and Kuki movements. It ought not, therefore, to have surprised, however much it might have shocked us, if we had found at any time that he had perished by the knife of the assassin. True, not many Englishmen have thus fallen in any part of India—thanks to the watchful care of Divine Providence and the traditional charm which has usually surrounded them. But the murder of a Conolly, a Mackeson, or a Norman has served to remind us that even Englishmen are not exempt from the lot of other mortals in a country where life is held cheap in comparison with what are regarded as the claims of social or religious duties. And yet in this case, as in so many others, it was the unforeseen that actually came to pass. Who would have apprehended, a few days before this melancholy event had transpired, that this most popular Governor-General was in any danger on a remote island in the Bay of Bengal ?

To fix Lord Mayo's place among Indian Viceroys would be an invidious, even if it were a practicable task. His rule, to begin with, was an eminently peaceful one. He had no great wars to carry through, no new provinces to annex or conquer, no great mutiny to put down, no new policy, even of peace and retrenchment, to introduce. Little was left him save to walk in the footsteps of Lord Lawrence, and to emulate the peaceful reforms of Lord William Bentinck. Still there remained to him, when he landed in the great country to which he had been commissioned, a wide field for the display of sound statesmanship and enlightened energy, and in this field he worked to good purpose. His first public appearance in India in his high official capacity was in connection with the great Ambala durbar, in March, 1869, and he impressed all around him with the same kind of personal charm which had already gained for him so many friends at home. His genial courtesy and ready tact confirmed the good impression previously produced on the mind of the Afghan monarch by Lord Lawrence's timely offer of arms and money. At a later period his prudent counsels went far to bring about the desired reconciliation between Sher

Ali and his contumacious son. Devoting himself as he did from the first, with unwearied zeal, to the governing of the vast Indian Empire, his active habits, sound principles, and spirit of inquiry in regard to everything, made the duties of his office anything but a sinecure. His presence at the Council board, where he was sure to be found when any peculiarly important business was on hand, betokened at once a desire to know what was even mooted, and a firm determination to dispatch quickly whatever had promptly to be done. To all who served under him his countenance was cordially given, so long as they did their duty. Throughout the controversy regarding the income-tax, respecting which there have been various opinions, he stood so persistently by the Minister of Finance, Sir Richard Temple, that his own popularity suffered a passing eclipse. But on proved delinquents his hand fell very heavily, as was shown by the censure on all concerned in the Public Works failures at Allahabad—a censure which was uttered in the plainest possible language.

Like many of his predecessors, Lord Mayo had an appetite for hard work and a searching eye for points of detail. At one time he had in his own hands the business of three great departments. His very relaxation was harder than some other men's work. In his frequent journeys his amazing energy would not unseldom carry him over as much ground as ordinary men would have deemed sufficient for three or four. Now hurrying from one frontier post to another, anon inspecting the site for a new hill station, one while opening a new line of railway in a cotton district, at another exchanging courtesies with the high-born princes of Rajputana, or engaged in political talk with the Maharajah of Cashmere, he went everywhere, saw and heard everything for himself, and turned his new knowledge to account in the conduct of his Government. If he followed the lead of Lord Lawrence in imposing new cesses for the public good on the reluctant landholders of Bengal, and also in carrying out the concession of fresh financial powers to the Local Governments, perhaps the chief credit belongs to him of establishing the new system of State Railways, and of organizing the new department of Trade and Agriculture, to which reference has already been made. No Viceroy, unless it were Lord Dalhousie, ever took a keener or more intelligent interest in all schemes for developing the material and industrial wealth of India. Nor would even Lord William Bentinck himself have clung more steadily than he did to the duty of

keeping down, at the least possible sacrifice to the public, of the expenditure of the Government. He lived long enough to see the yearly deficit bloom into a surplus, and if the income-tax, which was opposed by so many, does not now appear in the Indian Budget as offensively as it did, we know whom India will have chiefly to thank for the boon.

Of Lord Mayo's policy in respect to territory and regions lying beyond the British-Indian frontier little need be said, except that the manly good sense which guided his dealings with Sher Ali bore good fruit in almost all instances, and showed itself even along the shores of the Persian Gulf. Over the native chiefs and nobles who attended his frequent durbars and receptions he was able to well exercise the influence involved in his viceregal rank. In the disposal of his patronage Lord Mayo was preserved by his natural insight into character and his strict sense of duty from committing many serious mistakes. In such a position as his it is, however, inevitable that a man should sometimes be imposed upon. In his honest desire to govern justly, he had, during the later months of his rule, been lending a ready ear to the complaints of the Mohammadan subjects of the British sway; and nearly the last political act of his life was his avowal of his resolution to support the Bill by which Mr. (now Sir) Fitzjames Stephen sought to secure for native Indians who have abandoned their former faith without becoming Christians the right of marrying under easy conditions after their own way.

Lord Mayo was born in the city of Dublin on the 21st of February, 1822, so that he was within a few days of completing the fiftieth year of his age. His education at Trinity College, Dublin, was thorough, and he passed through his curriculum with credit and honours. He entered Parliament, in the Conservative interest, in 1847, as one of the members for the county of Kildare. During the next Parliament he represented the borough of Coleraine; and in that which followed he transferred his services to the electors of Cockermouth, which he represented down to 1868, when he accepted the Governor-Generalship of India. He was Chief Secretary for Ireland, under Lord Derby's first administration, from March to December, 1852, again under his second administration in 1858, and for a third time in 1866. He succeeded to the family honours in August, 1867; but that fact did not remove him from the House of Commons, inasmuch as he was not thus, without election, a representative peer of Ireland, or a peer of England or the United

Kingdom. His lordship succeeded his father, his previous name having been the Hon. Richard Southwell. He was the sixth earl. In 1848 he married the fourth daughter of Lord Leconsfield, who survives him, the family consisting of two daughters and four sons.

Her Majesty the Queen, immediately on receipt of the telegram, conveyed to the widowed lady, who bore herself nobly in the midst of her great trial, the sympathy which she can so well feel and express; and the Duke of Argyll, addressing the Government of India, in his capacity of Secretary of State, and in name of his Council, expressed "the deepest grief that his Excellency the Earl of Mayo, Viceroy and Governor-General of India," had been assassinated by a convict at Port Blair, on the Andaman Islands, "whilst his lordship was on an official visit of inspection to the convict settlement there;" going on to say that "in this calamitous event her Majesty's Government has to deplore the loss, in the prime of life, and in the midst of his career, of a statesman whose faithful and laborious discharge of the duties of his great office was animated by the warmest loyalty to his Sovereign, by constant devotion to the interests of her Indian subjects, and by a sincere desire to conduct with justice and consideration the relations of the Queen's Government with the native princes and states of India. Lord Mayo's exertions for these ends have been marked with great success, and have not been surpassed by the most zealous labours of his most distinguished predecessors at the head of the Government of India."

His Grace, in the House of Lords, speaking also on behalf of the Government, further said, "My lords, Lord Mayo's governorship did not fall upon times of great trial or difficulty, arising from foreign war or domestic insurrection; but he had to bear the difficulties and the great anxieties which are inseparable from the government of that mighty Empire. I believe I may say with perfect truth that no Governor-General has ever been more energetic in the discharge of his duty, has been more assiduous in the performance of the functions of his office, and, above all, has had more earnestly at heart the good of the people whom he was called on to govern. I believe that Lord Mayo has, in fact, fallen a victim to an almost excessive anxiety for the efficient discharge of public duty. If he had a fault, it was that he would leave nothing to others, but would see everything for himself. On his way to Burmah he thought it his duty to visit the convict establishment which had been set up at the Andaman Islands, in order to see what was its condition, and how far the rules of prison discipline were

carried out there. It was in the discharge of that duty that he met his death. I look on that death as a calamity to the people of India, which will be sincerely mourned not only by his friends in this country and in his native country, Ireland, but by all well-intentioned and well-affected subjects of her Majesty in her great Eastern Empire." The Duke of Richmond (now of Richmond and Gordon) added, "My lords, if her Majesty's Government feel deep sympathy for the relations and friends of Lord Mayo, how much more must I share that feeling who lived for so many years on terms of the most intimate friendship and affection with him! My lords, it will be gratifying to the noble Earl's family to learn from the lips of my noble friend, the Secretary of State for India, that the Government of her Majesty appreciated his merits during the time he was Governor of India, and believed that his conduct amply justified the choice of him and the hopes which were formed of his administration when he was selected by her Majesty's late Government for the office. My lords, I feel that he has left behind him a name second to none of those illustrious men who went before him, and, small as that consolation may be, it will be some consolation to his family to know how well he fulfilled the expectations of his friends. My lords, I feel too deeply to say more, but I could not altogether remain silent on this occasion."

In the Commons, the Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, said that, "though leaving to the Duke of Argyll the duty of doing full justice to Lord Mayo's eminent services, he was compelled to express his own appreciation of the loss which the public service had sustained, and his conviction that Lord Mayo's career in India had been worthy of his most distinguished predecessors. He had displayed the utmost zeal, intelligence, and devotion, and his whole policy had won for him the uniform confidence of the public." Mr. Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield), speaking with much emotion, described the event as "one of those calamities which saddened nations."

The public press in England, with perfect unanimity, expressed its opinion and its regret in regard to this momentous occurrence. The *Times* says, "It would be useless to dissemble the painful impression the murder of Lord Mayo is likely to produce in India and at home. Coming close upon the murder of Mr. Justice Norman, it may arouse a suspicion that, though no actual conspiracy exists among the Mussulmans of India, there is a freemasonry of hatred which may at any time have dangerous consequences." The

Daily News remarks that "many a Viceroy has fallen a victim to the stress of labour and exhaustion, physical as well as mental, in the discharge of his duties as a ruler, but that this is the first time that the Houses of Parliament have received the news that a Governor-General of India has fallen by the hand of an assassin. The grief is deep." The *Standard* observes that "seldom in our time has the death of one individual caused so profound and general an emotion. England is poorer by one brave heart and kindly spirit when she sorely needs the services of her greatest and best." The *Telegraph* holds that "in the presence of two recent assassinations by natives of the same class and creed . . . we cannot believe that the wave of fanaticism is yet exhausted, and that, therefore, we ought to be more than ever on our guard." The *Saturday Review* believes that the

assassination was "the result of dram-drinking and idleness, which are much allowed in the prison settlement at the Andaman Islands."

For a few months the tidings of Lord Mayo's death thrilled all India with horror and genuine grief. All classes mourned the loss of the murdered ruler. Hindus and Mohammadans alike came forward to express their loyal sympathy with the widow of a Viceroy whose rule had bidden so fairly to undo much evil and promote so much good. On the princes and nobles of India his death came like a personal bereavement. Sindia's exclamation was, "I have made and lost a friend!" And such was the feeling of many of this class of high-standing and ruling native Indians. But this part of the record must be closed. The Kuki rising and the Lushai expedition had not yet terminated; but they were in a fair way of reaching their end.

CHAPTER CXLII.

LORD NORTHBROOK'S VICEROYALTY.

OF course various names were mentioned to her Majesty in reference to the successorship to the viceregal throne of the Empire. The Duke of Argyll was wrongly suspected of coveting it, although, if a strong sense of public duty had compelled him, he was reluctantly willing to undertake the great responsibility. Lord Dufferin was named, but his health had suffered in Syria, and therefore, notwithstanding all his accomplishments and ability, it was found impossible to send him out to India. On account of the work which he had already done, his proved administrative talent, and his general ability, Lord Northbrook was cordially fixed upon as the next Governor-General of India.

The Earl of Northbrook, Thomas George Baring, was the first earl, having been a baronet. He was born on the 22nd of January, 1826, and succeeded his father, who was *Baron*, not *Earl*, in 1866. He was educated at Oxford. At an early age he entered upon political life, and was private secretary to Sir George Grey at the Home Office; to Mr. Labouchere (Lord Taunton) at the India Office and the Admiralty. He was a Lord of the Admiralty in 1857-58; Under-Secretary for the Home Department, 1864-66; Secretary to the Admiralty, 1866; Under-Secretary for War, 1868-72; and was appointed Governor-General of India in the last-named year, 1872, and has living one son and one daughter (1878).

For a few months the place of Viceroy was worthily filled by Lord Napier and Ettrick

(not of Magdala), which latter has also attained to many honourable positions in India and elsewhere. It was early in May, 1872, that Lord Northbrook took into his hands the reins of government at Calcutta—prepared as he was by his long previous training in the India Office, the Admiralty, the War Office, as has just been mentioned, and one or two other departments of the State.

His career as Governor-General may be said to have begun at Simla, where, in compliance with the usage of recent years, he and his Council passed the hot and rainy season of 1872. Lord Northbrook had landed at Bombay, under the usual salutes of the men-of-war in harbour, on the 26th of April, 1872. A picturesque crowd of Europeans and natives, dressed in many varieties of costume, including the simple waistcloth, greeted his arrival. After an introduction to two or three native chiefs, his lordship drove through long lines of soldiers and wondering natives to the Government House. There was in the evening a State dinner. This was on a Saturday. On Monday, the 28th, his lordship was to have unveiled the statue of the Queen, which the late, or rather the former, Gaikwar of Baroda had presented to the city of Bombay. In a kind of way the thing was done; but the ceremony was much shorn of its splendour by the unavoidable absence of the Gaikwar, and the consequent diminution of the number of troops.

One of the first acts of the new Viceroy

indicated a becoming desire to walk in the footsteps of his predecessors. The Russian conquerors of Bokhara were about to punish the Khan of Khiva, the ancient Kharizm, for many outrages inflicted year by year on Russian subjects—so it was said. The other side, if it could be heard, might have something also to say in regard to Russian encroachment and aggrandisement. Lord Northbrook, having been appealed to by the Khan, counselled him to offer timely amends for the misdeeds laid to his account. If his advice had been followed, some say that the Russian advance to Khiva, in 1873, might never have occurred. This is more than doubted by very many.

Lord Northbrook's arrival at Government House, Calcutta, on the 3rd of May, was of course followed by Lord Napier's departure on the 7th for Madras and England. The latter-mentioned nobleman, who was not known, had been received with coldness in Calcutta; but he left it with unusual liking and respect. His dignified bearing and gracious manners stood the comparison of the people's memories of Lord Mayo. He had not trifled with any call upon his official energies; and those who saw most of him and watched him with the closest scrutiny liked his character and respected his powers the most. The *Pioneer* says of him, "No one would have believed how qualified he was for empire, if he had not actually ruled." A very difficult place that is to fill; but Lord Napier well filled it. If the office had been offered him, and he had cared to accept of it, many private persons, and many opinions expressed in the public press, indicated that Lord Napier would have been a very fit successor to Lord Mayo. But Lord Mayo and India found an accomplished and unusually well-qualified successor and Governor in the Earl of Northbrook.

After some months spent in useful if unobtrusive work, the new Viceroy started on a tour of inquiry, which in the end embraced nearly all the chief towns of Northern, Western, and Central India, from Lahor to Bombay and Jabalpur. Durbars were held at several places on his road, and these brought him into friendly contact with quite a host of princes and great nobles north of the Tapti, from Patiala to Indor. The two great Maratha feudatories, Holkar and Sindia, vied with each other in the splendour of the welcome given by the one at Bombay, and by the other at Barwar to their illustrious guest. Those two months of constant travel laid in for Lord Northbrook stores of practical knowledge of which he was able to avail himself in many important questions of the day.

Foremost among these was the matter of taxation. In a populous country ruled by a handful of strangers, it is always of importance that the rulers should abstain from laying heavy and unwonted burdens on the people. The murmurs provoked throughout India in recent years—especially those which had been occasioned by the income-tax of 1870—had not by the time of Lord Northbrook's entrance upon office been silenced, even although there had been a lowering of that obnoxious impost. Even Lord Mayo's concession of larger powers to the Local Governments became, in popular opinion, a mere blind for further inroads and exactions. But from the first Lord Northbrook, naturally and from his training an able financier, set himself to grapple with the salient causes of popular discontent. A careful inquiry into all the taxes and cesses levied throughout India resulted in the collection of a large body of facts and opinions, which served to guide and strengthen the Viceroy's efforts in regard to financial reform. Such lessons emboldened him, in March, 1873, to abolish the income-tax altogether, to proclaim the early enforcement of a road-cess in Bengal, and to warn the Local Governments against any further increase of the local burdens. In the early part of the same year the excitement which had lately been caused, both in India and at home, by the progress of Russian arms and influence in Central Asia, was in some measure allayed by the professed readiness of the Russian Government to acknowledge and respect the new line of frontier laid down by the India Office for Afghanistan, as the limit of English influence in the regions bordering upon the Punjab. Later interviews between Lord Northbrook and a special envoy from Kabul led ultimately to a renewal of the friendly assurances which had been exchanged between Lord Mayo and Sher Ali at the Ambala durbar. In the interests of Indian trade with Turkistan, measures were immediately taken, by the agency of Mr. Forsyth, for the establishment of an uninterrupted intercourse with the ruler of Kashgar, Kustbegi, with Khotan, and with other provinces which had erewhile been under the Chinese rule. There was another mission, which was headed by Sir Bartle Frere, which left England towards the close of 1872, for the purpose of checking the rampant slave-trade along the eastern coast of Africa, by means of fresh treaties with the Sultan of Zanzibar and the adjacent chiefs. It was not till after the leader of the mission had returned home that the reluctant Sultan was coaxed or frightened into joining in the new crusade against a traffic which his own

connivance and the cunning and cupidity of not a few Indian traders had done so much to foster and extend.

While these momentous occurrences were transpiring, the Kuki outbreak was being thoroughly suppressed. After helping themselves to arms in Malod, the insurgents on the morning of the 15th January had rushed into the walled town of Mullair-Kotlah, the capital of a small Mohammadan state in Sirhind. They made at once for the late Nawab's palace, round which the chief public buildings, including the treasury, are ranged. The authorities, however, were already prepared for them, and after some hard fighting the rebels were driven out with a loss of seven killed and five captured. Pressed hard by the Kotlah troops, they fell back on the village of Rurr, in the Patiala state. Here they seem to have been cleverly surprised by the tahsildar of a neighbouring village, who succeeded in taking seventy of them prisoners. Even of that number nearly half were wounded men, while a few were women and children. Many were found unarmed, the remainder having only axes and sticks. Of the Kotlah troops eight were killed and about twice as many wounded. It was out of this body of captured Kukis that there were selected forty-nine who were blown away from the guns of the Nawab of Mullair-Kotlah. For that revolting barbarity England is only semi-responsible. The act in itself was that of the Nawab, but the Superintendent of Police and the Deputy Commissioner were present to witness the sad spectacle. The Commissioner himself executed sixteen more; eight others he made over to the Patiala authorities, and forwarded seven to the gaol at Ludiana for further examination.

There were at this time an unusual hurricane and flood in India. A person writes,* "At eleven, on the 1st of May, I retired to rest. I have an indistinct recollection of a gradually increasing commotion till about 3.30 this morning, when my front door was blown suddenly in, and split in two, with all the bolts broken. Everything breakable in my bedroom was at once sent to pieces, and the whole house filled with sandstones, mixed with sea-spray, which rushed in through the opening. Up till seven o'clock in the morning it was all that about ten of us could do to keep the doors which looked seawards from being blown in. About eight o'clock again a door was blown clean in, and all the furniture in the room upon which it opened was scattered about, and nearly Rs. 100 worth of damage done. After partaking of a hasty breakfast, which was half sand, I started off

to see the town. Everywhere there was the greatest consternation among the natives. Some of them to whom I spoke said that this was the greatest *pusa*—hurricane—which had ever visited Madras. As I drove through one street my horse was flung down by the violence of the wind, and my carriage sent up against a wall. Shortly after this I visited the houses of several gentlemen at St. Thome. The pandal of the house of one was blown down. The owner told me that he had tried, with a brougham and a couple of strong Australian horses, to get to the town, but had been kept back by sheer force of wind. At the house of another friend I saw a palm fallen clean across the door in front of the house. My friend here had, in company with two others, striven to walk into town, but was utterly unable to accomplish his purpose." This fearful hurricane raged even round Zanzibar, and did immense damage to the city and to no fewer than 150 vessels of the coast. It travelled, after the fashion of cyclones, up the Bay of Bengal, bursting over Madras, as has just been said, breaching the pier and doing great damage to the city and its suburbs. Many ships there were also completely wrecked, and several of the seamen were drowned. The cyclone raged at Madras the whole of the next day, and its force slowly abated only on the 3rd.

Lord Northbrook arrived at Government House, Calcutta, as has been said, in the afternoon on the 3rd of May. An immense gathering of natives and Europeans welcomed the new Viceroy on his way from the station. His lordship was at once sworn in, and immediately entered upon his official duties, and started for Simla on the 15th of the month.

Lord Napier and Ettrick, Governor of Madras, had held the viceroyalty from the end of February till May, when Lord Northbrook arrived. The rehoisting of the flag, however, at Government House was scarcely regarded as a token that Government had returned to its official life and its accustomed channels. There was a marked change. The multitude had no knowledge of Lord Northbrook, and, so far as a temporary man could go, Lord Napier and Ettrick had done his best for the country; but the guards, in consideration of the catastrophe that had happened, were now all European, and precautions hitherto undreamt of were taken to prevent the possibility of a surprise.

It must be acknowledged that Lord Northbrook did not at first produce the most favourable impression upon native India. It was thought that he would be excessively reserved. But before he left Calcutta he had convinced

* *Madras Times*, May 4, 1872.

the people of the sincerity of his aims, and they forgot the imagined reserve. In a speech soon after his arrival he declared his determination to curtail expenditure, so that it might come within the bounds of probable income; and, furthermore, intimated that in all changes of policy he would proceed with caution, and should always have a careful regard for the feelings of the people concerned. He abolished the income-tax. With Sir George Campbell he was not a particular favourite. Sir George was an able administrator, and understood India. His lordship, however, opposed a veto to one of Sir George's favourite measures, and this was no doubt intended as more than the veto of one measure, and to warn the Lieutenant-Governor of what a veto might imply. When the famine was imminent, the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor were utterly opposed to each other in respect to the policy which ought to be pursued. Sir George knew the country better, but the Viceroy was superior in authority. A number of persons who ought to have understood their own particular business, which was in grain, suggested the closing of the ports so far as grain was concerned. Sir George Campbell partly took this view, but with a widely different scope. He suggested, not that the ports should be closed, but that means should simply be taken to prevent the grain from being needlessly carried away, when it was so urgently required at home; that is to say, that the grain might be purchased in Kergunge, the great rice-growing country, or elsewhere, and the carriage saved; while, moreover, the purchase, if made early, would probably be made at a lower cost. But the Viceroy believed that if the Government made its appearance in the market as a buyer they would favour the projects of the rice merchants, some of whom there was reason to suppose had laid up large stocks of grain. He sent, therefore, to Burmah and elsewhere, and bought at a higher rate, but left the trade free. But this was mistaken policy. If a merchant, foreseeing a famine and venturing to act upon his perception, buys up grain which he intends to sell at a future market rate, is he to be blamed if he act honourably? This would be quite within his own line of business. Then, if the Government had appeared in the grain market up country, the merchants who had been storing grain in Calcutta would probably have been compelled to sell at a loss. Lord Northbrook's purchases in Burmah were, moreover, disadvantageously made, although they were ostensibly private. As the fact turned out, there were strange scenes in the famine district. Hosts of vessels were going up and

down the Ganges at the same time, some exporting and others importing—grain arriving to where grain was already stored. Several methods were suggested by impartial men as means by which the ports might be closed, or rather that, without doing so, the good rice of Bengal might have been kept for India in its need, instead of being sent to other countries. But all was in vain.

Lord Northbrook's refusal to leave Calcutta during the hot season, and his anxious and unremitting care to meet the demands of the famine, are, however, worthy of the most honourable record. He was a thoroughly conscientious Viceroy, and laboured hard to meet the great demands of the pressing necessity, and at the same time save the treasury. One would have expected as much from his early training, and from the influences of his father's house. Lord Northbrook matured a scheme, or rather schemes, of irrigation, which deserve higher praise than they have obtained. It is to Lord Dalhousie that the credit is due of initiating our English system of utilising native methods, supplementing it by newer and more scientific means of irrigation. If Lord Dalhousie had had absolute power over all India, and in perpetuity, we should probably never have had the painful experience of the Madras famine in 1877-78 especially. The idea, however, is Lord Salisbury's, assisted as he was by Lord Lawrence. During the viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence not a part of India, or any peculiarity of India, escaped notice when the Governor-General was forming his great and beneficent plans for irrigation. Lord Mayo continued the work. Lord Northbrook made it the subject of his earnest study, and fit in with his own sound principles of policy, and with a tact and consideration for native views, habits, and even prejudices, which, if his rule had continued, would have borne all before it, and made irrigation to represent one of the greatest victories of England in India. He recognised the fact that compulsory irrigation may be a great hardship in districts which, from local peculiarities, never lack water; and he knew, as some men do not know, that public spirit, and the sacrifice of private to public interests, must, in almost all instances, depend upon education. Here, before him, was a vast empire, in which the portions differed at clearly marked stages, from the thin end of the wedge at Comorin to the thick end at the Himalayas, and from Burmah to Bombay. Some of the people said to him, in effect, "Irrigation is good, but as you do not carry coals to Newcastle, pray also forbear to bring water where we have enough." To such

objectors he replied, "What you say is reasonable. Then show us the exact fact." He saw that in India the Ganges, the Jamna, and the Brahmapootra were capable not only of turning dry courses, in the rainy season, into many rivulets, but they frequently submerged whole districts, and that over many miles of cultivated land the people paddled their canoes. To store this water, then, was his problem. He saw that in the south natives had stored a vast tank of irrigation; a little higher, and, indeed, in all parts of the Madras system, that there were many intercepting "dykes," which kept back the waters of the Kistnah and the Godavari on their way to the ocean, and which might favour a system which could be made to spread over the country in many small channels, in the form of a life-giving fan. He saw also in the Punjab a system of "well" irrigation, the wells and their enclosures studding the country like forest trees. In Bombay there were many inundation canals which received and stored the waters in times of flood. An irrigation map has been carefully prepared, embracing all the particulars, and if that and the administrative reports were well studied and acted upon, we should hear the last of famines in India.

This question is not, however, so easy of solution as some might suppose. An irrigation map is quite sufficient to show how little has been done. The bright spots in it are numerous, but the dark ones are very many. You cannot confidently say where irrigation begins, or where it ends. A public-spirited landlord sometimes does much good, which no one but his own tenants knows of. But will irrigation prove remunerative? In many instances it does so; for, on the lines which have just been indicated, there are miles and miles of diverging lines which show what an immense security Nature has given India against famine and drought. In some cases the irrigation will prove remunerative to the landholders, in others it will not; but for the safety of the people's lives it will always be necessary, and ought so to be viewed by statesmen. In the sense of utilising all that was good in native irrigation, gradually but unremittingly, no ruler in India, no ruler in any country, would have achieved more than Lord Northbrook, if he had remained long enough; but, even as it was, he accomplished much.

One of the first acts of the Viceroy was to issue an order respecting the Kuki executions; and in India it seemed to be a very severe one. The rebels of Kuki had just been conquered. Indeed they were scarcely rebels, but they had been treated as such. There

had been preliminary steps taken by Lord Ettrick, it is but just to say, and Lord Northbrook confirmed them.

To understand this action of his lordship, and of his temporary predecessor, it is necessary to state that there is a standing feud arising out of the nature of the Hindu and Mohammadan religions. Not only are the festivals of the one an offence to the other, but a case which runs into the necessary actions of every-day life, and which might be provided against, occasions not infrequently occurring bitterness of feeling and actual conflicts. To the Hindu the cow is a sacred animal—the "mother and milk-giver of the family"—while the Mohammdans not only kill cows, but, in the spirit of their image-breaking forefathers, insist upon doing so publicly, and sometimes in the very street. This is beyond measure distressing to the Hindus; while Englishmen, partial to beef, and scornful of the idea that the cow is sacred, too often take the side of the offenders. Well, in connection with this feeling on the part of the Hindus, several Mohammadan butchers were murdered in the Punjab in certainly suspicious circumstances, the crimes being committed almost simultaneously in different parts of the country. Moreover, those crimes were proved to have been induced by the influence of a new Sikh sect known as the Kukis, pre-eminently defenders of the cow. Several of the Kukis were summarily executed, but it was believed that the roots of the uprisings went deeper than merely the defence of the sacred cow. On the 30th of August, 1870, a native judge of the Small Cause Court at Lahor gave judgment against a Kuki, a goldsmith. The man waited till the court closed. Then he met the judge, who was on his way home, and killed him. The man was tried and executed, and the sentence was made more terrible by the fact that the executioner was chosen from among the Mehter, or the lowest sweeper caste, whose touch is pollution. While the quietude from these causes was still prevalent, an Englishman, Mr. Bull, secretary to the municipality of Lahor, was murdered by a Mohammadan fakir. Putting such facts together, it now began to appear that the Kukis had a concerted plan against good order and the English Government, and that the Mohammdans, notwithstanding their natural and religious antipathy, had joined in it. The fakir who killed Mr. Bull was a fanatic Mohammadan, not a Kuki.

Still the traditional ill-feeling of the two would sometimes assert itself. In July, 1871, a Mohammadan butcher at Amritsar wantonly threw a bone into a Hindu well.

There were an instantaneous rising and severe loss of life; and the spirit of Hindu revenge spread rapidly to nearly all the chief stations in the Punjab. And matters continued to become even more serious. About the middle of November judgment was given in the case of the murder of six butchers by the Kukis, the offence having occurred nearly six months before. These men had been brought to justice by the fact that one of their accomplices had turned Queen's evidence. The Government most reluctantly accepted his testimony, but four of those men were executed and the others were transported.

But in the middle of January, 1872, occurred the outbreak which we have already described on page 162. As soon as Mr. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner at Ludiana, heard of it he went with the District Superintendent of Police to the scene of the disturbances. On the 16th he telegraphed to the Punjab Government for permission to summarily execute four prisoners, he himself having no power to take life. Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner at Ambala, who did possess such power, wrote in reply directing the prisoners to be sent to Shirdpore "for trial." So he alleged; but the letter having been lost, Mr. Cowan affirmed that it contained no such words as "for trial." On the 17th, before the answer of the Punjab Government arrived, Mr. Cowan had already carried out his purpose, and, without any semblance of trial, had begun at Mullair-Kotlah by blowing a number of his prisoners from the cannon's mouth. In the midst of this carnage, the details of which were heartrending, a letter from Mr. Forsyth arrived directing procedure according to law; but on the 18th he wrote again, giving his full and unqualified approval of what Mr. Cowan had done.

But the Indian Government took a widely different view of the entire proceedings. After a lengthened investigation into the whole circumstances, Mr. Cowan was dismissed from the service, and Mr. Forsyth was removed from the Commissionership of Ambala, and incapacitated for again exercising jurisdiction where human life might be in question. This order was made public on the 9th of May. Mr. Cowan's previous good services, and especially his humane care for the people in a time of great distress, were, however, frankly acknowledged. His case remains (1878) as it was. Mr. Forsyth was soon afterwards sent by Lord Northbrook on an important embassy; and, knighted as he has been, has been employed on several Governmental missions in regard to trade and commerce in connection with India.

In the early part of the same year a disturb-

ance which threatened to have disastrous results broke out among the Santals. The causes of discontent had been simmering for many years, and for about six there had existed a Santal Ryots' Association, a most remarkable fact in the history of such people. The mountaineers held a meeting to discuss their wrongs, and resolved to complain to those who ruled them, and to demand the redressment of their grievances. Two years later they held a second meeting, and later still they assembled again. The whole proceedings indicated great patience on the part of these poor people. But at the end of 1871 a final meeting was held, and the language of some of the leaders was so indignant and outrageous that the Government deemed it necessary to imprison some of them. The complaints made were not in any sense political, but purely social. It was asserted that fair and just measures, taken to protect both landlords and tenants after the outbreak of 1858, had been systematically evaded by the former; that the Bengali landlords, assisted by an iniquitous race of *mahajuns*—money-lenders—who charged an appalling rate of interest for money which the owners of the land virtually compelled the tenants to borrow, had made the lot of the people worse than slavery. They alleged also, among other things, that the landlords, in addition to just rent, levied unjust fines, and that a tenant who appealed to the law courts was inevitably defeated by cross-examinations in a language which he did not understand, and that often before the trial he was entrapped into the signing of some deed which invalidated his case. To meet this state of disaffection, a "Regulation" was published in the *Gazette of India* in May, 1872, which defined the rights and duties of the Santals. It was decreed—

First, that no money-lender should be permitted to take interest at a higher rate than 2 per cent. per month, in spite of any agreement to the contrary, or to take compound interest arising from any intermediate account. The total interest on any loan or debt was never to exceed a fourth of the original sum, if the period were not for more than one year, and the interest was not, under any circumstances, to exceed the principal, as it often had in very considerable amounts. Large powers were placed in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor for the settlement of land, for inquiry into landed rights, for the record of rights, for the demarcation of land, &c. Moreover, any ryot who, either himself or through persons from whom he inherited, could show that he had held fields for a period of twelve years, was

deemed to have occupancy right in such fields. Any ryot also who held fields by an equitable claim at the end of December, 1858, and afterwards lost them, might claim to be reinstated; and any ryot who had exchanged fields in the same village had his occupancy right legalised. This remarkable decision of the Government, indeed, gave power to the settlement officers to make a complete revolution in the affairs of the poor Santals. Lord Napier's Government gets the credit of this important measure; but it is not difficult to recognise in it the bolder hand of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; and if Sir George Campbell had done nothing more for India, this alone would have entitled him to the gratitude of at least the poor. The tenants were probably not altogether right, and one would be sorry to have to confess that the whole of the landlords were tyrants in league with unjust mahajuns; but that there were great wrongs there can be no doubt, and to meet these wrongs this trenchant order was issued.

A year or so after the final outburst of wrath among the Santals, there was an agrarian rising in the district of Patna. The magistrate of Serajunge, Mr. Nolan, in reporting on the riots, said that "while undoubtedly the immediate occasion of them was to be found in the enhancement of rents, the law itself was not faultless," much power being given to landlords. These riots were very little heard of in England, but they were characterized by no small amount of pillage and loss of life, and in the end assumed so serious an aspect that Lord Northbrook called upon Sir George Campbell for explanations. Sir George replied, "As regards the specific questions asked by the Government of India, the ryots have not generally shown a disposition to refuse all rents, but, on the contrary, generally offer rents which the zemindars consider inadequate, and have in many cases deposited the proffered rents in court. Our officers seem to think that, as might have been expected, while the zemindars ask too much, the ryots offer too little. The combinations to resist the payment of all rents are merely attempts to bring the zemindars to terms by keeping them out of all rents till they settle the question in dispute."

In September, 1871, there was a revolt in the gaol at Bareilly, which shows how difficult it is to rule, by the same hand, the diversities of race and creed co-existing in India. The reader must bear the fact in mind that the Brahmin wears suspended, in a loop falling over one shoulder, a thin common-looking thread, which is the badge of his high caste—of a nobility before which even princes bow.

The Superintendent of Bareilly gaol had been led to believe that, by virtue of this thread, high-caste prisoners secured peculiar privileges, including immunity from punishment, no warder caring to inform against a Brahmin. This last was probably the fact. Finding some of these high-caste men were incorrigible, and relying on a prison rule which, in the absence of other punishment, and in certain cases, authorised the taking away of the prisoners' clothing, Dr. Eades removed the threads, the deepest insult and the direst injury short of death that could be inflicted on a Brahmin. The rage of the Brahmins was unbounded, and a number of Mohamadan prisoners hounded them on.

Revolt was therefore determined upon. Means were found to cut off rivets and remove a door, and about eleven o'clock on the night of the 6th of September, which night happened to be very dark, forty-seven prisoners rushed into the yard, knocking down and otherwise maltreating sentries, and making their way to where some looms had been stored. Armed with portions of these, they attacked the watchmen and guard—how desperately may be judged from the fact that thirty-seven of the prisoners were wounded—twenty-one with clubs, and only sixteen by gunshot wounds. Among the watchmen and guards the number of men injured was kept concealed, but it was very serious. A stern inquiry followed, and resulted in an equally stern decision on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Sir William Muir. Dr. Eades was removed from his post, and was told that he had done a double wrong—first, to the particular individuals from whom he had removed the threads; and, secondly, to the Empire, in forgetting that the principle upon which British rule in India rests is religious toleration.

There was another, but somewhat different outbreak, which illustrates the causes which sometimes disturb the quietude within the line of the British frontiers. Early in 1874 it was known in both official and ordinary life that the Mohammadans of Bombay and the regions generally where Gujeratee is spoken, had become greatly excited by the publication in that language of Washington Irving's "Life of Mahomet," the book being regarded as an attack on the prophet. Of course, the mass of the people were almost entirely ignorant of the facts of Mahomet's personal history; but that certainly did not make them less susceptible of being made the dupes of designing and better-informed men. The publisher was a Parsee, and no more than that fact seemed to be necessary to direct upon the whole Parsee community the

vengeance of the Mussulman fanatics. On the 13th of February the explosion came. The houses of the Parsees were sacked, their property destroyed, and they themselves cruelly abused. For fully two hours, although in the middle of the day, the rioters worked their will without any interference by the police. Elegant mansions were wrecked to desolation, much life being destroyed; while some Englishmen, it was said, reproached the Parsees with having caused the disturbance. The riot continued for several days, the Parsees now at times leading, the Government being apparently at its wits' end. A number of Arabs who landed from the sea, Mohammadans of course, were supposed for the moment to have come by invitation. The Mussulman festival, Romahudan, moreover, was just beginning, and that greatly augmented the danger. Altogether there was reason to fear the worst. But ultimately troops arrived, and the rioters rapidly disappeared. Thus, then, another powder magazine had been ignited by a spark. If the area had been extended, and sparks carried to other magazines, the loss of life must have been very great, even if no question of race-mutiny had been involved.

In these cases the reader will observe that there was no political motive as against the Indian Government. Perhaps in none of them was there any political danger, but there was serious risk to individuals, and in all of them there were issues which required to be met with firm, but calm and forbearing statesmanship. Such statesmanship Lord Northbrook and his Council showed in regard to the important interests committed to their care.

The action of the Government in regard to Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Cowan had, no doubt, been determined upon before Lord Northbrook's arrival in Calcutta. But one of his earliest official deeds was the confirmation of Sir W. Muir's decision in regard to those gentlemen, and their connection with the Kuki executions. That decision was very unpopular, and the new Viceroy had to share in the odium. Some of the most intelligent Englishmen in India were of opinion that this conduct was likely to produce very injurious results in regard to both the officers of the Government and the people of the Punjab. In respect to the former it was considered that a severe blow had been given to all chances of vigorous and independent action in future, when emergencies might arise. The whole service, it was believed, would be astonished and appalled by the mode in which those two gentlemen had been dealt with. When mysterious dangers

occur, it was contended that a panic invariably follows—a panic which is quite unreasonable in its extent, and sometimes in its character; and the local executors must, in such case, be intrusted with sufficient powers to put such panics down. It was admitted that, in the present instance, the means of suppression had not been the wisest or the kindest; but it was further argued that the position of British rule in India is in many instances very critical.

When the mutinies of 1857 occurred and took most of the English by surprise, the warnings of sagacious men like Sir Henry Lawrence, General Jacobs, and others, remaining unheeded, there was presented an example of the inflammable material with which British Governors have to deal in the provinces of that grand and marvellous country. That there is a vast amount of discontent spreading from year to year, it were impolitic to deny. None can possibly doubt it if he knows anything of the people, or is in the habit of going among them. The evil results which were considered likely to arise out of the summaries of the proceedings in the present case were held to be aggravated by reference to the character and circumstances of the two officers who had suffered. Mr. Cowan, though not a brilliant man, had been a most painstaking and conscientious one, as he had also been a man of benevolent disposition. He was a married man with a family, and, being a member of the "uncovenanted service," had nothing to fall back upon, and must of necessity be utterly ruined, unless assisted in some way. Mr. Forsyth was one of the most distinguished servants of the Government. He is not a man of impulse, but cool, collected, and courageous, and when deputed to the court of St. Petersburg on a very delicate mission, he earned the highest commendation from Lord Clarendon for the tact and judgment he evinced. He had, moreover, been encouraged by Lord Mayo in every way to look for advancement.

So much for the effect upon the officers of the Government. As regards native subjects and feudatories, the effect, it was anticipated, would be anything but good. It may seem strange to persons at home in England, but there has generally been a strong feeling in the native mind in favour of the action taken by the officials of the Government on occasions of outbreak. They feel their own security more substantially guaranteed thereby. There seems to have been exceeding surprise among the natives when they were informed of the decisions of Government respecting Messrs. Forsyth and Cowan. So was it

with the loyal and well-affected, while fanatics and disloyally inclined persons must, without doubt, have been emboldened and encouraged.

But there is still another consideration: the native chiefs who have gallantly come forward in order to support English rule in India, more especially the Maharajah of Patiala, could not but feel discouraged and even offended by such action as this. A member of the household of the Maharajah, no doubt writing with the approbation of his master, says, "I do not pretend to judge whether the execution of the Kukis was or was not, under the circumstances, the most judicious course to adopt; but when it was deliberately adopted by conscientious, painstaking men, with the hearty approval of all on the spot, the policy of visiting it with condign punishment is a very different question. And if the Government by their decision have acted, as I believe they have acted, in entire opposition to the opinions of the Punjab community, European and native, they have, in my opinion, incurred a very serious responsibility—a grave view of the subject which cannot, I think, be materially affected by any subsequent action which that Government may take." The English is this gentleman's own.

Thus there may be a variety of opinions respecting the same action. It was believed by very many that if it had not been for the spirited action of Mr. Cowan we should have had a very serious affair indeed to deal with. It was with reason supposed that, instead of having only a comparatively small number of Kukis to subdue, those fanatics were in reality at least 100,000 strong, all banded together and prepared to act under the command of appointed leaders. A gentleman well qualified to judge says, "They mean to act on the Fenian plan, and many European lives will be sacrificed. 'The English fancy that those Kukis are a contemptible lot.' So said to me a Sikh chief. 'But you must not allow them to lift up their heads, or they will cause you an immense amount of trouble.' I myself believe he is right. It were wrong to suppose that the Kuki outbreak is the contemptible thing which it has hitherto shown itself to be. It is only a beginning." * Happily the danger which many apprehended was averted by the prompt action of the officers of the Government, and that those officers were harshly treated for doing their duty was the almost universal opinion of Englishmen in India. There seems to have been severity on both sides. Europeans, untrained by Indian experience, are unable to discover

* *Allen's Indian Mail.*

the need of so revolting a punishment of these misled Kukis, and done as the deed was with a good design on the part of the officials concerned, the punishment by the Governor of the officials themselves was, in the opinion of English residents on the spot—the best judges—unnecessarily severe.

In his short tenure of office Lord Napier had no opportunity for the display of statesmanship. But, during the time in which he held the office of Viceroy as *locum tenens*, he exhibited not only statesmanlike qualities, but a delicacy of feeling, a courtesy and discrimination—having regard to the exigencies of his position—which begat for him the regard and respect of intelligent men. There were no faults of taste, no lack of kindness and liberality, upon which even unfriendly criticism could fasten. Lady Napier's kind offices to the sick in the hospitals were unremitting, and during her stay she made herself acquainted with every philanthropic work in Calcutta.*

A report was about this same date received from the Munnipur contingent in connection with the Lushai expedition. It says that, "having marched to the southern frontiers of Munnipur, a distance of nearly eighty miles from the capital, the force was there encamped for a period of forty days in a close valley, where the nights were bitterly cold, and fogs arose as regularly as sunset, and remained until noon the following day. The men consequently suffered considerably in health, but there was among them no repining, and not a man returned before being permitted to do so." But the same causes, combined with insufficiency of clothing, prostrated most of the coolies upon whom the force depended for the conveyance of its supplies, and produced among them privations which compelled the retirement of the whole body of the contingent. A panic spread through the hill population, which rendered it impossible to supply the places of the coolies from that source; and there was great trouble to meet the exigency. Still it ultimately was met.

The services of the contingent were very considerable. Strange to say, there were here auxiliaries from among the same people who had occasioned trouble to the Government elsewhere. Those tribes are opposed to each other, and if some combine against the Government, others join its forces and fight against them. Here the Kukis were the helpers of the British soldiers. They were the first to come into actual conflict with the enemy. They lost a subadar who was in very high esteem; but five of the enemy were killed, and that his countrymen and co-religionists

* *Indian Daily News.*

held to be a compensation. In January, 1872, the force sent out escort and food to captive fugitives from Lenkamo villages, and brought into camp 227 men, women, and children. In February it afforded similar assistance to 392 captives from Poiboy's northern villages. Other captives also reached the camp, numbering altogether, over and above these, as many as 649 men, women, and children. Besides all this, the force afforded protection to 2,002 refugees from Lushai villages, and 110 refugees from Kamhou's villages. The escape of these poor creatures was primarily due to the operations of the Cachar column. All of them found an asylum in the territory of the Maharajah of Munnipur, a prince in friendly relation with the British Government in India. Lands were allotted to them, and arrangements made by the British Government for providing them with food until they could raise crops for themselves. The Maharajah evinced much interest in these settlers upon his territory.

The excellent position of Seeboo, taken up by the troops of the Maharajah who were co-operating with the English force engaged in the expedition, had many advantages. It compelled the Lushais, while it also held Kamhou's tribe in check, so to divide their forces, in order to watch these movements, that, on the 25th of January, when General Bouchier's column was attacked by Poiboy's clan, at least half that chief's force, with his principal leader Wamboon, was thus occupied, and the British force, by means of the diversion, was saved from important loss. The day after the final retirement of the contingent from Seeboo it intercepted a body of Kamhou's army carrying off to their hills 962 of the inhabitants of Lushai villages, which they had completely devastated, appropriating the spoil. This force had crossed the frontier in the interval of the first retirement, and was not aware of the return of the contingent. Hence its surprise. A brief struggle ensued, in which three chiefs and fifty-three of their followers were made prisoners, while fifty-four muskets were taken. Four of the British soldiers were wounded. The Lushai captives were all released, and their property restored to them. By this adventure and its success, Kamhou's power received a check, or rather a shock, from which it will not be easy for him to recover. But this was not before it was required. For years he had been merely simulating friendship while playing a fast-and-loose game—one of alternate submission, and another of raids upon distant villages, while he repudiated participation or responsibility. Not long before this date the Burman authorities had complained of the

ravages committed by this man's dependants upon the village of Beetop, in the Kuban valley. At about the same time his tribe carried a raid into the village of Lengsole, in the territory of the Maharajah of Munnipur, one man having been killed, and seven carried into captivity; while, even more recently, three other villages had been assailed by him, four women and seven men having been killed, and sixty-seven taken into captivity. At this very date there were seventy-four of the subjects of the friendly Maharajah still held in captivity by Kamhou. All doubts as to the criminality of this tribe were set at rest by the concurrent testimony of persons whom he had held as prisoners. The amount of good which was accomplished by this expedition, so far as regarded the future peace of the country, was seen to be very great, and time has only confirmed the verdict. It checked a career of devastation upon the neighbouring tribes, which in all probability would have terminated in the complete absorption of the Lushais and the occupation of their country by a powerful and ruthless tribe, who would have preyed upon the outlying British possessions for many years. It was necessary to use a large amount of tact to bring some of the Lushai chiefs to terms. They were equally frightened at the English rifles and at our terms of peace. But Captain Lewin, the Political Agent, gave them very careful handling and a considerable amount of free play, and he accomplished his purpose.

In connection with the cyclone, which happened almost immediately after the arrival of Lord Northbrook in India, there was a fearfully disastrous flood at Vellor. India is a land of droughts and floods. At the beginning of May, 1872, the 3rd and 4th, Monday and Tuesday, the sky was cloudy; Wednesday morning was dark and heavy, and towards the afternoon the rain set in and continued to pour during the whole of the night, and the state of things was not changed next morning. At about eleven o'clock in the forenoon on Thursday a very heavy fall of rain came on. It rained so hard that one was hardly able to see any object at the shortest distance. It was blowing from the north-east, and by two o'clock there was a fierce hurricane. The wind howled and raged most furiously, and the rain fell in alarming torrents. Suddenly, at a little before four o'clock, there was a lull, and the wind veered towards the south. After this there was a cry of alarm from thousands who felt themselves in danger by the coming down suddenly upon them of a great body of water, which swept everything before it. All

Vellor was soon under water. Hundreds of lives were lost, and thousands of persons were ruined. This rush of water was caused by the breaking of some tanks which were situated about two miles and a half from Vellor. These tanks form a collection of waters from several streams.

The portions of the town which suffered most by this mighty rush of waters were those which are occupied by the native regiments and the Cusbah, which contained about eight or nine hundred houses, in each of which there were five souls on an average. The officers' lines and the houses of the European residents suffered only in so far that the walls of the compound were breached, and, the water having got in, much valuable property was injured. The native population were observed to be in great danger when the floods set in, and as soon as assistance could be rendered it was promptly afforded, all the officials and military officers turning out and doing their utmost to save life and property. In the lines of the native regiments, the 28th suffered only slightly; but the houses of the drummers of the corps were completely carried away. The families of native corps stationed at the place suffered very much indeed, particularly those belonging to the 14th Regiment. The havildar of that corps reported that most of the women had perished. A noteworthy circumstance is that the majority of those women belonged to tribes whose women are always kept in seclusion. The floods extended from the Central Gaol, about two and a half miles from Vellor, up to the houses of the European residents. During the floods the water in some parts of the Cusbah amounted to as much as eight feet, and even in some of the houses of the European residents there were more than four feet of water. The town of Vellor contained at the time upwards of 50,000 people, and the devastation and suffering were painfully great.

The village of Cusbah thus suffered most. If village it had been before the flood, it certainly was not one afterwards. When subsequently seen it was a plain here, a plain there, a few ruins of houses in another direction, and a mosque standing a little way off. It had contained before the occurrence of this calamity as many as 700 or 800 houses. The spectacle which was now presented was sad to behold; but the tale of the manner in which hundreds of lives had there been lost was still more sad to hear. The inhabitants of the village were struck with consternation when the waters came down upon them with mighty force. Some of the people ran to the houses of the European residents and were

saved; but of those who remained in their own houses none escaped. It is said that in one of these houses there were assembled 150 persons, all of whom but one perished. The house was that of a pensioned havildar. Of the large number assembled in the house many were women of the 14th Regiment. The only survivor was the old havildar himself.

Next to the Cusbah were the lines of the native regiments, so far as regards the damages which were sustained. The houses of the families of the native corps were mostly swept away, and those that remained were wrecked and deserted. The town of Vellor, after the flood, presented the appearance of a heap of ruins. The fort was intact, and the houses of the European residents were still habitable; but in the native parts of the town it was hard to believe that houses had ever stood upon them. The sweep of the waters had been so clean as to leave no trace of houses behind. There were between 500 and 600 persons originally supposed to have lost their lives by this terrible disaster, and the loss of property was proportionally great. Those who were rescued from a fearful death, or who were fortunate enough to escape, were sent to the mahal in the fort, where their wants were attended to. Upwards of 3,000 people were rendered houseless. The waters subsided on Friday; and, as soon as they were able, the police, with the assistance of the military, began to search for the bodies of the dead. Besides these, 250 convicts from the Central Gaol, under guard of a company of sepoy, were employed in the same melancholy work. On Friday 169 bodies were found, on Saturday 38, and next day 20. The results of the flood may thus be summed up:—About 12,000 people were ultimately found to be houseless, or who had lost their habitations, from 3,000 to 4,000 of these being absolutely destitute, and dependent on public support. About 1,000 people, it was finally estimated, perished, and the destruction of property was very great; indeed, so far as the latter is concerned, the loss has never been accurately estimated.

Much excitement was at this time caused in Bombay by the sudden deaths at Baroda of Bhow Sindia, Vizier of the late Gaikwar, and of Moonshee Habib-oola, his confidential servant. The former died mysteriously in prison, he having been confined there on account of peculation. The latter died two days afterwards. The story, as circulated in Bombay, was to the effect that, on the night of the 2nd of May, Bhow Sindia was ordered by his gaolers to swallow a poison-ball which had been prepared for him. On his refusing,

with loud cries for help, he was squeezed to death by a kind of pressing-machine kept for that purpose. His body was burnt immediately afterwards with a haste unbecoming his princely rank. It was said by interested parties that the Gaikwar had died of malignant fever; but that assertion there is no reason to believe. One of his attendants was likewise missing. The Moonshee, who had been his chief secretary, was supposed to have perished in prison two or three days afterwards, either from poison or torture. The Moonshee was, indeed, stated to be still living; but he was never seen. It was also asserted that several of the Gaikwar's officers of the staff were made away with in like manner, and that the head steward to the Gaikwar's mother was scorched to death in the sun for admitting into the house a messenger from the widow of her son. There are many political tangles in India, and this is one of them.

Lord Northbrook left for Simla on the evening of the 21st by special train. Before leaving he took repeated occasion to express his views on Indian questions. On the day of his departure, after distributing prizes to the students at the Medical College, he avowed his pleasure at finding no change in the educational policy of the Government, as laid down in Sir C. Wood's dispatch of 1854, which he himself "had had the privilege" of helping to draw up, and which "seemed still to be regarded as the charter of Indian education." His lordship in effect declared himself equally attached to the three different principles therein commended—the maintenance of a high standard of English learning as the proper vehicle for imparting Western knowledge to India; the encouragement of the "old historical languages of India;" and the wide diffusion of primary education among the people in their own daily speech. To the third of these objects his lordship had devoted special attention, but at the same time he had no desire to reduce unduly the already existing high standard of English education in India, or to discourage the study of Sanscrit and Arabic. His great object in this address was to promote primary education among the mass of the population.

There was at this date a search for coal on the Godavari by Mr. Blanford, under the auspices and direction of the Government—a most important investigation in regard to the industries of the country. Mr. Blanford's boring on the British side of the river near Dumagudium led to no very promising result. The area of the rocks in that neighbourhood is very small, and the coal-beds found there are thin and irregular. But elsewhere the

explorer was more successful. By setting the wild jungle tribes to work in quest of coal, he became aware of the existence of thick beds not far from Pakhall, in the neighbourhood of Warangul. Mr. Blanford, in his venturous zeal, suffered a serious injury to one of his feet, and was compelled to apply for sick leave; but he had previously been able to test the coal-bearing rocks on the Nizam's side of the Godavari, the result of which was to prove the existence there of more than 50 feet depth of coal. It was also proved that coal was to be found over a long line of country in East Berar.

Towards the end of June, 1872, the heat in the greater part of India was tremendous. At Allahabad it was as high as 115° in the shade. At Haidarabad, in the Deccan, it was even hotter than this, and several persons were struck down by it. About Puna the wells were dried up, cattle were dying for thirst, and human beings were glad to go several miles for a jar of water.

Every one who could get away from the plains had left for the hill stations, at which parboiled and baked-up Britons lay in fresh stores of vital strength. Lord Northbrook and his departments were all safe at Simla. Stories of the activity of the new Viceroy—activity both mental and bodily—had begun to crop up. In the Treasury Account Department in particular there were fear and quaking, inasmuch as his lordship was known to have fixed his eye, like that of the "Ancient Mariner," upon the drones.

The Financial Statement made in April by Sir Richard Temple excited much attention in India, as indeed it also did in England. It is only by careful study, however, that one extracts from it the actual state of the Indian finances at that particular period. There is not a subject of which it treats, scarcely a figure which it contains, that does not invite comment even after years have passed away. The cash balances were extraordinary; the continued military expenditure was enormous; the waste of money on education was lavish—lavish because the results were unsatisfactory; there was a large augmentation of the municipal and other local taxes; the income-tax, contrary to all expectation, was still continued; the Home charges were very heavy; and then, over and above all, there was the uncontrolled power of the Secretary of State to borrow money. All these items in the Budget, to say nothing of any others, might well occupy the attention of the friends of India. Looking at the expenditure of the Government of India, its magnitude and rapid increase were remarkably great. Since 1857, up to this time, the income had increased by

£16,000,000 sterling, but had been insufficient to meet the expenditure. Trade might prosper; old taxes might be increased in their amount, and new ones imposed; rich harvests might pour their wealth into the Treasury; but what matter if expenditure outstripped the income in a manner which no one outside could understand? Estimates for work are generally exceeded by the actual outlay, stores usually cost more than they ought, recruiting charges are apt to increase, and that was, at this time, the experience of India. The only thing to be depended upon was that the expenditure was sure to exceed the income. At the present moment—1878—it requires the greatest care to prevent this tendency from becoming a serious embarrassment. This point is of vital importance. The India of to-day is not the India of a past generation, and the events and circumstances of to-day are the seed which will yield fruit in the future for good or evil.

The friends of India have had need for several years to carefully watch the phases through which she is passing. Let it be observed that the taxation is increasing year by year. Between 1856 and 1865 the income increased by between £15,000,000 and £16,000,000, and of this sum £7,301,620 were due to sources on which there had been increased or new taxation. This large sum of £7,000,000 odd came under the heading of imperial taxes, and was quite exclusive of those which were local, the latter having now reached a figure so high that it is a marvel they can be collected with so much facility. At this rate, within the period mentioned, the imperial taxes increased £700,000 sterling per annum, and the local taxes grew with even greater speed. In 1862-63 the municipal funds could only contribute towards the maintenance of the police by allowing £48,664; but in 1868-69 those funds were so raised from local taxation that they were enabled to contribute £241,252, or more than £400 per cent. within the period of six years.

In the Budget of which we are speaking—that for 1872—Sir Richard Temple says that, “in addition to previously existing local funds, fresh provincial taxation would be imposed in the various provinces of India, probably amounting in the aggregate to £750,000. Then, if imperial taxes were augmented by £700,000 and local taxes by £750,000 per annum, the two together must have been a heavy increase to the burden which is required to be borne by India.” The Duke of Argyll, about this time, told the House of Lords frankly that, although he was Secretary for India, he was utterly un-

able to account for a million sterling which had been charged to the military expenditure. On one occasion Lord Halifax stated, also to the Lords, that Lord Dalhousie had raised a loan of two millions, professedly for public works, but, somehow or other, the money had all been spent in the ordinary expenditure of India. Things are now better—thanks to the efforts of Lords Mayo and Northbrook in particular; but the Empire still suffers from the effects of former inequality between income and expenditure. And what could be expected from such a state of things? If a million every now and then disappeared, without any one's knowing how or where; if moneys borrowed for one purpose might be squandered on another; if expenditure was always permitted to exceed income; if without loans expenditure could not be met; if taxation had to be increased year by year; and if no limit was put to the power of those who might involve the country beyond redemption, it required no prophetic vision to foretell the result.

Five years ago—1873—Mr. E. Denison, while commenting on the Indian Financial Statement, remarked to the House of Commons that “the expenditure through the Home Government had increased from £3,000,000 to £16,000,000, or, including the railway contributions, to £20,000,000. The office also insisted on keeping at the end of each year a balance of £3,000,000 in hand. At the very time, therefore, that Sir Richard Temple was presenting his Budget for 1872 at Calcutta, and was urging special reasons for the imposition of the income-tax, there was this balance in England to the credit of the Indian Government.” Not one of these statements has ever been contradicted. But Mr. Denison said more. He declared that “the India Office systematically refused to give reasons” for the expenditure of the immense sums which it annually dealt with.

Efforts, as has been said, had been made to make things better, but these had been only partially successful. A committee on Indian finance was appointed by the House of Commons. It was composed principally of well-known and eminent Anglo-Indians who had seen good service in their day. This committee held many meetings and made important recommendations, which are being gradually carried out. Lord Northbrook, at the seat of his government in India, lent himself willingly to the advocacy of the principle of retrenchment which had been so earnestly contended for by his predecessor. During his sojourn at Simla he held several “councils.” On his way thither he was not personally known, of course, and an amusing

incident occurred at Ambala. It is scarcely worth while to relate it, but it may prove just a tiny scintillation of light in the narration of graver affairs. It happened that when the train stopped for him to come out he was asleep, and those who waited drawn up on the platform to receive him thought it etiquette to wait till he was aroused. Accordingly a circle of considerate Englishmen was formed at a respectful distance from the carriage, waiting till the great man should make his appearance like a giant refreshed. After a short time the door opened, and the expectants beheld a neatly dressed, affable gentleman step on to the platform. The multitude drew itself up and looked pleasant. The General put on his most winning smile of welcome, and advanced to give him the right hand of fellowship. But the affable gentleman, with a shade of distance in his manner, politely informed him that my lord would be ready presently. It was the *valet*; and the General winced.

At Simla the principal business done was the passing of a Bill exempting the Straits Settlements from the provisions of the Indian Emigration Act of 1871. There were also Bills carried through for legalising the repayment of money placed in District Savings Banks in the names of minors, and for levying duty on certain descriptions of spirits made in British Burmah.

Lord Dalhousie's minutes on the Wahabi movement were at this time published as a "parliamentary." The publication of such documents is usually very slow. Those minutes were found to be just what might have been expected from a shrewd and self-reliant statesman of high character and ability. In one of them—the only one of importance sufficient to be mentioned here—he informs the Commission of Patna that, in his judgment, there was no ground for further proceedings against the Wahabi leaders of that city. At the same time he has no doubt that some of them have been corresponding with fanatics beyond the border, and admits the need of vigilance in the matter. The magistrate of Patna was therefore directed to "keep his eye" on certain persons. Suspected persons in the Punjab were also to be closely watched, and if evidence sufficient for their conviction could be shown, "no leniency should be exercised."

There was at this period a perpetual fever of political excitement in India. The war of the mutiny had not yet been forgotten. But if matters could only have been taken in a quiet sort of way it would have been better. What was wanted was not the multitudinous and ever-accumulating new measures which were daily introduced, but a gradual ripening and maturing of those which had

already been inaugurated. The Anglo-Indian mind had lately evinced a tendency to something which approached recklessness in the matter of spasmodical Education Acts, sanitation, and engineering. The well-worn motto, "The more haste the less speed," was much required to be suggested to most officials. It cannot be said that many of the measures were utterly obnoxious or useless; but they were most of them hurried measures—measures upon which the minds of men were not prepared, or for which the country was not yet ripe.

The report of Colonel Brooke on the affairs of Rajputana for 1870-71 presents a pleasing picture in contrast with many other parts of India. There were still the traces of the famine to be seen, but eastwards the crops were luxuriant; and especially the *rubbee*, or spring harvest, was everywhere good. It was in October of this year that Lord Mayo held his great durbar at Ajmir, from which the Jodhpur Rajah was excluded for refusing to sit below the chief of Udaipur. Those gentlemen sometimes do stand disagreeably on their dignity. At this durbar it was that the Earl of Mayo broached his scheme of a college for the sons of the chiefs, princes, and thakurs, or landed gentry of Rajputana. His appeal to the assembled chiefs was in due time answered by a subscription of Rs. 631,000, which was a noble endowment. The Rana of Udaipur headed the list with Rs. 100,000, and the Rajah of Jaipur with Rs. 125,000.

There was a striking contrast between the state of things now and that which had obtained only forty years before, a contrast showing in many points the progress of India. When Lord W. Bentinck in 1831-32, as Governor-General, passed through this same territory, it was by slow and toilsome marches of ten or twelve miles a day, with no carriages, but many elephants and palanquins, and quite an army of troops and camp followers. The baggage was piled on native hackeries, the bullocks frequently breaking down, or with galled necks labouring at a snail-like pace over the deep Jaipur sands.

The Maharana of Mewar, breaking through the pride and prejudice of his people, had gone to Ajmir to welcome the Governor-General. Maun Singh, of Marwar, kept away from feelings of pride. The Maharao of Bundi was perhaps the only one who lived to see the next gathering of Rajputs under the presidency of a Governor-General. In those days a public durbar was difficult, inasmuch as the chiefs would neither meet with each other, nor with the Governor-General, without the greatest ceremony.

On the 22nd of July, 1872, the House of Commons unanimously consented that an annuity of £1,000 should be settled upon Lady Mayo out of the Imperial Exchequer, and a further annuity of £1,000 out of the Indian Treasury, in addition to a capital sum of £20,000 to be settled upon Lord Mayo's children. This was well-merited money.

Special attention was, at this time, given to the position and the claims of Sindia and Holkar, the chiefs or princes of Gwalior and Indor. Both held their possessions under the settlement made by Sir John Malcolm in 1818, after the victory of Mehidpoor. So great had been the distress consequent on years of misrule, anarchy, and warfare, that chiefs, thakurs, and people alike yearned for peace and the close of the reign of terror. There was, therefore, no attempt to resist the new conqueror. Sir John Malcolm's settlement secured to every owner the lands which he held, on the simple condition of good behaviour. From that time the Maratha chiefs, confirmed by British sanctions in their former conquests, have been accepted as rulers by the Rajput thakurs. The people were happy; but they have since been less so. Later rulers have disregarded the old treaties. In this respect the Maharajah of Indor, Holkar, has sinned for many years. Means have been employed to lessen the disaffection which this has occasioned. The English Government must do its best; but the matter is politically delicate. Holkar has a really great army; and, in any event, it is not always easy to negotiate with a proud prince. At one time it was hoped, in regard to Holkar, that he would stay his hand from oppression; but remonstrance by the English Government seems now to have little impression upon him. "His appetite has been too frequently whetted to be appeased by mere discussion." There is not a Rajput house in Rajputana or Central India which is not alive to the sufferings of their clansmen under Holkar; and the subject is freely discussed in every bazaar. The people look to the British Government as their ultimate rulers, and pray for intercession and relief as they appeal to that Government. Sooner or later something more decided must be done. But England has too much respect for Holkar's independence to interfere. Interference on behalf of the oppressed subjects would tend seriously to curtail the rights and powers which the British have guaranteed to their ruler; and if, on the other hand, England decline to interfere, and scrupulously respect the right of the chiefs to do wrong, suppressing all attempts of their subjects to right themselves by force, it may perhaps be found

that it may carry the British Government somewhat further than it intends to go—possibly to annexation. Matters are even now—1878—far from being satisfactory in Indor, and yet it would be unwise if England were too ostensibly to interfere. Lord Northbrook found this one of his difficulties; but he was at the same time both cautious and firm, remonstrating with Holkar on the ground of agreements with the British Government, and counselling the people to quiet and non-armed measures as more likely than any other to realise their purpose.

Very different is the history of Punnah, in Bandalkand, whose Rajah, Nirpat Singh, died in 1871, exciting the regrets of his people and of the Government of India. Before his accession, in 1849, Punnah was in utter destitution and misrule. He left it a model state. During his reign of twenty-one years he abolished suttee, reformed every part of his administration, carried heavy cart-loads over places where banjaras, with their pack-bullocks, had much difficulty a few years before, encouraged agriculture in every way, and paid special attention to cattle-breeding. His diamond mines were worked with English machinery. Punnah itself was adorned with broad streets, good houses, schools, and public offices. In all this he was aided by a competent and able minister.

The Rajah of Tehree, the chief state in Bandalkand, rules an area of 2,100 square miles, containing 200,000 souls. Among his thakurs are the descendants of the men of war for whom Bandalkand was famous—strong, brawny barons, than whom, it is said, "there is not a finer body in physique."

Malwah and its opium are the chief sources of Sindia's revenue. In Sir J. Malcolm's time the yearly out-turn of opium amounted to only 5,000 or 6,000 chests, consumed by Rajput nobles, Sikh and Maratha soldiers, and the horsemen of Mysore and the Deccan. Now as many as 37,608 chests are exported to China, while probably 20,000 are consumed at home. In Rajputana, and Central India almost every one eats or drinks opium, from the very infants to the grown-up men, who take it as regularly as their meals. Its use seems to do no good, but much harm. But it is the stirrup-cup of the Rajput, and no visitor comes or goes without a draught of the *kossumbah*, which is spiced opium in a liquid form. The free use of it is considered by many competent judges to have long been undermining the mental and bodily powers of the people of Rajputana.

For a very considerable length of time it had been felt that the growing centralization of India ought to be checked, and this is the

feeling still. The Government of India takes everything under its charge, and itself attends to everything. The old leading spirit is not yet worn out, and the officials, even the Governors of provinces, are, in the opinion of the Supreme Government, required to be supervised, just the same as the lowest clerks in an office. Everything has to be referred to the head-quarters of the Government, and the time necessary for this is a serious loss to administration and to the executive. Indeed, it is wonderful how the Government of India is carried on at all in such circumstances. All descriptions of questions are sent on for reference, from the reorganization of a department to the increase of a peon's pay. It is absurd that such questions should not be settled on the spot. If the Governor of a presidency is fit to govern at all, and if he has officials fit for anything, they ought to be able to answer the questions which are sent on for reference.

It would be immeasurably better if a federation were formed; and the present divisions of the country might be taken for the purpose, for they probably would do as well as any other that could be chosen. In the early part of Lord Northbrook's administration this project was prominently brought forward and much insisted upon by the English press in India. He and his Council, however, frowned upon it. Perhaps it was not to be wondered at that they should. But the matter is not by any means shelved. It constantly comes again into view.

The presidencies ought to form a federation, with the Supreme Government overlooking the whole country. Several years ago the different Governments were told that they might manage their own financial affairs to a certain degree, but it was soon found that this was a mockery. Managing their own financial affairs was found simply to mean gathering and paying the imperial taxes without leaving anything out of them for local purposes. Money for such objects might be raised by the different Governments in any way they thought proper, but they were not always to be allowed to spend it as they wished. What many of the best friends of India contend for is widely different from that arrangement. They argue that it would be wise to let the Local Governments of such an immense territory almost, if not entirely, manage their own financial affairs. Each presidency should be told what it had to give to the Imperial Exchequer, and then the mode of raising it ought to be left entirely to the Local Governments. For provincial purposes they should also be allowed to expend the money which might be deemed necessary,

the Supreme Government having a control over what was spent. This control ought, however, to be exercised with much discretion, supposing everything to be going well, but sharply when a blot should be discovered in the administration of a minor Government. In this way there would be a regular federation of the different parts of India, and the Supreme Government would not be considered to be taking upon itself more power than it ought to have. Each power or Government would try to do its best for the people under its rule, and there would be a healthy rivalry between the different Governments, and each would make the best use that it could of the power intrusted to it. The people would know those who ruled them, and would be helpful to good order in many ways. They would feel that the Government was their own, and that they as well as the rulers would, in time, take a pride in seeing that things were well done.

The Secretary of State for India wrote to congratulate the Indian Government on the prosperous issue of the Lushai expedition, on "results which are not less creditable to the wisdom and moderation of the Government which sanctioned the expedition than to the military authorities which conducted it."

There were two small rebellions—one in Jodhpur and the other in Bandalkand. The second son of the Jodhpur Rajah, during his father's absence at Mount Abu, seized the fort of Nagore and hoisted his flag on the ramparts. His father hurried home, and the rebel son was soon brought to terms. The other rebel was the chief of Pulhaira, in Bandalkand, who, with his thakurs, rose against his liege lord and alleged oppressor, the Rajah of Tehree.

Cholera was raging in many parts of India. Indeed, that direful disease is never out of India; but there are seasons during which it becomes much more generally fatal. At this date, at Ambala, there were thirty-two cases, mostly fatal, in three days. At Sabathu and Kussowlie the epidemic was also very fatal. At Agra, out of sixty-two seizures, chiefly among the boys of St. Peter's College, thirty-five died. And there were likewise many fatal cases reported from Darjiling. The disease had also shown itself among the 17th Foot and the 21st Hussars at Jabalpur, and in the 13th Bengal Cavalry at Lucknow.

Native princes and gentlemen gave fresh illustrations of public spirit. The Maharajah Sindia proposed to construct an irrigational canal from the Sind River, near Narwar, through the capital to the Chumbul River, a distance of 110 miles; and the Maharajah of Cashmere gave a large sum of money for the

founding of a medical college at Srinagar. It was soon put into efficiency, and lectures and demonstrations were given by native gentlemen who had been educated in England.

From Jacobad, in Sind, there were reports of destructive floods, and those reports were but too true. They buried half the cantonments, and caused a breach in the Makanwai Canal. The destruction of railway bridges in the Punjab was very extensive, and raised the question whether it would not be better to be content with pontoon bridges over such rivers as, in any heavy monsoon, rush down with a force which nothing solid can withstand.

Prince Gholam Mohammed died on the 12th of August. This prince was the last surviving son of Tippu, the fierce Sultan of Mysore, who, after years of fighting and plotting against the Feringhi, or English, fell at the storming of Seringapatam in the last year of the eighteenth century. On Tippu's death the kingdom which his father had founded was broken up, but the province of Mysore was given back to the old line of Hindu rajahs whom Hyder Ali had dispossessed. Tippu's children were removed to the fort of Vellor until the mutiny and massacre of English soldiers and others in 1806 had passed away—a disaster which was mainly due to the intrigues of the young princes and their partisans—intrigues which occasioned their removal to Calcutta, where they could be under a more strict surveillance. There the princes lived and grew old on the handsome pensions allowed them by the East India Company, and there in succession they died. Gholam Mohammed's years, when he too passed away, were more than eighty. He had seen the power which his father defied, and which his grandfather had put in imminent peril, carry its arms over all India, and weather a mutiny far more widespread than any that had previously occurred—even far more formidable than that of Vellor.

The Government of Lord Northbrook, in the summer of 1872, had its attention called to the large and increasing number of beggars in India. The sincere zealots, devotees, fanatics, and ascetics, put all together, are but a drop in the bucket as compared with the fellows who adopt religious mendicancy as a profession in order to shirk work, indulge in vagabondage, escape justice, facilitate swindling, find opportunity for theft, enjoy debauchery at other people's expense, excite discontent, and foment sedition. Ninetenths of the beggars, able-bodied and sturdy, are really actuated by some other motives than religious ones, although they always make that sacred pretence. It is

about the smallest of their crimes that they sponge upon and impoverish the people. In addition to that, they seduce them into ganja and opium eating and smoking, and thereby make them the readier dupes to aid them in their iniquitous ends. Most of the political mischief which is done or attempted in India is by the agency of these men, who wander at will wherever they please—fakirs from Laho turning up at Travandrum, and emissaries from the Mahabun teaching treason at the Deccan. The result is that treason is made to appear ubiquitous, while there is really nothing of the kind. It is one of the surest proofs of the loyalty of the great bulk of the people that such persons should have been so long and so perseveringly at work, and yet should have produced so little result of any sort. The average native may listen without expressed objection, or even with languid approval, to the diatribes of incendiaries; but he does not see the expediency of incurring the risk of getting himself knocked on the head; and so it is that in ordinary times, and in usual circumstances, it is wise to allow sedition-mongers to have the "length of their tether." This was Lord Northbrook's policy, and the results amply justified its wisdom. At the same time, such characters keep up a sense of uneasiness, and enable the dangerous classes to be troublesome, and to afford them facilities for keeping up communication with one another all over the country, and to develop many plots, most of them sure to be abortive, but one or other of which might chance to prove practicable under certain contingencies by no means inconceivable. There ought to be some restriction put upon the movements of those men. It is inexpedient that they should be allowed to fatten in idleness on the hard-earned means of the toiling millions. From a moral point of view these wanderers are utterly vile, while politically they are a great and perpetual danger. Why should there not be a passport system for the *bonâ fide* religious pilgrims, and a vagrancy law for the sturdy impostors? Why should not extortion by intimidation, even by these men, be made as criminal as it is in England? And why, when they wander beyond their own districts, should they not be bound to give a satisfactory reason for their presence in any particular locality?

In August Lord Northbrook made a present of £1,000 towards the founding of a new Anglo-Oriental college for Mohammedans. He likewise put a check upon hurried legislation when a Bill came up in regard to British Burmah. The Bill, which was in pursuance of Sir R. Temple's Budget

policy, was nearly passing, when his lordship asked whether it had been translated into the vernacular, and published, according to rule, in the *British Burmah Gazette*. The Council, strange to say, were taken aback by this simple question; and it turned out that not only had no translation been made, but that the *Gazette*, recognised by law, was not even taken in by the Simla Secretariat. All further dealing with the Bill was adjourned for a fortnight. But the province was two thousand miles off; and it required even a further delay in order to ascertain the opinions of the persons concerned. Thus early did the Viceroy declare his determination to abide by the law and the people, and to pay only the respect which was due to officialism; and to that a certain amount of respect is always due, for faithful servants are ever worthy of respect. His lordship plainly stated that, so long as he was responsible, he should cause a record to be made of the progress of every Bill, so that none of the rules affecting Bills in their successive stages should be broken through.

Six Topographical Surveys were at work in 1870-71. They completed the mapping of 14,592 square miles. Up to 1871 the total area surveyed had been 665,909 square miles, or three times the area of France. But to this ought to be added the topographical work of the Trigonometrical Survey, and the work done in Madras and Bombay. One party, under Lieutenants Strahan and Holdich, surveyed 2,653 square miles of difficult country, chiefly to the west of the Betwah River. Around Deogurh the country is full of interesting archaeological remains, including many ruined temples celebrated for rich sculpture. At Iran, on the banks of the Bina, which flows into the Betwah, there is a remarkable pillar which is inscribed with one of King Asoka's numerous edicts, and which is supposed to occupy the exact centre of Hindustan. The hill country in Alwar is broken up into parallel ridges, with precipices 500 or 600 feet high, beneath which flow streams through rich jungle intermixed with palms. Many of these streams rise on one side of a ridge, and, passing round the end of it, flow back along the other side within a mile of their former course. In 1870-71 fifteen parties, for purposes of survey, were at work in Bengal. Much work was done; but, on the whole, the Madras Survey was the most accurate, and its results best adapted to general use. Next to that comes the Bombay Survey, which is perhaps best suited for fiscal purposes.

In September, 1872, a very doleful and quaintly worded petition from "B. Marshalla

and others" was sent to Lord Northbrook. He paid no attention to it. But as indicating the feeling of the people, it may be well here to notice it. It set forth, in Bábu's English, that the petitioners respectfully and gratefully remember the time when Lord Clive ruled. "In those days the people were contented. Under the rule of her Majesty's Government we supposed that we should be better off; but it has been far otherwise. We are suffering and hungering." Lord Northbrook could make nothing of this appeal. Mr. (now Sir George) Campbell, from whom he requested counsel, admitted that the municipal taxation of Calcutta was "high for an Indian city," and was proportionally heavier than the average local taxation of England and Wales. It was more than four times as high as the taxes in the suburbs of Calcutta, and six or eight times as high as the municipal taxation of most Bengal towns, such as Dacca, Patna, and Moorshedabad. A taxation reckoned at Rs. 5½ per head is also materially higher than the Rs. 4½ per head levied in Bombay. But it ought to be borne in mind that Calcutta was just at that time paying heavily—about 8½ lakhs a year—for a very complete system of drainage and water supply, the profits of which it had even already begun to reap. More than this, Calcutta had certainly a great deal to show for its expenditure, for the deaths at this date were barely half as many as they had been six years before; and the taxation was not so heavy on the poor as on the rich, several of the taxes being paid by the latter only.

On the night of the 10th of August, and until break of day, there was quite a deluge at Ambala. The whole of the bazaars were flooded, and the cries of the people were distressing—husbands looking for their wives, and mothers bewailing the loss of their little ones. On that eventful night many were deprived of a home. At one point three little children were seen struggling with the waves, and were swept away no one knew whither. Again, near the large nullah which seems to divide the cantonments from the Sudder Bazaar, a bear might be seen struggling against a tide, endeavouring to stem the tide, but all alike doomed to the same fate.

Cholera raged fearfully in various parts, particularly at Allahabad, Lucknow, and Kusowlie. Still Government and its courtesies must go on. The Government presented the Rajah of Munnipur with five hundred muskets of the Enfield make, in recognition of his cordial co-operation in the Lushai expedition, and Lord Northbrook sent him a hearty letter acknowledging his services, and himself ordered thirteen sporting rifles from England,

on the latest and most improved principle, as presents for his Highness, his princes, and his minister. This was a graceful act on the part of both the Government and his Excellency, whatever may be thought of the form which it took. Very likely this form would be appreciated by the receivers more highly than almost any other; and the acknowledgment of services most willingly rendered was certainly due.

At this time there was a new census taken of Bengal, and the results surprised every one. The responsibilities of the Indian Government are very rapidly increasing. The population had been immensely underrated, and the number of people under the direct rule of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was now found to be not less than 65,000,000. Mohammadans were found to greatly preponderate. In the districts to the east of Calcutta there are certainly not fewer than 20,000,000 of Mohammadans. This is indeed a very important matter when one comes to consider the state of Mohammadan education. The average population of fully cultivated districts on the plains of the Ganges is not less than 640 per square mile, or a human being to every acre. The most thickly populated districts in the North-Western Provinces cannot be taken at more than $2\frac{1}{3}$ acres to the human being, and allowing for the large proportion of the land now under cotton, jute, &c., and the quantity of rice which is annually exported, certainly not less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres must be required there for each person. Allowing, then, for the comparative—the extraordinarily comparative—frugality of the people of India, it does seem that, after all, the agricultural productiveness of the country is not at so low an ebb as some persons would lead us to imagine. The people work primitively, and it is the desire of the Government to encourage them, many of the officers willingly assisting in the production of a better system of agriculture; but, at the same time, every man who labours on the land works in his own way, with tools in some instances as antiquated as the deluge, and ideas scarcely less ancient, though marvellously adapted to the peculiarities of the country, and productive of results which are not by any means to be despised. The declaration of the particulars of the census undoubtedly brought the Government and the people more nearly together on both moral and material grounds.*

Towards the end of September Madras in particular suffered in more respects than one. The virulence of *dengue*, a malignant fever, was simply astounding. In most of the

Madras churches prayers were offered up for the abatement of the scourge. Black Town was the scene of the severest visitation. It was computed that 80 per cent. of the East Indian and native inhabitants had been ill with it. There were whole streets where scarcely a soul—man, woman, or child—escaped. Though the disease proved most fatal to children, yet many grown-up persons succumbed to it. Generally speaking, the strong and previously healthy escaped death, but even the most muscular and vigorous continued long to feel bone-aches and other after-effects of the ailment. Whole months after the fever had left them the pains in the joints remained, and men felt as if they had been severely beaten and bruised.

While it was thus in the houses of so many of the people of Madras, there were certain melancholy sights in other parts of the town. It was now three months and a half, or nearly so, since the cyclone. But even after so long a space what an aspect was presented by the beach! To the north of the pier masoolah boats appeared to occupy the place—masoolah boats rotten, masoolah boats sound, masoolah boats in pieces. Canvas or leaf-roofed boats here and there only told of the scene where the goods recovered from the late disasters were temporarily housed and stored. Huge logs of wood in heaps, pieces of iron, bales of cotton, and clusters or detached specimens of—ugh! the dead, unburied bodies of poor wretches who had perished in the storm, were all crushed together. At one's feet lay half-a-dozen cannon, dismantled, rusty, and woe-begone. Here and there in the sand were the corroded flukes of anchors. Masts of wrecked ships were likewise embedded hard by. The sight was about as sad as human eye could rest upon.

The Panthays form a link, and a very important link, in a chain of international traffic which affects millions of Chinese and the manufactories of Europe, as these appertain to ports of India and the eastern and southern coasts of China. Before the insurrection of the Panthays in 1855 a considerable trade, valued at half a million sterling a year, was carried on between Burmah and China, and the Panthays were themselves among the most eager participators in this traffic. Bhamô, a town situated upon the Irawady, was the entrepôt of this trade. But when the Panthays revolted from the Chinese rule the stream of commerce between China and Burmah was stopped at once, and from the internecine character of the struggle between the two parties, it began to be feared that this commerce was utterly at an end. But a trade has since that period developed itself between the

* Statistics from *Friend of India*.

Panthays and the province of Yunnan, which grows year by year, and which promises to be of great advantage to British Burmah. Lord Northbrook was much interested in this trade when it was only in its incipience, and the result has shown the wisdom and sagacity of his foresight. The natural roadways between Burmah and Yunnan are remarkably favourable; and Yunnan being now completely separated from the Chinese Empire, there are both exports from it and imports into it, which not only must profit India, but England as well. The commercial possibilities of overland traffic between India, and China are almost boundlessly magnificent, and some day or other the utter disruption of the Chinese Empire, or the separation from it of at least the south-western provinces, may realise what is even yet accounted by statesmen a vision of Utopia.

Lord Northbrook's sojourn at Simla came to an end about the middle of October. He went down the hill to Ambala, where he held a *darbar*, and met with many important native personages with whom it is desirable that the British Government should sustain amicable relations. Sir John Strachey and the Begum of Bhopal were there invested by his lordship with the Order of the Star of India. No specially important point of political interest came before the Viceroy and the chiefs; but the exchange of courtesies between persons of such positions as his and theirs is not only pleasant at the moment, but is sure to be productive of future good. From Ambala his lordship went by Ferozepur to Amritsar, Lahor, and Multan. There he took steamer for Kasmor, from which he turned aside to visit Jacobad and Shaikarpur. Returning to Sakkar, he went down the Indus to Kotri, and then took the rail from Kotri to Karachi. About the middle of November the Viceroy again arrived at Bombay, and there met his Legislative Council. He afterwards paid a visit to Puna and Kirki, and proceeded subsequently to Nagpur, and then took the road to Jabalpur. Before he left Simla the Supreme Legislative Council had sat there, and had passed Mr. Hobhouse's Bill for defining the jurisdiction of the Bombay High Court in Sind, and General Norman's Bill for admitting sepoy lunatics into asylums, Sir J. Strachey's Bill concerning Irrigation and Drainage in Northern India being referred to a select committee, as were also several other minor Bills.

The Indian Government, at the suggestion of the Viceroy, did at this time a most sensible thing in a small but important matter. In India the days at certain seasons are extremely hot, and the nights just as bitterly

cold. Among the soldiers at Peshawar exposure to cold brought on fresh attacks of fever in the case of those who had already suffered from that complaint. It was now ruled, therefore, that during unseasonably cold weather extra blankets should be issued by the commissariat, to be returned into the store when no longer needed, "providing that the commanding officer and the chief medical officer at the station should agree in recommending such extra issue."

Lord Northbrook, by means of his lengthened journey and careful inspection after he had left Simla, became much better acquainted with the state of the country than he had been before, and now offered a gold medal to the Bengal Medical College for "the best essay on the causes of the fever which had so long prevailed in the Bardwan districts, and almost devastated portions of it." This was a vastly important question, and many parts of India were under deep obligation to his lordship for beginning the ventilation of it. The houses of an Indian town are generally situated in enclosures, which present towards the street or alley a dead wall of sun-dried bricks, stone, or mud, a small doorway being the only opening which is visible. On entering this doorway the visitor finds a yard from 10 to 12 feet square, on the sides of which are dark rooms or cells, with an open veranda before them, in which the people live. The rooms are for the most part very badly ventilated, and each is lighted by an aperture about a foot square. The yard often communicates with others of the same kind, forming a labyrinthine succession of such courts. Some houses are visited by *mehters*—sweepers—at stated intervals, but the poorer classes profess to perform the office for themselves. They do not, however, do it, or they do it very badly. Of drainage there is absolutely none at all. There are vile and offensive receptacles in nearly every enclosure, and these diffuse hateful and poisonous effluvium all around. In some dwellings the occupants do not even take the trouble to provide any vessel to receive filth, but throw it carelessly behind a thin partition wall upon the bare ground, which thus becomes completely saturated with putrescent organic matter. The foul waste water of houses abutting on the street is discharged into a side gutter, and is there allowed to evaporate. Where no such gutter exists, an unglazed earthen jar is sunk at the side of the lane or street, and a pipe through the wall discharges the baleful liquid into it. When full, the jar is supposed to be carried away and emptied on the nearest *ghura*, or dunghill, such a receptacle being found oppo-

site nearly every gentleman's house. This forms a convenient "treasury" for the offal and refuse of the neighbourhood; and as the manure which is collected is considered valuable property, the owner of the site peremptorily places a veto on its removal. Instead of the porous jar, cesspools of masonry are constructed inside some of the better houses. When these become full the contents are baled and thrown out indiscriminately over the neighbouring thoroughfares, there to be absorbed or to evaporate. Many families merely dig a hole at the side of the street for the reception of the liquid refuse. This is a most pernicious kind of cesspit, for the absorbent character of the soil causes longer time till the effects of the deposits have completely gone. From the fact that it gives so little trouble, this method is unfortunately frequently adopted in poor neighbourhoods. When its removal at last becomes imperatively necessary, the fetid abomination which has been accumulated is scattered broadcast over the neighbourhood. Were it not for the carrion crows, the swine, and other creatures which perform the office of scavengers, and for the extreme dryness of the air, human life could not be preserved under such conditions. As it is we need not wonder at the prevalence of violent fevers in India.

Moreover, the fields and *maidans* are covered with all sorts of offensive objects, and dead cattle are everywhere exposed under the burning sky. Not unfrequently, too, when a horse or an elephant dies, it is buried within the town. The graves of the Mussulmans are never dug sufficiently deep, and the bodies are consequently exhumed at night by wild animals. The poor among the Hindus are, on the other hand, compelled by want of means to perform in a partial and inefficient manner the ceremony of cremation, after which they throw the half-consumed corpse into any convenient place which they can find.

These abuses are the very mainsprings and sources of fever and cholera, diseases from which India is never free. The nature and management of the water supply are, moreover, a lamentably active cause of disease throughout India. Tanks and wells are dug by private individuals; no care is taken to ascertain that the source is pure, or that the water does not percolate through soil impregnated with sewage, and still fewer precautions are used to prevent the filthy dried excreta which everywhere cover the surface of the ground from being blown into them. It is no uncommon thing to find lazy people washing themselves or their dirty jars in the very water which they are drawing for drink-

ing purposes. As water necessarily enters largely into the consumption of every family, it is impossible to calculate the amount of disease which is produced or disseminated by this wilful and culpable pollution of the sources from which it is drawn.

Undoubtedly the immediate cause of fever in the Bardwan districts is to be sought for in the dirt, poverty, and overcrowded condition of the villages and towns, the filthy and ill-ventilated state of the dwellings, the close confined air of the dense jungles, and in the rainy season the presence of large quantities of water and decaying vegetable matter. But these are causes which the skill of the engineer and the proper application of labour and funds can ameliorate in many instances, and in others entirely remove. Lord Northbrook wanted the best information about all this, and out of his own pocket was willing to buy the knowledge.

But there are other causes of disease which have powerfully operated in India. The great and sudden changes of temperature to which the inhabitants are exposed, the days being inordinately hot and the nights excessively cold, as has been said, and the heavy dews which have to be encountered with insufficient clothing—these have all been exciting causes of fever with which it has been difficult to deal. Easterly winds also have been known to produce both fever and cholera in a large degree, and there has been observed a remarkable tendency in such diseases to follow the courses of the rivers.

The greater number of epidemics which have raged in India can, however, be traced to the Hindu festivals and fairs which are annually held upon the banks of the sacred rivers. The native Hindu population of the country, from the summit of the Himalaya Mountains to Cape Comorin, is congregated, by means of these, at least once every year at various places, and in masses of from half a million to a million of people. These enormous numbers of human beings have no dwelling-place but the open maidan or the river banks. A seething mass of corruption and disease must necessarily thus be generated and carried over India, not only by the returning pilgrims, but by the streams themselves.

The vicinity of a river is, at the best, a dangerous spot in a hot climate. The low sedgy banks, and the miasmatic influence of the sun upon the beds of slime and festering vegetables, are bad enough, but when to these fertile causes of disease is added the accumulated refuse left by vast multitudes of human beings, and purposely introduced into the running water, it would be strange indeed if

fevers and zymotic diseases were not generated. The causes of fever and similar epidemics throughout India are, therefore, not difficult to ascertain. In considering the best means of protection against attacks of fever and cholera, it is essential to bear in mind the class of persons who suffer. It has generally been found that the most likely victims are the poor and ill-clothed children of misery, and that from them disease is propagated amongst Europeans and the better class of natives. Persons of sober and regular habits, avoiding sudden changes of temperature and unnecessary exposure to unhealthy fogs and vapours, have almost always enjoyed immunity from fever. Fatigue, exhaustion, whether arising from debauchery or insufficient nourishment, alternate exposure to the heat of the sun and the chills of the night, must necessarily render persons peculiarly susceptible to such disease. If the inhabitants of tropical climates would exercise a careful supervision over their domestic arrangements, and keep a strict watch upon the habits of their servants, they would do much to lessen the violence of such epidemics. Free ventilation, scrupulous cleanliness, wholesome food, proper clothing, and abundant fuel are matters which cannot be too strictly attended to. The daily use of warm baths and the wearing of flannel are main safeguards against fever, and the employment of these preventives in such a country as India ought on no account to be neglected. Medical theory as well as experience proves that the too free use of alcoholic stimulants, with an insane view of supporting the system in hot climates against the shock or attack of an epidemic, is not only useless, but is absolutely an exciting cause of the dreaded malady. It stands to reason that as stimulants tend to increase the heat of the system, and to seriously derange the biliary secretions, they must of necessity predispose to febrile attacks.

Another most important rule of diet is the avoidance of all raw, crude, stale, and indigestible food; and the greatest care ought always to be taken to procure pure, sweet water, which, in such a country, ought never to be used without having been passed through a filter. The lower and poorer classes of natives who eat bad rice, *dahi*, or coagulated milk, melons, or unripe and rotten mangoes, and who drink indiscriminately from every muddy puddle, fall victims by thousands to prevailing epidemics on account of their imprudent conduct. There is, moreover, another source of disease in India—pilgrims carry infection with them. Meshed Hussein and Meshed Ali are probably the most im-

portant foster-places of cholera in Asia Minor. They are the burial-places of Ali, the founder of the Shiite sect, and of Hussein, his sacred son, the two most venerated saints among the Shiite Mohammadans. To the shrines of Ali and Hussein flock annually, in the month of Moharrem, not fewer than 60,000 pilgrims from Persia and India, the former bringing with them many hundred corpses in all stages of decomposition for interment in the sacred soil of the holy cities. Again and again the congregating of pilgrims in the cities during the pilgrimage has been the occasion of grave outbreaks of cholera, the disease having been introduced by the pilgrims. Cholera has been known to have frequently accompanied the Persian pilgrims to Meshed Hussein and Meshed Ali, and to have been carried by them into the Ottoman dominions. Frequently, also, the disease fostered by the unwholesome conditions which prevail in the two sacred cities during the pilgrimage has attached itself to the pilgrims returning homewards or passing elsewhere, and been by them widely disseminated in the districts they have traversed. In 1871 cholera was rife in Meshed Hussein and Meshed Ali, and the contingent of pilgrims who proceeded on the further pilgrimage to Mecca by the northern route across Arabia carried the disease with them, and introduced it successively into Hayell, in the Jebel Shammar, and Khaiber. From Khaiber the disease was communicated to Medina, and thence it passed to Mecca. The danger to the Ottoman Empire, and to Europe generally, is thus very great. This serious danger was fully recognised by the International Sanitary Conference in 1866, and measures of quarantine and hygiene were suggested to ward it off, or to limit it. Several of these suggestions have been adopted and acted upon with good results.

The Euphrates Valley Railway, by opening a swift and direct communication with the dangerous localities, would be found in a short time, it is believed, to expose Europe perhaps to even greater peril from cholera than any other line which could be devised. Every precaution ought, therefore, to be taken into serious consideration by the Ottoman and English Governments in connection with the various parts and arrangements of this project; for undoubtedly, if all that is intended is carried out, a prolific source of calamity will be opened up to India and to Europe. This is not said in a spirit of hostility to the Euphrates Valley Railway, but in the interests of sanitary arrangements which are necessary for the protection of millions of people.

In this particular—*i.e.* that of sanitation—the Viceroy took an especial interest, wherever he went on his journeys, and when at the seat of his Government, carefully and peremptorily interdicting all measures, both general and local, by which the health of the community might possibly be endangered; and, on the other hand, encouraging by every means systems of drainage which were likely to have the opposite effect. Many towns were benefited by the former, and many districts by the latter. The irrigation schemes, some of which had been in effect before, were found not to be profitable in a pecuniary point of view to the Government; but, nevertheless, his lordship and his Council encouraged the extension of them as a proper precaution against famine, and as likely to promote the welfare of the ryots and others in ordinary times. Such work takes time to produce its results. The Orissa canals, when their construction was sanctioned, were estimated to yield annually £400,000 from rates on the irrigation works alone, or as much as 5s. per acre on 1,600,000 acres; but at the date which is at present before the reader the rate had to be reduced to 2s. per acre. Reckoning future earnings according to experience actually obtained, it was necessary that the Government estimates should count upon only £40,000 instead of £400,000. But it was wisely deemed proper that revenue should be sought by other means rather than that there should be any interference with a measure so vital as this to the life and existence of the population. The Godavari works furnish another illustration. As to revenue, it began to appear doubtful whether any return for the capital would at any time be obtained from them; but they have proved of immense advantage to the people, and this must be said notwithstanding the famine of 1876-77-78.

The reports which came to England from the Indian peninsula at the close of September in this year were most of them melancholy. Cholera continued to reap its daily harvest in various parts of the Punjab. More than 1,300 people out of 60,000 had died at Meerut in a few weeks. All the English soldiers were in tents, the natives were panic-stricken, and business was at a standstill. Owing to the prevalence of dengue in Upper Bengal, the Supreme Government found it necessary to place further funds at the disposal of the local authorities for the supply of medicines to the civil dispensaries. In Cashmere there were 2,900 deaths out of 5,600 seizures.

One evil is not unfrequently accompanied by another. There were heavy floods at various points both in Madras and Bombay.

On the Madras Railway all communication was stopped for nearly a week by the washing away of the line between Dhudni and Gulbarga. In Gujarat and Khandesh the ravages of the floods were very serious. The through traffic on the Bombay and Baroda line was almost entirely suspended. An iron bridge of twelve spans over the Par was carried away, eight spans of the Damaun Ganga bridge were destroyed, and several other bridges were rendered unsafe. In several of the Gujarat towns the people were glad to find shelter in the tree-tops from the floods which swept away their houses, and many sufferers were rescued from the thatched roofs on which they were found floating down the swollen torrent. The loss of life and property was indeed very great. Even Surat was widely flooded by the Tapti, a large number of native boats were driven out to sea, and not a few lives were lost. Khandesh seems to have suffered more than Gujarat, however; for whole villages were swept away, hundreds of lives lost, large damage done to all kinds of property, and thousands of poor creatures were left homeless and destitute. In the town of Nassik, crowded as it was with pilgrims, the floods reached up to the Peshwa's palace, and the temples on both sides of the river had their floors covered with several feet of water.

There was, as a bright side to this dark picture, a Fine Arts Exhibition at Simla, which was opened by Lord Northbrook on the 21st of September, in the midst of heavy rain. People, of course, could not, even on such an occasion, venture out of doors. But the Viceroy, though with difficulty, kept his engagement. There were only fifty or sixty people present. Sir R. Temple, with manifest honesty, complimented his lordship on his skill as a painter. The Viceroy, however, disclaimed all merit on such a score, and took occasion to indicate the weak point in such exhibitions by expressing a wish to see more sketches in a country where the aspects of nature were so grand and varied.

Lord Northbrook was resolved at an early period of his viceroyalty to probe the wounds which fiscal experiments had inflicted on the temper of the Indian people. A circular letter from the Secretary of the Indian Government, issued under his lordship's directions at this time, contains the following paragraphs:—"I am next to ask that report may be called for, from some of the best local officers who come into direct contact with the people, upon the question whether any, and what taxes, imperial, provincial, local, municipal, now existing, or about to be imposed, create a feeling of discontent in the

country or among any particular section of the people. Care should be taken to ascertain the feeling of the people towards any particular tax; the income-tax, for instance, as it now is, and not in regard to any more severe form of it that does not now exist. The reports thus obtained should be carefully reviewed, and the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor upon this important matter submitted to the Government of India." *

It was now that the embassy from the Khan of Khiva to Lord Northbrook drew the attention of many observant and thoughtful persons to the old subject of Russia's progress in Central Asia. The Viceroy, as has already been said, simply gave advice. Some complained, when the fact became public, that he had not done more. Such persons would have had him back up the Khan against his powerful foe, and that he could very easily have done. It was the Viceroy and his Council, not so easily the English Government at home, who could have checked the Russian encroachment. But the Khan would have been no remarkably reputable ally; and in spite of the natural dislike of Englishmen to mere advice in view of such policy as that of Russia, in this instance it is hard to see what else the Viceroy could have done. England could hardly dispute the right of another power to exact compensation for alleged wrong done to its subjects by a people with whom we have no sort of alliance. If Russia is determined to swallow up one of the khanates after another, the conquerors of one Indian province after another would seem to have no special call to prevent her, even if they felt quite certain that all such movements were only paving the way for an ultimate line of strength between Russia and England in the Punjab. Lord Northbrook therefore comforted himself by the reflection that the course which he took was the right one. There are some who consider that the action of Russia against Khiva was an act of inexcusable aggression in pursuance of a policy which had been recognised for several generations. Very probably it was. But there are others who hold that Russian progress in Turkistan means the progress of modern civilisation and the decline of Islam. Mr. Vambery, however, for one—and he is not an incompetent judge—estimates Russia's place among civilised nations as only a little better than that of the Kirghiz, and decidedly lower than that of the Mohammadans of Khiva. But it is not pleasant, in any case, to find so powerful a rival both in trade and arms drawing so near to the British Indian frontier, and adding one more to the anxieties which weigh upon

* *Indian Gazette.*

England as an Asiatic power. Lord Northbrook felt himself shut up to the course which he took in the matter of Khiva, and had the approbation of his Government at home.

There is a subject which Lord Northbrook, almost beyond any other Governor-General, might have been expected to make his especial care, but he did not: that is, the development of Indian handicraft and commerce. During his tenure of office the impression existed in India, correctly or incorrectly, that as Viceroy he cared little comparatively about restoring the old trade routes to Western China and Kashgaria; that, in fact, Lord Mayo's policy with respect to these was abandoned. To Indian trade by river and railway, as well as by sea, Lord Northbrook undoubtedly gave much attention. But from that attention there is apparently but small result; and it is for the want of result that some blame him, as if, when a man lays his plans, he were to be censured when some of them fail. The internal trade of India is capable of vast development. Look, for example, at the Ganges.

In 1871 the Indian Government requested Sir George Campbell to select some point on that river at which to register the trade. He selected Sahibgunge, probably as good a place as he could have had for noting the long-distance boats and cargoes both of the up and down traffic, though no point was of the least use for shorter distances, either up or down, which stopped short of the place of registry. In the first six months more than 18,000 boats passed Sahibgunge—boats in size from the *Dacca pulwar* of from 60 to 75 feet long, and drawing 6 feet of water, to the flat-bottomed boat from the upper provinces. The cargoes downwards were such commodities as wheat, grain of other sorts, sugar, oil, seeds, hides and horns, tobacco, timber, and saltpetre. The wheat was generally shipped as far down on the river as Monghyr, the sugar in the Benares part of the North-Western Provinces, and tobacco in Tirhoot. The markets were found all the way down the river to Calcutta, which itself, however, had fully the half of the total traffic. Going up stream, there were carried rice, metal goods, and other articles of foreign production. All night the boats may be seen passing in such numbers and in such proximity to one another that it is impossible to count them. They are most of them going to and from Calcutta, and the dismal songs of the boatmen, especially in the rains, sound like echoes from eternity.

It is difficult to say what it is that governs the internal trade of India. One year there

is not an Arab dhow on the Hugli. Next year there are thirty. Why is it so? A gentleman of great experience, on being asked the question, replied, "I know no more the mainsprings of that trade than I know of the man in the moon." * Each officer knows his own district, and some one is supposed to have the skill requisite for the putting of all the reports properly into one; but the broad principal fact is little known.

In regard to European trade with India one finds, likewise, a great amount of uncertainty. From about ten miles below to about thirty above Calcutta there are fifteen great factories (1878), and these have been established within ten years. They work in cotton or jute. Opposite Calcutta there are American and Scotch firms working, which have entirely transformed Seebpoor. At Rishra, close by Serampore, and near the old house of Warren Hastings, there is a jute-mill. Where Carey, Marshman, and Ward made their Serampore printing works famous in regard to the advancement of liberty and the spread of the Gospel, there is another jute-mill, and on a better site the Bible and other printing, on a larger scale, is still continued. Where of old yarn was made at Goripore, especially for the Australian gold fields, jute is now manufactured. At Titighur, where Lord Combermere rested from his toils, there is now a cotton-mill; and where Sir Lawrence Peel had his house at Budge Budge there is a factory for jute. Garden Reach, half "spoiled" (1878) by the steamboat companies and the King of Oudh, is to be wholly spoiled by mills and factories. English, American, Armenian, and Jew run the race of this new competition. Many more instances might be given.

These mills must be of great advantage to India. Lord Shaftesbury has said that in the Bombay Presidency there are now 405,000 spindles, 4,500 power-looms, and 10,000 hands, turning out daily 100,000 lbs. of yarn. Lord Salisbury, on later data, has declared that the number of spindles is 600,000, with "at least half a million more approaching completion." Lord Shaftesbury would enforce in these mills the observance of Sunday, Lord Salisbury would not; and Lord Salisbury is right, considering the creed of the natives, though the English mill-owner who keeps his mill working on Sunday has little claim on the sympathies of Englishmen in regard to his enterprise, while, on the other hand, those who do not ought to take the cessation of labour on the Christian day of rest so into their business calculations as to prevent loss and suffering to those who are of

* Routledge, *English Rule in India*.

a faith different from their own. The workers are willing and docile, and their work is good. It is sincerely to be hoped that no interest in England will interpose to fetter these new impulses of trade. While it is a matter of surprise and regret that Lord Northbrook did not do more to encourage this means of employing the native Indians than he did, yet he gave indication, at various periods, of his sympathy with this and other means of affording remunerative employment to the inhabitants of the country which was under his care. Great questions in another line were before him, and no one man can attend to everything.

But the men of Manchester and Glasgow were resolved that at least their goods should be admitted free before India should advance in the manufacture of the finer products. Neither was there any unfairness in this. All that was meant was "a free field and no favour." If goods in resemblance of ours, and in imitation of them, are to be made in India itself, do not burden us by customs dues, but allow us to come into the market in equal competition. In the House of Commons the Manchester men had at least one speaker, in this very year, who said as much in these exact words.

Some little time before this there had been plaintive lamentations over the decay of Indian trades—the muslins, the shawls, the carved work, and the cunning workmanship of many hands. But matters are being adjusted, and that not unrapidly. English enterprise is doing much. The mines of Raneegunge—native in the first instance—are being vastly extended; and there is much business zeal pushing itself out in other directions. Still the mass of the people of India are poor—deplorably poor. They are generally meek and submissive, notwithstanding the foolish claims of some Englishmen, who speak as if it were excusable on our part to discourage them and keep them down "by right of conquest." But we have no rights of conquest which are not also rights of justice. We won India partly by the strong arm, partly by strong sense, and partly by inducing the people to believe us. English government in India is a great improvement on native government, but it is still foreign government, and if it claim to stand on rights of conquest it will go down as certainly as ever it arose, and the fall will be terrible; but let us, with reason, hope that that will never be.

In concurrence with the recommendation of Lord Northbrook and others in India, an important mission was sent by the English Government to Zanzibar, in respect to the slave trade. That offensive traffic had not

only become worse and worse in itself, but had led to such complication and disagreeableness in the frequent and nationally important intercourse constantly being maintained between Zanzibar and Bombay. The Viceroy, therefore, aided those who desired the suppression of the slave trade by requesting and strongly recommending that a Commission should be sent from England to the Sultan of Zanzibar to make representations and remonstrances in regard to it. To this the Home Government consented, and Sir Bartle Frere was placed at the head of the Commission. So important were the results that they are here worthy of record—important not only in respect to Africa, but also to India, and especially to the Bombay Presidency. In this expedition of peace and humanity the Viceroy took a deep interest, and since his return to England has repeatedly expressed his satisfaction in connection with it.

Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, K.C.B., the Head Commissioner, had been one of the most eminent of the civil servants of the old East India Company. He is the fifth son of Edward and Mary Frere, and was born at Llanelly, in the county of Brecon, in March, 1815. He was educated at King Edward's Grammar School at Bath, and subsequently at Haileybury College. At both he exhibited much promise of future distinction. His career is one which shows, by example, how many good servants England must have in India, and also illustrates the fact that the Civil Service of the great peninsula is an admirably good school for the training of public servants who may be called ultimately to do duty elsewhere. Young Frere went to India in 1834, and carried with him medals in law and mathematics, as well as prizes for his essays in classics and political economy. He was probably the first civil servant of the Company who went to India without rounding the Cape of Good Hope; but, as it was, he encountered many dangers and difficulties in crossing the desert and coasting the Red Sea; and when he and his companions reached Bombay, in September, they were not far short of destitution. Three months after landing at Bombay he passed in Hindustani, and having subsequently passed in the Maratha and other languages, he was appointed by Lord Clare to an assistant collectorship at Puna. Such was the beginning of the official life of a man who has left his mark upon India. Having subsequently travelled over nearly the whole of the Bombay Presidency, he was appointed Private Secretary to the Governor. We next find him President at Sattara. He was Commissioner

to Sind when the state of Sattara came into the hands of the British Government. Having been in England for the benefit of his health, he returned to India just in time to hear of the great and disastrous mutiny, and, although not a soldier, did so much in his civil capacity, that he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. During the interval between the departure of Lord Canning and the arrival of Lord Elgin he was President of the Governmental Council, or temporary Governor-General. In 1862 he was appointed to the Governorship of Bombay. He received many honours, and more awaited him on his return home. He was Governor of the Bombay Presidency for five years of unparalleled prosperity and adversity, and on both the one side and the other he did what commended him to the respect of the whole community. During that time the ramparts around Bombay were pulled down, the building of the Deccan College, the Puna Engineering College, the Elphinstone College, the Sassoon Hospital, and many other important public works were either begun or completed. The Bhore Ghat, the Thull Ghat Incline, and the Ahmadabad Railways were opened, and a municipality was organized for Bombay, which had become the largest city in the Empire, next to London, in point of population. This municipal arrangement, which, with much care and anxiety, the Viceroy sanctioned, but whose rudimentary stages began as early as 1865, has been the means of reducing the mortality in Bombay from an average of 26,800 to 16,700, saving about 10,000 lives per annum.

Such a mission as Sir Bartle Frere's had for many years been contemplated by the English Government, whose mind is somewhat slow; but all the pleadings and remonstrances of men like Sir W. Coghlan had continued to fall unheeded on the ears of the Foreign Office until public opinion in England began to assert itself in the same direction. The Sultan had played fast and loose to some extent, and it was now deemed necessary to bring him to terms. Sir Bartle Frere was well qualified to do this, and he succeeded; but not without a demonstration of force. The nobles, as they are called, had an interest in the slave trade in Zanzibar, and they opposed the Sultan. In regard to the expense of the mission there was a rather serious excitement and dispute in India. The question was, Ought India to be at any expense whatever in connection with the suppression of the African slave trade? If England will, she may; but India is not involved in it, and her amount of taxation is already sufficiently burdensome. A few merchants in Bombay had made money

out of the trade in slaves, in which they had been directly concerned, but it was contended that Indian taxation ought not to be held responsible for the faults or crimes of a few British subjects and Banian traders in Bombay. Very properly it was further argued that many persons in London or Liverpool had supplied the funds to carry on the abominable traffic, and on that supposition England—not India—ought to be held responsible. It is pleasing to do a good act, and especially so when the object is to uproot once for all a most criminal and horrible trade; but while India might contribute to the attainment of the benevolent purpose, she objected to the taxation, and although approving of the action of England, was willing only to contribute her share. The Home and Indian Governments amicably arranged the matter.

The Viceroy continued his explorations and his investigation of the state of affairs. He left Barwar on Wednesday, the 1st of December. But to give some idea of the country, it may be said that before he went he had some sport on the Nerbuddah, which is famous for its fish. Before his Excellency's visit, Holkar had been throwing gram daily at a particular place, so that the finny tribe soon came in shoals to it. As fast as his lordship could throw, he therefore had a bite. Who can grudge a careworn man an hour or two's relaxation? But at twelve o'clock of the day Sir Philip Wodehouse left in an open carriage, accompanied by a small escort; and between one and two a Musree cart might have been seen whirling up the dust as it descended towards the Nerbuddah bridge, with General Daly acting as Jehu, while the gentleman beside him was no less an individual than his Excellency the Viceroy. Holkar accompanied Lord Northbrook to the very edge of his territory, and then bade him good-bye. The hospitality of Holkar was a decided indication of his friendliness to England.

After leaving, the Governor-General proceeded to Colonel Baigrie's sanitarium at Puchmaree, with which he expressed himself well pleased. All the way onwards to Calcutta the stations were decorated, and, on the arrival of his lordship, he was received as a king might be. So they do things in India. No doubt it is necessary by such means to affect the native mind. At Government House there is even a throne-room, which the Viceroy having entered, he came out of to receive the welcome back again of a large crowd of Europeans and natives.

The home and Indian newspapers were alike full of eulogistic obituary notices of Sir Donald Macleod. It would have done the

Indian press credit if it had been earlier in its discoveries of this gentleman's merits. If one looks over the files of newspapers for the twenty years beforehand, it will be found that Sir Donald was a good, pious man, though a little credulous, but a thoroughly faithful and wise servant of the State. Few know how largely his counsels went to gather laurels for the brow of "plain John Lawrence." But officials in the Punjab are well aware of the moral as well as material support which in that time of trial and trouble Lord Lawrence derived from his able lieutenants, of whom Sir Donald was chief. His sympathy was wide and warm. In the time of the mutiny he showed abundant vigour, but his tenderness of heart was such that, in regard to the welfare of the natives, "the red gold ran from him." Notwithstanding his large income during many years, it is a fact that when he retired he possessed nothing beyond his pension. His resemblance in many respects to Sir Henry Lawrence has often been remarked, and this general impression is no mean instance of the noble nature of both.

After the close of this tour of Lord Northbrook's, there was a lull in Indian politics. This was broken in upon very soon by the intimation that the Viceroy had "definitely decided to abolish the income-tax," after a careful inquiry into the working of various local and imperial taxes.

The year 1872 had been one of general peace and quiet progress in many directions. True, there had been a small amount of frontier war, there had been the startling murder of the Earl of Mayo, there had been a sudden outbreak of fanatics in the Punjab, as well as an epidemic of cholera in the same province, and the grand progress of the new Viceroy, to which reference has just been made, through the whole of Northern India.

Several important changes in the Indian Government had occurred during the year. Before Lord Northbrook arrived in Calcutta, Lord Hobart had replaced Lord Napier and Ettrick as Governor of Madras, while Sir S. Fitzgerald gave place to Sir Philip Wodehouse in the Government of Bombay. Mr. Hobhouse went out as Law Member of the Supreme Council in the room of Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, whom ill-health had forced to return prematurely from the post he had filled with equal industry and intellectual power. For all classes the year in India was a fairly prosperous one. The crops were generally abundant, trade flourished, and the revenue returns were all that could be desired. But for the Kuki rising, and some

local disturbance in Jodhpur, the peace of the country would have remained unbroken. A strange epidemic, however, of dengue fever, which an Indian physician would identify with the famine or relapsing fever of Bengal, caused no small amount of suffering, although not frequently ending in fatal results. Later in the year there was an outbreak of cholera, which carried off many lives in the Punjab and elsewhere; and quite towards the end of the year the inevitable Bardwan fever was extending its ravages in Bengal.

At home a variety of Indian topics were discussed in Parliament, in the newspapers, and on public platforms. The necessity which had arisen of late years for constantly increasing taxation in India was ascribed chiefly to the greater cost of the army, and to the reckless expenditure in the Public Works Department. The latter department was alleged by persons on the spot to be "a mere preserve for the officers of the Royal Engineers," and it is to be feared that at the time this assertion was true.

Lord Northbrook was found to be a somewhat troublesome Viceroy so far as the officers of the Government were concerned. He required all Chief Commissioners and other head officials of the Government to report from time to time respecting the qualifications of their subordinates, whom he was expected to promote. If he found out the right man he promoted him on the first opportunity, but he did not always find the right man. Sometimes the Chief Commissioner was idle, and all his work was done by his colleague or secretary, and in other instances neither the one nor the other did it, but left the burden of all the thinking of the department to some poor man with small salary, who had no hope of being able to serve any private ends of his own. He had no chance, and was therefore honest by compulsion. As an illustration it may be mentioned that the head of a certain department was sent for by his lordship, and interrogated as to certain information which he wanted. In answer to Lord Northbrook's series of questions, Mr. A—— replied, "I cannot say at present. I am unable to furnish the particulars at once. My assistant would be able to afford the information your lordship wants." So it has too frequently been in all departments. There has always been a man to whom judge or official head looks for assistance and information. He—the helper—holds the threads of all business connected with the department, and the burden of the whole responsibility rests upon that one man. Not overmuch either. Many a poor clerk in England does more. But these men are

never heard of; their services are seldom, if ever, acknowledged. Yet it is upon their word that many an important measure and reform depends. There are numerous known instances in connection with which valuable suggestions have been acted upon, and reforms introduced, without the slightest public acknowledgment of the source from which they emanated. Such men have been astonished many times when, months having passed away, they have found in a newspaper paragraph an announcement that such and such a thing was to be, and have remarked, "Why, that was what you and I proposed long ago!" It will always be well for the Government if they can find out *thinking* men, but these are rather sparsely scattered over the world.

There is another element in India which requires to be guided. Russia and England seem to be in collision almost continually. Russia covets and England possesses. But Russia is unwise. England could take the field in all parts which the Northern Empire could touch, with a military array and equipment which no single opposing power could approach. Besides, there is another consideration, which people in England often forget; at home the English are a peace-loving people, and foreign Governments have sometimes presumed on their reluctance to engage in war; but in India it is far otherwise. There the whole society is military. The army is permanently maintained on a most extensive scale, and is capable at any moment of indefinite expansion, while, moreover, a declaration of war would be hailed with delight by every Englishman in the country. None can tell but those who have experienced the feeling the effect of monotonous inaction in such regions on military minds. To escape from the heavy sameness of life in garrison or cantonments, any regiment would march with glee on any expedition, and the route would be received, even in the most desperate case, almost with a welcome such as might be received by a recall to England. If Englishmen at home are peacemakers, Anglo-Indians are not. And every English soldier and civilian knows, after all the talk about Russian aggression, that England has far more to lose in Asia than Russia has. The latter power could only be driven back a few hundred miles, with the prospect of recovering the lost ground at some future opportunity. Russia has as yet founded no empire in the East. If her rule is to be a despotism, let us hope she never will. Her power is not centralized in any metropolis, her subjects are only scattered tribes, owing her a loose, unsubstantial allegiance. There is nothing for an enemy to break down or

destroy, whereas England rules an empire of great antiquity, well compacted, and in many parts highly civilised. Russia could disturb England in India, and create even serious commotions in the very heart of the British dominions there. She knows this, and has traded upon it. But England has known it too, and has guarded against the risk.

There were three rulers of the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab about this time who must be more distinctly noticed. When Sir William Grey left Calcutta, the whole educated native population deplored the loss. His gentleness and forbearance, his consideration, his justice, and his conscientiousness had found a way to the heart of the people. His successor was Sir George Campbell. He had done good service in Oudh, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and elsewhere. He had been the indefatigable president of a committee of inquiry into the Orissa famine, by his work in connection with which he gained much approbation. Sir George's views were generally clear, but his temper was uncompromising. He was always contentious, and yet at home in private life he is a genial man. In the Imperial Council, of which he was a member, his sound views always had weight, weight which was sometimes lessened by his contentious spirit. He developed a system of education for the very poor which was a great boon to the province. "If rich men," he said, "wished their sons to be educated, let them pay for their education." There was another department of work in which Sir George distinguished himself. An experienced Inspector-General of the prisons of Bengal, Dr. Mouat, had just retired from the service, and the death of the Governor of Alipore gaol, an able medical man, led Sir George to resolve that, although the officer who had been lost to the country had been faithful and efficient, there would be an advantage if governors were not doctors. The prison system, he determined, should be more punitive than it had been. If Sir George Campbell was an opponent to any one, he was always an open one. As a friend he could not be a false friend. Indefatigable himself in work, and loyal to good workers, he sometimes expected too much from men who, though perhaps decent enough, were quite incapable of the efforts which were within the bounds of his own wiry nature. But he was merciful and kind, as many can testify. His governorship was a virtual revolution from desk management to root-and-branch administration, resting on fixed and matured views as to political principles.

Sir Richard Temple succeeded to the Lieutenant-Governorship with the cordial good-

will of Lord Northbrook. The Viceroy and Sir George Campbell seem to have clashed from the first. The Viceroy and Sir Richard Temple agreed from the first and to the end. The new Lieutenant-Governor did try to please. A noble project, which had for some years hung on the verge of success, was launched, and lived at least; that is, the Native Science Association. Even his financial speeches, opposed as they justly were in much of what they contained, were forgotten in what was unobjectionable, and he exhibited a wonderfully facile power in the mastery and arrangement of the details of his Government. He has shown the same faculty in other departments of the public service since then. His great qualifications, it was said, were "good administrative ability, cheerful spirits, an interest in other people, and a valuable power of forgetting."* He seemed to care merely for performing well the duties of the passing hour, whereas Sir George Campbell laid down lines which it would have taken years to traverse. Men cannot in such a climate live and work for many years. From Sir George Campbell to Sir Richard Temple was like a stride from one to another of the two opposite poles.

Sir Richard Temple was succeeded by Mr. Ashley Eden, and again there was a great change. Mr. Eden's public career had several times been censured by public opinion, but he was an able Governor. If Bengal had had a Lieutenant-Governor to select, he would probably have been its choice—he was very popular there; his administration in Burmah was characterized not merely by ability, but by a return to the noble educational policy of Sir Arthur Phayre, which Major-General Fytche had abandoned; and, besides, he had not only ruled well in Cuttack, but he had thoroughly exposed the oppression of the planters as weighing down the poor suffering labourers in their employment.

It is worthy of notice that at this time the native labourers were both hard worked and ill paid. Mr. Eden stood by them, as did also the Rev. James Long, who, it will be remembered, was tried, fined, and imprisoned for publishing a translation of a native drama entitled *Nil Durpan; or, the Indigo-planting Mirror*, ostensibly written in advocacy of the cause of these poor people, and now acted in all parts of India. As, however, we have already amply described the object and some of the most prominent features of this choice production, as well as Mr. Long's connection with it (see *ante*, p. 11), we need only further remark that Mr. Eden did such good service to the State by his important testimony, that

* Routledge, *English Rule in India*.

from that day to this, native India, through good and evil report, has stood by the outspoken witness.

In Burmah Sir Arthur Phayre had found the whole country covered with a network of Buddhist monastic schools, and there was scarcely a Burmese child who could not "read, write, and count;" but much of the education was, nevertheless, absurd. He conceived the idea of utilising the monasteries by sending to them teachers of a more advanced education. No Burmese *phoongyee* (priest) can receive money "on any pretence whatever." The priest sits down in the village and teaches the children, the parents supplying him with his daily food. To utilise this custom Sir Arthur Phayre arranged for the establishment of a school in each village. Major-General Fytche reversed that policy, but Mr. Eden returned to it, and he did well.

But among all the Lieutenant-Governors of India at this time, none stood so high in statesmanship as Sir George Campbell, although he was far from being popular. Perhaps he was too earnest, and saw too far into the future for ordinary men. It may be that he allowed too little for human weakness and for habits interwoven with life. But he went to India with a noble purpose, and history will record the fact that to that purpose he devoted years of an honourable life.

Lord Northbrook visited the Foreign Office in Calcutta shortly after his return from his great official tour, and inspected the records therein contained—records which first began to be accumulated in the time of Warren Hastings, in what was denominated the "Secret Department." The oldest original document there was found to be the treaty which Clive made with the Dutch in 1759, just before his return to England from his first tenure of civil rule. In the *toshakhana*, or treasure-chamber, the Viceroy looked upon heaps of wrought gold, pearls, and jewels, mingled with arms of rich and quaint device, and exquisite fabrics of silk and wool—the gifts or tribute of the many chiefs who had attended the latest durbars. The five tribute shawls yearly offered by the Rajah of Cashmere, some of them being valued at £250 each, are wondrous specimens of workmanship and beauty of design, as any one who has seen the Prince of Wales's collection at Kensington may well believe.

At an early period of his rule, Lord Northbrook, as an economist, indicated a desire to reduce especially military expenditure, without impairing the efficiency of the army. This took time, in order to obtain the sanction of the Secretary of State, but he succeeded. The

British in India were quite disposed to say, "Retrench by all means, but not a single bayonet the less." This is rather unwise and one-sided. It is as if the lord of the manor were to say to his forester, "Prune this avenue thoroughly, but it is at your peril if you let in a single ray of noonday sun." But this problem his lordship solved, and largely reduced expenditure, without occasioning ground for complaint in regard to the competence of the army for all that was required of it. Indeed he seemed to hit the golden mean between efficiency and economy, as had never been done by any Governor-General in India since the time of Lord Hardinge. But there were many murmurings. The *Madras Mail* says, for example, in respect to that part of the country, "The cavalry under the orders of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of Madras do not actually number over 1,000 sabres, both European and native, for the defence of the entire presidency. For the whole of India, under the orders of the General Commander-in-Chief, there are, however, more than 13,000 native cavalry. From this force not a man can be spared even in ordinary circumstances, while Madras, at the time this proposal was made, notwithstanding its enormous area, had only about 800 effective men." As the army there was then constituted, more than that number could not have taken the field. There was, therefore, much opposition in Madras to the proposal of the Government of India, and that proposal was, consequently, not carried out.

There was at this same date no small amount of dissatisfaction among the officers of the whole Indian army as regarded the expense of their "messes." A young Indian officer had not only to expend his whole pay, but more, in contributing his share of the expenses of the mess-men. These hospitalities are usually on a most disproportionate scale, however; much too frequent, and very much too sumptuous. Many have to deny themselves numerous petty comforts, each a trifle in itself, but collectively making up no small amount of annoyance and even discomfort. Those days are going by, but they have not yet quite gone. In former times there was plenty of hospitality—perhaps more than at present—1878—but the hospitality of former times was different; it was mainly that of pot-luck. A man welcomed his visitor to a share of his own dinner and of his own bowl of punch. If he had two horses or ponies, he lent his guest one of them; and if he had a tent he shared it with him. And the guest expected no more; was quite content with a shake-down in the

corner to sleep on; never turned up his nose at odd crockery or pewter spoons, nor objected to a brass basin. But matters had become different, and that against wise and needful regulations to the contrary. The officers must have an accumulation of useless plate at their messes. The richer insisted upon having it, and the poorer had to suffer. But, happily, in a very few years that has greatly changed. Formerly even an ensign had at least Rs. 50 a month to expend as he chose, or to save if he preferred it. Consequently, it is plain that junior officers were at this time worse off than their predecessors. But loud complaints were at last heard, and the mischief is being gradually obviated by the intervention of the military authorities.

Legislation by the Council seems to have begun in earnest towards the latter part of January in 1873, when that Council spent seven hours at one stretch in forwarding or debating various Bills. Seven hours at a time must, any one will see, mean much more than such a sederunt in Europe. This debate included Mr. (now Sir John) Hobhouse's Bill for extending the powers of Madras *musiffs*, or petty judges. Sir George Campbell in this debate expressed himself strongly against the whole judicial system of India, from the "dilatory and expensive" Courts of First Instance to the Appellate Courts, which were "weak, inexperienced, and unfit for their work;" and even assailed the High Courts, which he declared had "a preference for hunting up forgotten precedents." The whole system of justice, in short, he denounced as "rotten to the core." Sir George Campbell, now that he is home, is still disposed to use strong language, but, in the present instance, he was thoroughly on the right side; and, moreover, his complaints and accusations were by no means new. The Bill was passed, and was a large improvement on previously existing arrangements.

Next came the Irrigation Bill, and this underwent a searching investigation of its principal clauses. It was not at once passed, but was referred again to a select committee. The Punjab Municipal Bill was passed—a very important measure, much in advance of all that had gone before it. In connection with it Lord Northbrook pledged himself that the Supreme Government would keep a check on the fiscal excesses into which town councils might be tempted under the new Act.

On the 21st of January the Viceroy took the chair at a dinner attended by seventy Oxford and Cambridge men in Calcutta. That so many such men could be present on one occasion shows how largely India is supplied,

both for civil and military service, by educated gentlemen from England. A few days earlier the Viceroy and his guest, Lord Hobart, paid a visit to Dumdum, and went over the small-arms factory and the gun foundry at Kossipore, with both of which the visitors were well pleased. On the same day they crossed over the river, and took a look at Chandanagore.

There are constant misunderstandings between the Government and the tribes which border the frontier, both inside and out, and there was a small quarrel with the Garo tribes, but they submitted without trouble, and are now "her Majesty's subjects." Farther south Captain Lewin was very successful in exploring the ranges of country to the south of the recently established frontier post at Girthai, in the Chittagong hill tracts. He and Captain Hughes, the officer in charge of the Aracan hill tracts, met and arranged a regular system of police patrols between the two districts. The thanks of the Viceroy were given to the Maharajah of Bulrampore for his handsome contribution of Rs. 12,000 annually, for the establishment of a medical school in connection with the Bulrampore Hospital at Lucknow.

A rather extraordinary event happened and excited much attention, especially from the English press in India—one hundred and sixteen villages in British India were added in 1866 to the state of Bhaunagar, and the Act was now confirmed with the consent of the Home Government. In the days of the East India Company such an arrangement would have occasioned no surprise. As rulers of India, the Company might fairly perhaps claim the power of reducing their dominions as well as enlarging them without the sanction of the Crown or Parliament. But under the new *régime* established in 1858, it may be doubted whether an Indian Viceroy has power to alienate British territory of his own motion. The transfer confirmed from home, as it had not been expected it would be, therefore, almost universally, caused reasoning and objection among the English newspapers in India. It was argued that if a Viceroy had the power of transferring native subjects of the British Empire to the subjection of an Indian prince, his authority was higher than that of the Crown of England. Except at the end of a war, the Crown has no power to alienate English territory without the consent of Parliament; and even then the English Government and commanders in the field would certainly abstain from fixing terms till the representatives of the people had been consulted. Now British India, as governed

directly by the Crown, is as much English soil as any part of the Empire. Hence the indignation of the Indian press. The Chief of Bhaunagar is not, however, a barbarian, so that the people are not quite likely to be deprived of all the rights which they formerly possessed. And, moreover, since this transfer was made, the Indian Government have become more alive to the legal bearings of such a measure. At all events, they did not permit Sindia to rectify his frontier to the detriment, real or supposed, of our Indian fellow-subjects, powerful as he is, and friendly as he has shown himself to be.

The question of Indian taxation began to engage much more serious attention, and Lord Northbrook gave it careful and earnest consideration. Increase of taxation is a sufficiently grave matter even in England. Any Government that has to propose it finds it difficult to resist the unpopularity which it occasions. But if increase of taxation is serious in England, it is a hundred times more so in India. If some exceptional emergency should arise at home which would require five, ten, or fifteen millions to be raised, every one knows that the money could be obtained. The duty on some articles of general consumption, such as tea, sugar, beer, and tobacco, could be increased. The income-tax might be raised. But in India there is no article of general consumption from which increased revenue could be obtained. It would be impossible to raise five millions of additional taxation in India without creating evils and producing an amount of discontent which might make the boldest tremble for the tranquillity of the country.

The great mass of the population live literally from hand to mouth, with neither luxuries nor reserve for hard times. Of salt they are even stinted by the exorbitant duty of 500 per cent. imposed by the Government on that important necessary of life. The and which supplies them with the grain on which they subsist is taxed to the uttermost pice which can be extorted from them, as the frequent sales of land and suits for arrears of revenue will attest. In Bengal, where the land-tax is permanently settled, things are somewhat different. The Government demand being limited in certain provinces, land-owners are not under the necessity there of oppressing their ryots or farmers; and a great many ryots have, during the last forty years, been able to save enough for purchasing small lots of land. The ryots in Bengal are therefore now classed under two heads—the rich and the poor. The former are proprietors, in whole or in part, of the lands

which they cultivate; the latter are those who have to rent lands, and have to borrow money, not only for buying seed and cattle, but for their own support until their crops are gathered. But in all the other provinces of the Empire, where the land-tax is not permanently settled, the Government profess to demand from 50 to 66 per cent. of the gross produce of the land, and virtually take as much as they can get, by investing their settlement officers with almost unlimited power. If any proof were wanted that the demands of the Government are not regulated by any great sense of moderation or humanity, it would be found in the fact that interest on overdue land-tax, in the Bombay Presidency, for example, is charged at the astounding rate of 95 per cent. per annum, the official expression being half a pie per day on each rupee.

Under the permanent settlement of Bengal wealth has accumulated in the hands of those connected with the land, and capital has been freely used in assisting ryots to bring their lands into cultivation. But it would be vain to look for an extension of such prosperity in connection with land in other parts of the Empire, where the demands of Government are unlimited and always uncertain, and where it would be folly, therefore, to embark capital in the improvement of landed estates. It is only in countries in which the people are protected from arbitrary demands that wealth can be expected to accumulate.

The projected railway route by the Euphrates valley was a subject of much thought and interest to many of the most intelligent men in India. The country intended to be traversed by the railway connecting the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, whether carried along the bank of the Euphrates or the Tigris, is of astonishing fertility, and with irrigation and the most moderate amount of cultivation might become, as has been properly said, "the granary of the world." Even at the time the proposal was made a large amount of grain was exported, and it was with reason contended that, with improved means of transport, the produce would be increased to an enormous extent, and would practically put a stop to Indian famines. Sir Bartle Frere had turned his attention to this subject for years, and had suggested that if means were found to cultivate the plains of Mesopotamia with wheat and barley and other cereals a vast interchange of commodities would no doubt take place between India and Turkish Arabia—India growing cotton and sending it to Turkish Arabia, and Turkish Arabia sending in return wheat and other grain, which could there be cultivated at less expense than

in India, and which would also be of a better quality. Before a Parliamentary Committee on the Euphrates Railway, in the session 1872, Sir Bartle says, "I consider it of great importance that you should improve your communication between India and foreign food-producing countries. I am quite certain that India has arrived at that stage when you will have a recurrence of higher prices, and possibly famines, even if the internal communications were very much improved, unless you give the people the means of deriving food on an emergency from beyond the sea. There is at times, over very considerable areas, a very deficient production of grain in India. The old system of storing grain, by which the good harvests of one year were made answerable for the bad harvests of other years, is at an end, and the stores are now dispersed all over the world, or exist no longer; and you are come to that position in which 200,000,000 of people really require the aid of good food-producing countries at a distance. From this Arabian coast India has drawn food for a great many years past, and drawn it in increasing quantities; and I believe that in promoting communication with such a food-producing country as Mesopotamia you are only following the natural course of events, and giving India what she very much wants, and which she is getting gradually by the means at her disposal." *

When we consider how often India has suffered from famines both in remote and recent times, and when we have the opinion of a man like Sir Bartle Frere, we surely cannot over-estimate the momentous character of the question which was now occupying the attention of the best friends of India—the opening up of communication with Mesopotamia. The cultivation of cotton had increased of late years in Mesopotamia; but, although of fair quality, it can never compete with the Indian fibre. Omitting horse-dates,—galls, wool, ghee, hides, and bitumen are the staple articles of export, although there has long been some amount of trade in gums and silks; but in Mesopotamia, which the Euphrates Valley Railway is intended to open up, the great resources of the country have remained unexplored. The exports from India to that country consist of indigo, tea, coffee, sugar, copper, silk, shawls, jewels, spices, and Manchester goods, with a few unimportant other commodities. As no reliable returns can be obtained from the custom-houses in Turkish Arabia, there are no data from which an opinion may be formed; but, from the testimony of British merchants engaged in trade with Persia, Turkey, and India, it ap-

* *The Times of India.*

pears that, as if in the way of encouragement to the projected railway, and by means of inferior modes of direct communication with India, trade of late years had increased, and continued to increase. Since 1862, when the British Steam Navigation Company extended their operations to Busrah, the trade had been steadily and rapidly extending, and had already increased sixfold. At first a steamer was dispatched from Bombay to the Gulf every six weeks, subsequently this was altered to once a month, then to once a fortnight, and by 1873 the traffic had so much increased as to require a weekly dispatch. Originally the vessels which were used were of from 400 to 600 tons burden, but at the date which is before the reader, 1873—the date at which the railway scheme excited so much interest—they were usually from 1,000 to 1,200 tons. Previously to 1858 there were no merchant steamers on the Tigris, but in 1873 there were seven plying between Busrah and Baghdad. In 1866 the commerce of the Persian Gulf was about £1,200,000; in six years it had extended to £6,000,000 sterling. Such facts are mentioned merely to show what had been done for trade by provided facilities; and in favour of the railway scheme, it was contended that it was scarcely possible to form an idea of the dimensions to which it might attain if those facilities were more extended.

Moreover, it was argued that a railway through Syria and Turkish Arabia, if carried out, would prove of incalculable advantage to England and of vast importance to India. Politically, it was said—and the opinion was just—the advantages to England would be great, giving her universal prestige in Asia, and a greater hold upon India; for of course the line was expected to be constructed by English funds, and worked by English officials and officers. To the recommendation of this scheme the Viceroy lent himself earnestly.

At a meeting of the Legislative Council, held on the 28th of January, the report of the Select Committee on the Punjab Irrigation Bill was presented, but the Lieutenant-Governor's effort to push it on was opposed by the Viceroy, who pleaded that some of the members had not yet read the report. In the course of the discussion on Mr. Inglis's Land-Rent Bill for the North-Western Provinces, Sir George Campbell avowed his contentment with the provisions which secured certain benefits to ryots who had once been landholders. With regard, however, to some other clauses, his Honour protested against any departure from an Act which had become the Magna Charta of the ryot. As for "the things which we had created and called

landlords," he firmly held that property in the sense of full ownership was wholly unknown in Indian usage. Sir George, as has already been said, is somewhat strong in his language, though one of the most genial of men in private life. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee, Lord Northbrook reserving for the present his final opinion. He said, at the same time, that he "could see no necessity whatever for fresh taxation, and the matter of re-settlements was one which ought to be and would be treated with all moderation and consideration for the people." In connection with the time at which the Committee were to report, his Excellency stated distinctly "that this was not a Bill which they could take with them and decide upon at Simla; it must be settled at the present Calcutta sitting of the Council."

The taking of the census in Bengal—a very important measure—was found to have been accomplished at a comparatively small cost. In England the cost of numbering 23,000,000 souls amounted to nearly £80,000. But the census of Bengal, the first which was ever fairly accomplished there, cost no more than £21,000. This happy result was mainly due to the plan adopted in Bengal of getting the people to number themselves. The leading inhabitants in every district were appointed to carry out the task without payment, and so greatly was the privilege rated by all of them that many who had been passed over as unfit or superfluous petitioned the Government to allow them to share in the honourable work. In like manner the numbering of the towns was intrusted to the Municipal Commissioners and their friends. Of the 4,732 enumerators for the 24 pergunnahs, 1,172 were ryots of good substance, 587 were small, and 317 large landholders, besides 117 students or teachers, and a good many priests, pleaders, and doctors. In Behar the *patwâris*, or village registrars, were turned to like account. In Darjiling the gardeners and moonshees, aided by the planters, filled up the returns. Heads of villages and zemindars' agents took the census for Bardwan; the village *panchâyats*, or councils of elders, helped in numbering the people of Bankura, while the police discharged the same duty in the wilder districts of Midnapur. In the Santal country the village headmen kept their reckoning by means of knotted strings of different colours—black for male and red for female adults, white for boys and yellow for girls. In some villages seeds or gravel served the same purpose, one person being told off to count the men, another the women, and so on. In Orissa, for months before the census, Mr. Ravensham went from village to

village, preparing the people for what was coming, until even the rude hill chiefs entered heartily into the scheme. Much of the work got through was very trying to those engaged in it. Most of the enumerators in Hugli had to wade in the mud from village to village under the fierce sunshine or the drenching rain of a Bengal September. One of them died at the close of his work, and five more were subsequently invalidated. These details will give the reader an idea of the sort of people the Government of India have to deal with.

The preparations for taking the census gave birth to a rich crop of absurd rumours among the credulous classes. In Orissa it was widely believed that Government was about to repay itself for the cost of the famine. Some people thought that only male adults would be taxed, because their names only were recorded. One man refused to let his baby be numbered because it was too young to be taxed. Many fancied that the census was a means of forcing emigration to Mauritius and Assam. In Murshiabad it was rumoured that the authorities designed to blow the surplus population away from guns. Elsewhere it was given out that men were wanted to fight the Russians, or to serve as coolies against the Lushais. In Faridpur it was said that many women were to be carried off to supply the want of women elsewhere. Others thought that everybody was to be vaccinated forthwith. In Tirhoot no one would stir out of doors on the night of the census, for fear of being crippled by the "ill wind." Those fears, however, were gradually and generally removed by the explanations of the Government officers. "What wonders the British Government can accomplish!" exclaimed the more intelligent. "The great Akbar never attempted such a thing."

The salt-tax at about this time occasioned much discontent throughout India. The duty was and is exorbitant. For example: a ton of salt, which costs 10s. in Liverpool, and 35s. in Calcutta, after freight and insurance, paid duty amounting to £8 17s. 4d. At Madras and Bombay the duty was somewhat lower. The mass of the population in India is so poor that hundreds of thousands of the people have little else than salt with which to flavour their meals; the consequence of the high duty being that many are driven to use unwholesome substitutes, such as scrapings from saltpetre pans, or sand impregnated with salt which they find on the sea-coast. Moreover, the high duty has always encouraged smuggling, which demoralises a community. In this particular, also, there is a serious interference to the pre-

judice of all trades in which salt is used. The large rivers in Eastern Bengal and the rivers and sea-coasts in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies abound with excellent fish, which is salted for use in the inland parts of the country; but this trade is greatly hampered by the excessive salt duty, and would, with salt at a reasonable price, expand to twenty times its present extent, enriching a large section of the population, and affording a cheap and nutritious article of food throughout the Empire.

It would be strange indeed if the labouring classes in India did not feel the heaviness of the burden imposed upon them by means of this particular duty. Little more than sixty years ago—1878—the comparatively light excise duty was found sufficiently intolerable in England to lead to the salt riots which were so frequent in the early part of this century. It ought to be borne in mind, also, that the *gabelle*, or salt duty, in France, constituted one of the chief grievances which brought on the Revolution of 1789; and that the consumption of salt in that country before the Revolution amounted to 18 lbs. per head in the provinces in which the *gabelle* was not in force, and to only 9 lbs. in those which were subjected to that impost. Jean Baptiste Say, the Swiss economist, says, “Thus taxation obstructed the production of half this article, and reduced the satisfaction it is capable of affording to only one-half, to say nothing of the mischief to the human system resulting from its absence. The injury to tillage, to the feeding of cattle, and to the preparation of cured goods, has been very great. The popular animosity against the collectors of the tax, the consequent increase of crime and conviction, and the consignment of so many individuals to the galleys, were a perplexity with which the magistrates scarcely knew how to deal.”

The *Friend of India* * says “it knows no question more worthy of the attention of the greatest statesmen in England, or whom England has sent to India, than that of so equalising the salt duties that the Customs Bill shall cease to be a reproach, and that man and beast shall have enough of salt to maintain health as well as to give pleasure, and that the revenue should be increased from lighter duties on greatly extending consumption.”

On the 15th of February there was held, in London, an important conference at the Society of Arts in the Adelphi, “On the Progress of India during the last Fourteen Years.” The chair was occupied by Major-General Nuthall, who had been Political Agent at Munnipur. A paper was read by Mr.

* Feb. 20th, 1873.

J. H. Stocqueler. Mr. Stocqueler began by stating that much improvement had been made in water communication and irrigation. Roads had been improved and the country opened up by new ones, but, as yet, there was scarcely more than one-fourth of the soil of India cultivated, the fact being due to the want of facilities for transport. Much, undoubtedly, he admitted, had been done for both water and land carriage. The Government were, at this time, much in earnest in their desire to promote canal accommodation, as well as the irrigation of the fields. Indeed, every careful observer must have seen, at this date that the entire scope of the Government policy, in applying the waters of lakes to purposes of irrigation, the utilisation of old and the construction of new canals, was conspicuous. In these works the Government of India, with Lord Northbrook at its head, showed much zeal and determination. Public companies were assisted in completing enterprises for which their own capital was found insufficient; harbours were widened and improved, water channels were cleared, light-houses were established, the usefulness of the electric telegraph was extended, other works being also undertaken, and thus the Government triumphantly vindicated its claim to be the earnest friend of commerce, and the promoter of the general interests of the many millions of human beings committed to its charge.

Sir Bartle Frere's mission to Zanzibar was the subject of interested observation and comment, both in India and at home. The first visit of the Commissioner and his suite to the Sultan was made on the 14th of January. The whole party met at the Consulate, and started for the palace on foot, moving in a sort of procession, attended by the Sultan's minister, and escorted by his Highness's “regulars.” As they approached the royal residence a salute was fired by the artillery, and immediately the Sultan came out to meet Sir Bartle. After shaking hands with his Excellency, he advanced affably, and beyond the requirements of mere etiquette, shook hands with the entire suite. A short conversation having taken place, Sir Bartle in the course of it presented his credentials, and stated the purpose of his mission. Refreshments having been served, the Envoy and his attendants departed, being attended by the Sultan beyond the door of the palace. Next day his Highness returned the visit of her Majesty's representative on board the *Enchantréss*, where he was received with due honour. On the next day the so-called Banians paid their respects to his Excellency and presented him with an address. In con-

nection with the history and condition of India it is important to note an event like this. To the address Sir Bartle replied shortly in Hindustani, which reply was interpreted in Guzerathi for the sake of those who did not understand the former language. He expressed his gratification at meeting so many Indian subjects at Zanzibar, and at finding them so prosperous. He told them how anxious her Majesty's Government was to promote the welfare of the people under its protection, and explained to them the arrangements which had just then been made by Government for carrying mails between Zanzibar and Aden, which would bring the former into more regular and speedy communication with both India and England. He then explained to these Indian settlers the object of his present mission. They themselves were free, and could appreciate the importance of the errand upon which Sir Bartle had been sent. This last-mentioned fact—the presence in freedom of native-born Indians in a foreign land—is a new feature in the history of the great peninsula. The Indian is no longer afraid to go abroad, or to take his family with him. By his connection with the English he has become accustomed to intercourse with men of another clime, and, thoroughly trusting to the British protection, he is willing, if he be enterprising, to go anywhere. Hence the large number of these Indians in Zanzibar. In his address to them the Envoy eulogized the Sultan and his government, under whose rule the people whom he was addressing lived and prospered. At this point the head man broke in and said that they received a liberal and tolerant treatment from the Sultan, and were perfectly satisfied with his administration. The policy of the Sultan of Zanzibar may be rude, but it is wisely forbearing, otherwise so many thousands of Hindus—the most bigoted of all Hindus—could not live and prosper so happily as they do in Zanzibar.

A search for coal in the Haidarabad territory was found to be fairly successful, coal of a good quality having been obtained in considerable abundance. It is confidently believed that the longer these workings are used the more will coal be found to improve in quality, although, even as it is, that is good.

The boundary-line of the Afghan territory was formally adjusted, not much to the satisfaction of many experienced Anglo-Indians. Lord Northbrook and Sher Ali had it very much their own way; but by some it is contended that Russia had had too much conceded to her. Lord Lawrence and Sir H. Rawlinson, however, approved of what had been done—good judges—and agreed that the line

of the Oxus ought to be the Afghan boundary. Both of them scouted the idea of Russian encroachment on the side of Bandakshan. However feasible it might be to invade India by way of the Atrak valley, both of them held that Russia could never be mad enough to make the attempt across the northern frontier of Afghanistan, over a hill country peopled by tribes which one conqueror after another had always failed to subdue. Lord Lawrence had not the slightest idea that Russia was seriously bent on wresting India from England. He also avowed his thorough confidence in the friendly feelings of Sher Ali, his family, and the leading men in Afghanistan. As for the liabilities involved in the British engagements to keep the Afghans from attacking their neighbours across the Oxus, Lord Lawrence rated them very low. The border tribes across the Oxus would, in his opinion, form a natural barrier against aggression from either side. The engagements of England really amount to nothing more than a promise that she shall continue to use her best influence to keep things quiet in Afghanistan. It will surely be England's own fault if an end so salutary cannot be attained. It is really unworthy of a great nation to start at every shadow and proclaim its secret terrors to all the world.

India had been making progress morally and materially. It was in the very last days of 1870, for example, that the Lushais renewed those raids into Chittagong and Cachar which made necessary the British expedition into their country. That sort of thing has now become exceedingly rare. Colonel Haughton ought to be honourably named in connection with that expedition. Besides exploring a jungly and uneven country, he had, it seems, to rediscover many villages which had disappeared from their old sites. Most of the villages in those parts are, in fact, nomadic. In one instance a village had been carried across the border of a Rajah's territory, while the villagers still continued to pay him their allegiance. In 1870 vaccination was introduced with success among these wild people, and the number of schools increased from eight to fourteen. These are all maintained by American missionaries. In some of them a few girls are taught along with the boys, which fact is in India an indication of great progress in the liberality of opinion. It is to be lamented that in the Chittagong hill tracts a hillman spends the half of his income in strong drinks. An excise duty on liquor has accordingly been suggested, but the people are so wedded to old customs that it was deemed impossible to collect it, and things remain as they were. In these

hill tracts the revenue is only £3,545, against an outlay of £14,332. But in the small state of Keonjhar the revenue shows a balance of nearly £1,000 over the outlay. The Rajah in this state had been deeply in earnest in his efforts to promote the welfare of his subjects, and the number of schools in the territory had increased from eight to twenty. Four places had weekly markets, and trade was steadily increasing. Satisfactory progress was also reported from the tributary mehals of Cattack and Chota Nagpur. With regard to the working of the permanent settlement in Bengal, it appeared that estates which had paid Government a rent-charge of £200 were now worth at least £800 more. But this large balance, part of which under a different system would have fallen to the Government, was, and still continues to be, really divided by a process of continual subletting between four or five grades of land-owners, each with a perpetual interest in the land, and each often consisting of many co-partners. Of course only a small fraction of profit remains over to actual occupiers after all charges on their buildings have been paid. Five years ago—1878—of 58,955 prisoners admitted during the year into 43 gaols in Bengal, only 1,441 were “educated,” 3,943 could read and write a little, and the rest were entirely ignorant. This proportion is a good deal less favourable than that of the North-Western Provinces, but it is better than the percentage for Bombay. With regard to the income-tax, it is worth noting that at this time only 88 persons in the richest and by far the most populous province in India were assessed to incomes above £10,000 a year, and nearly half of these lived in Calcutta, while only 1,520 were assessed to incomes ranging from £1,000 to £10,000. Of the 123,588 payers of income-tax in 1870, more than half paid on incomes varying between £50 and £75. In the North-Western Provinces 72 per cent. of the 66,135 persons who paid the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of income-tax were assessed on incomes under £100 a year. The whole sum raised under this head in the North-Western Provinces was only about £280,000 from a population as large as that of the British Islands. In Bengal the yield was proportionally no larger. In England at the same rate the tax would yield £10,000,000 or £12,000,000 on incomes above £100 a year. This gives one some little insight into the state of society in India, which is the reason for introducing it here. What is the true explanation of such a contrast between England and India in this respect it is difficult to find out. The tax being now abolished, it is needless to say more about it; but in

connection with it one cannot help inquiring whether or not India contains few people whom Englishmen would call wealthy, or whether taxpayers and collectors have combined to cheat the Government. One thing at least was made quite clear before the abolition, that the Indian income-tax was not worth collecting in the face of all the injustice, trickery, and extortion which the collecting of it evoked, whether from the assessors or the assessed.

The opium revenue of Bengal in 1872 amounted to £5,644,264, of which only 5 per cent. was contributed by the province itself, the remainder coming from the Chinese. The consumption of opium in Assam had for some time been greatly reduced. So much the better. The coolie emigration passing through Calcutta had rather increased than diminished since the period which is now before the reader. This emigration may be divided into two branches—the inland and the sea-going. The transport of coolies from Western India to the tea-gardens on the eastern side is entirely under the control of the Local Government. The 4,863 coolies dispatched thither in 1870 were fewer by about 500 than the emigrants of the previous year, but their number had latterly grown. The percentage of women to men was nearly 77 to 100, and the wives, as a rule, accompanied their husbands. With regard to the sea-going emigrants—to the South Seas and elsewhere—the number kept steadily about the same. Not many of these were accompanied by their wives. Of course many of the men were unmarried; but, even taking that fact into account, the Government proportion of 40 women to every 100 men had been kept up with much difficulty.

A great Exhibition of Industry and Art was opened at Bombay on the 15th of February, 1873. They do not allow us to have all those things to ourselves in the western world. The great crowd on the opening day seemed struck with the bright colours and rich or strange effects which met the eye on all sides. The *Gazette* says,* “The pillars, where they are allowed to peep out among the folds of lace, or the heavier embraces of banners of embroidered cloth, showed fluted lines of gold and blue; the balustrades that girded the galleries were hung with kincobs till their own brown and gold were scarcely visible; and the roof still possessed the strangeness of its untamed colouring. Above the staircase, and expanding over the oil painting of her Majesty by Sir David Wilkie, the arch of carved woodwork, with the blue background shining through the in-

* February 16th, 1873.

terstices, looked handsome; and on the floor there was a confusion of things bright and things dull, things ugly and things beautiful, which made one think twice before he made up his mind to explore the place. One noticeable object was a model of Mr. Saunders's patent railway carriage, faithfully reproduced to the smallest detail, and an interesting illustration of the handicraft skill of native workmen. There was a beautiful stand of bronzes, and wonderful specimens of Japanese work—all examples of what can be accomplished by the Oriental head and hand. India proper was well represented in the matter of jewellery, gold and silver ornaments, carved work in ivory and sandal-wood with specimens of wrought steel, embroideries, and other examples of the work which can be produced by the native East Indian."

A deputation waited upon the Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State for India, and pleaded strongly for the completion of the survey of Captain Sprye's proposed railway route from Rangoon to Kiang-Hung, on the north-western frontier of China, which had been begun a few years before, when Lord Salisbury was Secretary. The answer was discouraging. In effect his Grace said that he was not unfavourable to the completion of the survey, but who was to pay the cost of it? As guardian of the Indian revenues, he was bound to reserve them for Indian purposes, and this was clearly an imperial, not an Indian concern. India, moreover, was a poor country, heavily taxed, with a railway system that had yet to pay. If the Home Government or the merchants and manufacturers of England would complete the survey, his Grace engaged to furnish all needful aids thereto on the part of the Indian Government. The deputation took small comfort from the Duke's reply: between the two stools of the India Office and the English Government they had reason to fear that the whole project for bringing China three thousand miles nearer England would fall to the ground.

There was published in the early part of 1873 an interesting official report in regard to the native states in Rajputana and Central India. It was in 1870 that Lord Mayo's visit to Rajputana resulted in the subscription of £63,000 among the Rajput chiefs for the founding of the Mayo College, where the sons of the nobility are intended to be educated. In Mewar, or Udaipur, this report shows things to have been going on smoothly under a Rana, who was an enlightened ruler, shackled only by the prejudices of those around him. In Alwar, however, the Resident had to interfere between the chief and the disorders consequent on his misrule.

Shekawatti and Kishenghar were much better off in respect to rulers; but Marwar and Jodhpur suffered sorely from the fruits of the famine, the Rajah being, moreover, apathetic in regard to the condition of his people. In Kotah the Rajah was intemperate, his ministers corrupt and useless, crime stalked abroad, and the population was as badly off as could be. The wise and just old chief of Bundi, on the other hand, was surrounded by happy and contented subjects. The young Nawab of Tonk lent himself to all measures that were likely to promote the good of his people. The Bhartpur Rajah was reported to be a careful, active, and improving ruler, who was economical in regard to his revenues, and who studied the well-being of his ryots. The condition of Bikanir was "almost as bad as it was possible to be." The thakurs and other grantees there hold nearly all the villages. The state is much in debt, its well-meaning but weak ruler is the tool of favourites, and no such thing as justice appears to exist.

From Rajputana the reader must now mentally transport himself to Central India, where the reigning houses of Sindia and Holkar stand forth amidst a crowd of less powerful rulers. The Gwalior Rajah governs a province about the size of Ireland, peopled by 2,750,000 souls, with a revenue of more than £1,000,000 sterling, nearly a third of which remains yearly unspent. In his Malwah possessions the ryots have been flourishing under what is called the twenty-year settlement of 1860, but many scores of square miles still lie waste for want of men to cultivate them. In his northern districts the *ryotwari*, or peasant system of settlement, was about to be introduced experimentally. A change for the better, under Lord Northbrook's influence, took place in Sindia's treatment of his Rajput subjects, and that favourable change has since been maintained. His adopted son was sent to the Deccan College at Puna. It is remarkable how many of those great Indian princes are succeeded by *adopted* sons. Of the Indor chief report told a less pleasing tale. For years he had been encroaching on the lands of his Rajput thakurs, in breach of engagements made more than fifty years before his time. The story of his exactions may be heard all over Rajputana and Central India. He worked up the revenue from £350,000 to £550,000, principally by means of heavier dues in respect to grain. To add to this pressure on his people, he imposed a fresh tax of 7 per cent. on "all rent, revenue, customs, and transit dues." In the Bheel districts trade had long been seriously checked by heavy

transit dues levied through contractors, who show no mercy to travellers or traders.

The small state of Bhopal was thriving steadily under the rule of the Begum—the like-minded daughter of a shrewd, active, and stout-hearted mother. The reforms which the one began, the other steadily carried out. Rewah, with an area of 20,000 square miles and a population of about 190,000, is ruled by a Rajah whose splendid palace stands in the midst of wretched hovels—a type of the condition of the state itself. Most of the husbandmen are extremely poor, while a few nobles are surpassingly rich. There is little trade; but the Rajah has for several years shown a disposition to introduce such reforms “as the British Government might encourage;” and the Viceroy and his Council have encouraged him in that direction. The little state of Punnah in 1870 lost its enlightened ruler, Nirpat Singh, who in twenty-one years had transformed his country from a slough of misrule into a well-stocked and smiling garden. He abolished suttee, made good roads, encouraged better husbandry, set up model farms, looked to the breeding of cattle and the successful working of his diamond mines, founded schools, embellished his capital with broad streets and good houses, and was careful to bring up his four sons in the way they should go. Tehree, the chief state in Bandal-kand, covers an area of 2,100 square miles, and is inhabited by about 200,000 people. For years its Rajah has been unequal to the task of controlling his unruly barons, who have “outgrown their estates,” and have with difficulty been restrained from making war on their sovereign. Of the still smaller states some were at this time doing well, while others were suffering from misrule or the effects of famine. One was troubled with an intriguing Rani; another was ruled by a chief who squandered his money on Brahmans and costly rites; a third was idle, rejoicing in an energetic minister; and a fourth was infested by robber tribes. In such states the revenues are not always proportioned to their size or population. For example, Samptar, with its 175 square miles and 30,000 people, yields a revenue of £40,000, or £10,000 more than Chattarpur, which numbers 170,000 people in an area of 1,240 square miles.

Both in Central India and Rajputana opium-eating is almost universal. It is supposed that 20,000 chests of Malwah opium are annually consumed in these provinces, while 37,608 are exported on the average to China, at a profit of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions to the revenue. So profitable, indeed, is the culture of the poppy in native states, that some 900,000 *bigahs* of the best land are said to be planted

with it, to the serious diminution of the food grains.

The feudatory states in the Punjab, 34 in number, are spread over an area of 104,000 square miles, containing about $5\frac{1}{4}$ million souls, and yielding an aggregate revenue of nearly £2,000,000. The tribute they pay to the Indian Government is only £28,000 a year. But, beyond this, their chiefs, who are mostly Sikhs or Hindus, are bound among other things to help us against our enemies, to furnish supplies to our troops, and to give the land required for State roads and railroads. Some of them, such as the rulers of Cashmere, Patiala, and Bhawalpur, have full power of life and death over their subjects. Cashmere, the largest of these states, has an area of 25,000 square miles, with a population of $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and a revenue of £790,000.

In 1873 British relations with the frontier tribes were satisfactory; but constant troubles are ever breaking out across the border-land. Recently more likely measures have been adopted to prevent the recurrence of these. The fifteen native states in the Central Provinces cover an area of 28,037 miles, with a population of 1,000,000, and a yearly revenue of only £54,470. The chiefs pay the Supreme Government a tribute of £13,523. Their powers are limited, more or less, by the control of the Chief Commissioner. In the state of Patna misrule and consequent rebellion were summarily dealt with in 1872 by the transfer of all power into the hands of the British Government. The richest native state in these provinces is Khairagah, which, under British officers, has been rescued from chronic lawlessness and discontent. Bombay also had to deal with a number of states, large and small, formerly belonging to the dominions of the Gaikwar, but which had rebelled. These were brought under British rule, and have since been quiet. With regard to the South Maratha states there has long been, and still is, a strong contrast between those governed by English officers and those which are under purely native rule, the advantage being in favour of the former. Kolhapur, on the other hand, lost a native ruler of special promise—a young Rajah who died on his way back from England. The Rajput Prince of Katch kept on in the path of reform which had been trodden for some time before his accession. The English were obliged to step in between the Mussulman “Habshi” of Jinjira and his revolted sirdars. For a time the government of that very small state fell into English hands, but at length the Habshi was reinstated on his promising to mend his ways and follow the advice of the English Agent.

Baroda, the largest of the Maratha states in Western India, has a revenue of £1,420,000, nearly the whole of which is spent on the army and the civil service. There was great need for administrative reform when the late Gaikwar was installed; but even now little has been done under the new *régime*. Still, a beginning has been made in the matter of education, on a plan laid down by the Director of Public Instruction. In Kattiawar, a country nearly as large as Oudh, with 2,000,000 inhabitants ruled by a number of petty chiefs, there was much impulse given to high-class education by the visit of Sir S. Fitzgerald. This was connected, happily, with the opening of the Rajkumar College for the sons of the chiefs, and thirteen youths of rank were entered on its rolls for the first term. Public works were also undertaken by several chiefs in consequence of the Governor's visit. The Nawab of Jungarah, however, was foremost in the work of improvement. He spent what were, to him, large sums of money, both on schools and public works. Other chiefs imitated this good example, as has just been said. This was in a spirit of emulation rather than from intelligence; but the good work was done. In the Mahi Kanta states education had been progressing and trade was prosperous. But the chiefs of Rewa Kanta are backward and careless rulers. Better things are, nevertheless, hoped for from new powers which have been intrusted to the Political Agent.

There was introduced at this time to the Government of India the Bengal Municipalities Bill, which Lord Northbrook disallowed and refused to forward. He suffered some odium, in consequence, with a party. But no one acquainted with India could well doubt the wisdom of the step taken by his Excellency. The measure was fraught with mischief, and could only have goaded the people to rebellion. Under the form of a proposal to initiate self-government, and to introduce a system of education calculated to benefit the bulk of the people, it proposed to lay on a number of new taxes, although the highest officers in India had declared that taxation had been increased much too rapidly of late years, and that the discontent that fact had produced among all classes really amounted to a political danger of great magnitude. As regards self-government, considering the character of the timid race with which the British Government have to do in Bengal, it is surprising that the proposal should ever have been made. The whole power was really to lie in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor; one-third of the Commissioners were to be Government officers,

and to remain permanent, while of the rest one-half were to retire every year. The British-appointed district magistrate was always to be Chairman, and, in cases of emergency, was to exercise the powers of the whole Commission.

Then, as regards education, this proposal took it for granted that the people of Bengal were unwilling to educate their children, and that the means of elementary education were not within the reach of the poor. Neither of these assumptions accords with the fact. The smallest villages in Bengal still have their schools, where vernacular education may be obtained at fees as low as one anna, or three-halfpence, per month; and parents as a rule, when they can dispense with the help of their children, send them to school. The Bengali is remarkable for his desire for knowledge and for his ambition to rise in the world; and instances of poor men having acquired competency, and even affluence, entirely through their intelligence and industry, may be met with at almost every step. The very poor, who are unable to earn enough for the support of themselves and their children, without the aid of the latter, are the only class who receive no school education. To compel them to send their children to school would in effect be to expose the children to starvation or beggary, and to prevent them from learning some handicraft wherewith to find a livelihood. The Bill was therefore very properly interdicted by Lord Northbrook. He saw that it would tax a large class of poor people for schools which could be of no benefit to them, and relieve those who were able to pay and who were paying for the schooling of their children. Besides, if the Bill had been encouraged and had passed, it would have caused many of the people to look to Government for what they can well procure for themselves.

The taxes proposed by the Bill were enormous. The poorest, who possessed no taxable property, were to be subjected to a tax on their persons; while others were to be obliged to pay any or all of the following taxes:—On holdings of Rs. 6 (12s.) a year and upwards, on carriages and animals, on the registration of vehicles without springs, on trades and callings, on processions, on articles brought within the limits of each municipality, on ferries, on roads, on navigable channels, and on boats moored. In fact, the tax-gatherer would have been continually at the door of the poor man, and would have met him at every turning. The tax on persons and that on trades and callings would have been new forms of income-tax on incomes descending to £5 and £6 per annum, and were

open therefore to the serious objections which were offered in relation to the imperial income-tax. The taxes on roads, ferries, channels, and boats moored would have seriously hindered the traffic upon which the people subsist, and would also have been open to the most grave objections taken to the income-tax, inasmuch as they offered safe opportunities for the underlings of the police, and of the magistrates' and collectors' offices, to extort money by threats and oppression, and to take bribes to the detriment of the Government revenue.

But while the province was to be congratulated on the veto which was exercised by the Viceroy, it was felt by many that an interposition of this sort on the part of his Excellency was a check on the development of the principle of self-rule on the part of the provinces of India—a principle which it is most desirable to bring into action, and which some day will be brought into the foreground. Much in regard to this Bill depended upon the personal idiosyncrasy and individual discretion of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; and the probability is that no one filling that office would have enforced the whole powers given him if the Bill had become an Act. In the hands of Mr. (Sir G.) Campbell the province was safe. But the Viceroy of course could not tell who might come next, and therefore exercised his power of veto—a prerogative which is happily rarely used in India. But there is a class of cases in which it may wisely be resorted to, and for which, indeed, it was expressly designed—cases in which the zeal and high personal qualities of a Local Governor enable him to carry measures which represent his own individual force of will rather than the unbiassed views of his Council or the wishes of the community.

The Viceroy well observes that “no feeling of confidence in the discretion of any one man in whose hands the administration of the law might for the time being be placed, ought to justify such legislation as was proposed by the Bengal Municipalities Bill.”*

As an indication of the efforts towards progress in agriculture in India, it may here be mentioned that in North Wynaad special attention began to be directed to various points in connection with both soil and stock. Planters in that district came for the first time to be of opinion that manure of some kind must be liberally supplied to insure regular yearly good crops from their estates. Cattle manure was acknowledged unanimously to be a good fertiliser of coffee, and far greater care was therefore now

taken with regard to housing the herds and saving the manure. Since this time stall-feeding has become much more general in North Wynaad and in other parts of India. The sunflower has been introduced into the district, and on one estate has been sown largely between the rows of newly planted coffee, and has thriven admirably. Sown towards the end of the south-west monsoon, it comes into flower in November, so that the seed may be gathered in December and January, or during the dry season. It is said that the stalks from one acre of land yield when burned ten hundredweight of potash. Here, then, may be found a fruitful source of manure for coffee estates, seeing that the coffee bean contains so large a percentage of that soil. From forty to fifty bushels of seed—sometimes much more—are produced by an acre of land. Good seed will yield a gallon of oil to the bushel. The seed being of a farinaceous as well as oily character, is given as a cheap, substantial, and nourishing food to cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry of all kinds.

On most estates where water is available it has been taken advantage of for the purpose of irrigating the coffee, and the result has been highly satisfactory. On existing estates in Wynaad in all probability considerable sums will yet be expended in the construction of reservoirs, and in cutting channels to convey water from a distance where it is not to be had at hand, so that planters might then count with reasonable probability on a fair crop every year. As it is they are now on unirrigated lands entirely dependent for the development of the blossom on the precarious early showers. It was formerly too much the custom to prune heavily immediately after a crop was gathered in, and to deprive the coffee-plant of its greatest support—the leaves—during the ensuing long dry season. This practice is yielding to a lighter system of pruning, better suited to the climate and to the wants of the plant. If the Government, years ago, had sent a man with a thorough knowledge of agriculture to experiment practically on the climate and soils of Wynaad, far better results would doubtless have followed to the cultivation of the coffee-plant there, and also to the Government and the planter. In not a few instances the planter has from the beginning groped his way in the dark, wasting both energy and capital on modes of cultivation unsuited to the soils and climate of the district, only to find, after years of toil and unwearied exertion, that instead of being the possessor of a well-earned fortune, or even of a competency, all his capital has been expended, and a barren heritage of

* *Allen's Indian Mail.*

estates partially or totally abandoned is the result. Matters have indeed improved, and the planter, by long, painful, and dear-bought experience, has discovered a better and more profitable system of cultivation for himself. Coffee-planting in North Wynaad is now being prosecuted on a more intelligent basis, with a truer knowledge of the proper methods, and consequently with a better guarantee of success; but much time and money and energy have been spent which might have been saved, to say nothing of disappointed hopes and weary hearts. Dr. Bidie says, "Here were a number of men, many with large pecuniary interests at stake, threatened with complete ruin; after enduring for years the pains of life, a toilsome lot, and many hardships, that they might be able to go back to their native land with a competency. To bear up under such adverse circumstances, and to carry on the struggle in silence, must always require no small amount of moral courage, and the planters of Wynaad deserve not a little credit for exhibiting that quality in a high degree, inasmuch as they hardly uttered a word of complaint during a cycle of disastrous years. A man of ability and practical knowledge, such as the manager of the Sydapet Farm at this date, would have been an inestimable help. Planters in too many instances confess their ignorance of the real wants of the soil, and of other particulars connected with the cultivation of coffee. Few indeed have either the time or the means to carry out a system of experiments which might result in the more successful cultivation of the coffee-plant. An experimental garden here and there in Wynaad might be established at a trifling cost to the Government, and in a short time would support itself by the sale of coffee, plants, and other products."

The general progress of the two chief native states in Southern India, Haidarabad and Mysore, has been remarkable. The former, excluding Berar, covers an area as large as that of the North-Western Provinces, while Berar itself, or the assigned districts placed under British rule, is not much smaller than Oudh. The whole revenue for a year amounts to about £2,395,000, two-fifths of which are raised from Berar. In other words, each square mile of British-ruled territory yielded £55 against £18 obtained from the remainder. It must be borne in mind, however, that the assigned districts are the choicest parts of the country, and that broad tracts in Haidarabad are held as military fiefs, which, under English rule, would be turned to more productive account. During the year 1870-71 peace and plenty prevailed through-

out Haidarabad. Of the £170,000 spent on public works, £105,000 was laid out on Berar and the British military stations in the Deccan; and of £38,886 devoted to education Berar received £23,968. The revenue of Berar had risen in ten years from £404,662 to £935,888, leaving a total balance of nearly half a million to be paid over to the Nizam. So much for the management of Sir Salar Jung. Fourteen of the twenty districts had at this date been entirely surveyed, and in three others the survey was nearly completed.

The Umrawatti State Railway, begun in July, 1870, was opened for traffic in February, 1871. A line of railway from the great Indian peninsula to the Wardah coal-fields in East Berar was surveyed and adopted in 1870. Progress was made in the Forest Department, about 201 square miles being added to the State reserves. At the Sheogaon experimental farm a series of experiments in ploughing showed an out-turn of 660 lbs. of grain and 2,582 lbs. of straw per acre, as compared with 538 lbs. of grain and 3,318 lbs. of straw obtained by the ordinary process of merely passing a rude kind of harrow once or twice over the land. Of the 4,703,618 acres of cultivated land more than 1,500,000 were sown with cotton, which yielded 209,265 bales, or 19 per cent. over the export of the previous year, notwithstanding a marked fall in the price of the article.

Hematite iron ore in beds of from 9 to 17 feet thick, and containing from 53 to 68 per cent., was discovered in the Tanak Hills to the south of Wun. It is in the Wardah coal-field, however, that the chief mineral wealth of Berar lies. At Pisgaon a seam of good coal 30 feet thick was struck at a depth of 77 feet. In 1871 also there was a survey made for the Nizam's State Railway, and work was immediately begun. The 344 Government schools and 110 unaided schools furnished 1 school for every 38 miles of country. Notwithstanding the number of schools, however, the pupils were not increasing. The people require to be trained to a knowledge of the value of education. One villager, for instance, took away his boy from school as soon as he could count twenty-five, for that, he said, was the largest number of cows he would ever have to count.

Mysore, with its lofty table-land covering an area of nearly 30,000 square miles, of which less than a third is cultivated, continued under the governance of British authority during the minority of its Rajah—a promising youth, who was intrusted to the able hands of Colonel Malleon. Its population exceeded 4,000,250, of whom all but 200,000 are Hindus. Of the whole culti-

vated area of Mysore, 90 per cent. was sown with food grains. Nearly 112,000 acres were planted with coffee, which yielded a good crop. Little cotton is grown by the ryots, who find that other crops pay them better, and who are becoming more and more dependent upon foreign supplies of cotton cloth. About 12,000 acres are planted with the mulberry, and silk is largely manufactured in the province. The little state of Curg, at the south-western corner of Mysore, has an area of only 1,214 square miles, of which less than a fifth is under cultivation; its population numbers nearly 112,000, and they are mostly Hindus. About 1 in 88 of the population goes to school. The revenue had considerably increased. But to return to the British provinces proper.

The chief water-works in Bengal are the Orissa and Behar systems of canals, which were taken over from a private company in 1869. Of the former system, 100 miles in all were open for navigation and irrigation by the end of the year. The receipts on the former account were satisfactory; but the irrigation returns were very disappointing. In the North-Western Provinces more than a million acres were watered by the canals, at a profit of nearly 6 per cent. on the entire capital of the completed works. The only work of the kind in progress was the Agra Canal, which now waters the country between Delhi and Agra. Another great work which was now projected was the Lower Ganges Canal, for the irrigation of the lower part of the Doab, and which was intended to set the Ganges Canal free to bestow more water on the country between Haedwar and Aligarh. In the Central Provinces the Kanh irrigation scheme, which was to irrigate a cultivated area of 840 square miles at an estimated profit of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on an outlay of little more than a million, was still in its preliminary stage. In the Punjab the receipts from irrigation during 1871 amounted to £222,171, or nearly £24,000 in advance of the previous year. The works of the Madras Irrigation Company suffered severely from a violent storm in 1870, which caused a rise of 9 or 10 feet in the canal supplied from the Tumbadra. In Bombay there were several tanks and canals in course of construction. The chief of these was that in connection with the Mutah Valley scheme for supplying Puna with water, and irrigating an extensive tract of country by means of a dam across the Mutah River. There was yet another project, which had got through the initiatory stages—the Tapti scheme—which, it was expected, would irrigate nearly 200,000 acres at an estimated cost of £440,000, yielding a return

of 15 per cent. In Sattara three important canals were completed, and several of those in Sind were cleared out, with the result of a marked improvement in the cultivation. There was also much progress made in the improvement of the harbour of Bombay by means of the works begun by the Elphinstone Company over an area of 386 acres. These works were bought by the Government, in 1870, for the large sum of £1,859,000, and the probability is that £780,000 will have to be spent in their completion. All this shows that when the Government of India is not embarrassed by great wars—border skirmishes it will have for many a day—it devotes itself to the improvement of the country, more especially in regard to roads, railroads, canals for irrigation, and harbours, as well as to the development of trade in general. The matter of tanks and canals, as we see from the too frequent recurrence of famines, is of the utmost importance in such a country as India; and, during his tenure of office, Lord Northbrook and his Council devoted themselves sedulously to it.

But all was not peace. In 1873 little more than a year had elapsed since 300 fanatical Sikhs defied the power of the British Government—reference to which event has been made on a preceding page. But it now came out more distinctly that the complaint that sacred cows were killed and eaten was partly a pretext, and that at the bottom of the mischief was an impatience of taxation. There were especially two causes of hatred: 1. Government had reduced the term of the Punjab land settlement from thirty to ten years—that meant that, instead of confirming the assurance of the Settlement Commissioners that the land-tax should not be increased for thirty years, Government had declared its intention to increase it when only ten years should have elapsed from the time at which the revised assessment was first collected. Imagine for a moment the agent of an Irish landowner voluntarily granting leases to the tenantry for thirty years, and then, after some years had elapsed, having to explain to them that the rents must be raised after ten years because they were not high enough! Imagine, again, that all improvements made by the tenantry, on the understanding that the leases were to be for thirty years, were to be made pretexts for increasing the rents! The maintenance of the peace of India depends upon the contentment of the landholders. 2. Another cause of discontent in the Punjab was the additional tax of 6 per cent. on the landowners, on the plea that the money was required for local purposes. Still the difficulty was got over.

At this time the registered debt of India amounted to £65,858,137 sterling; the loans, £2,933,975; Treasury notes, £1,268,986; service funds, £4,390,294; bills payable, £312,724; deposits and miscellaneous, £10,646,399—making a total of £85,410,515 sterling. Moreover, there was due by India to England the sum of £41,874,148, in the form of debentures and other stock, railway bonds, army expenses, and miscellaneous items.

In February, 1873, Mr. Hobhouse obtained leave to bring in a Bill for the appointment of Municipal Commissioners in the chief towns of Burmah. That province, on the whole, was still in a backward state; but several of its towns were making progress in wealth, commerce, and importance. There was also brought forward a Bill concerning appeals and reviews of judgments in the Punjab; but its consideration was deferred. On the 27th of February Lord Northbrook laid the first stone of the new Presidency College at Calcutta. The cost of this building—reckoned at three lakhs—was engaged to be defrayed by the State. On the same afternoon the Viceroy had his first formal interview with the Envoy from Yarkand, who reached Calcutta on the night of the 23rd of February. The Yarkand Envoy on his way to Calcutta had a rather peculiar experience. In passing through Delhi he presented himself at the Jamna Musjid in boots of English make. On such occasions an English or European visitor must either take off his boots or encase them in canvas slippers provided for the purpose. When the Envoy was requested to undergo the usual process, he asked for the chief *maulvi*, to whom, on his coming up, he said, "You are ostensibly most scrupulous Mussulmans, but are really half Hindus. All this show of exclusiveness and sanctity is nothing but an idea borrowed from Hinduism. There is the Koran: show me any authority for your observance in this matter." The *maulvi* made no answer, whereupon the Envoy, who is no doubt himself a good Mohammedan, again opened his Koran, and gave the priest a lecture against undue reverence for outward forms. The Envoy had his own way, and walked all over the mosque in his English boots.

In connection with the progress of India, it is perhaps a prescriptive title on the part of Englishmen to know as little as they please. The average reader can hardly be expected to wade through the somewhat dry pages of Mill and Wilson, or to render homage such as is due to Elphinstone for his masterly narrative of the centuries before Plassey. Still less likely is he to know much about the

works of Orme, or Wilks, or Grant Duff. Tremendous mistakes are consequently made in regard to Indian history by those who have pretended to understand it. Lord Northbrook having required returns for all taxes and costs throughout India, with some account of the state of popular feeling in each province, and such remarks or suggestions as the several Governments might offer, issued himself an important document on finance, which is of much historical value. On the 4th of March, at the Supreme Council, there was some sharp speaking on the subject of amendment, by Mr. Hobhouse, to the Punjab Appeals Bill. Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Campbell are both well able to use telling words, if not effective logic.

Calcutta was holding an Exhibition, the range of which was limited to works contributed by the various schools of art throughout India. This was opened on the 5th of March by Lord Northbrook, and the whole ceremony was very quietly performed. Major Macdonald, commandant of the fort of Michni, was assassinated by the frontier Pathans. He was shot through the leg and then cut down. The people of Oudh showed a disposition to complain that they were not profited by English rule. Persons of all ranks and professions had become so poor and wretched that numbers of them were begging. Still, without much trouble, quiet was kept. The abolition of the income-tax gladdened all classes. His Excellency the Viceroy had grateful addresses presented to him, and several towns were illuminated. One of the native papers represented Lord Northbrook holding in his hand a paper, on which was written, "The income-tax is abolished on the 31st of March, 1873," and before him were crowds of people of all classes, from the humble peasant touching the ground with his forehead to the white sahibs waving their hats amid hearty cheers.

Lord Northbrook, before leaving Calcutta for the hills, had required and received returns in regard to the receipts and expenditure of the country. He was disappointed to find that "so few suggestions had been made towards reduction of expenditure." That was the Viceroy's earnest desire; but perhaps his Excellency had been seeking grapes on hawthorn hedges. Why should he have expected that revenue officers, whose chief thoughts are about the getting and spending of money, should be very apt at devising measures which, though not directly inimical to their personal interests and class leanings, are quite out of the ordinary line of their thought? The determination of his lordship to reduce expenditure was, nevertheless, manifest in

many ways. Before the Viceroy left Calcutta for Simla the leading natives of the city went in a body to wish his lordship good-bye, and to thank him for doing away with the income-tax. On his way Lord Northbrook stopped for a short time at Allahabad, and, after conversing with Sir W. Muir on the state of affairs, passed on, reaching Ambala on the 16th of April.

There was some small amount of trouble in connection with the little territory of Swat, on the Punjab frontier, which was not got over without bloodshed. This afforded another instance of the difficulties attendant on the working of the old Indian village system. Among the hills and valleys of Swat the old "arable mark" is now and again changed, and the fields are redistributed among the village folk every ten years. But the people there, as elsewhere, are outgrowing their old customs, and at each new rearrangement of the land fresh troubles occur. Holders of rich fields refuse to give them up for those which they know to be poor. At this time the disputes were more than usually rancorous and bitter. A holy man, not long before this date, refused to give up the land on which he had long been comfortably settled, and was slain, notwithstanding his sacred character, in open fight. The Utman Khails, on the other hand, arrange to keep their holdings for thirty-two instead of ten years, after which the whole of their land is parcelled out afresh according to the numbers in each family. A married woman or a betrothed maiden gets two shares; so does a swordsman; while the rest of the community receive one share each. Any resistance to the work of re-allotment is sternly checked by a combination of the whole clan.

When Sir Bartle Frere returned to Bombay he expressed his surprise at having found the whole trade on the East African coast in the hands of East Indian merchants, Hindu and Mohammadan, of the very classes described by Portuguese writers two centuries ago. He said, addressing a company of merchants, "It was a surprise to me that from almost opposite Socotra down nearly to the Cape Colony and along the Madagascar coast, the whole trade seemed, within the last forty or fifty years, to have passed into the hands of natives of India." Even in the smaller villages, which traded only with one or two ships, "the skipper was almost certain to be an Indian." But, concurrently with this growth of Indian enterprise, there had grown up a slave trade which, once very small, at the time of his visit involved the export of more than 30,000 Africans every year. But he acquitted the leading Indian merchants

of any direct concern in this nefarious traffic; yet somehow Indian capital and Indian goods were continually being exchanged for human beings.

New arrangements in regard to the Civil Service were made. Mr. Campbell's scheme for transferring to district officers and their native assistants a portion of revenue and executive work which had hitherto been done expensively, though not always efficiently, was now sanctioned by the Viceroy. The whole of Bengal, with the exception of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, was accordingly furnished with a hundred sets of "subdivisional establishments," separated into three grades. One advantage of this reform has been found to be the admission of capable young natives, duly tested by examination. The men thus passed are not employed as mere clerks for work in offices, but as executive agents to help the district and subdivisional officers in administering the various departments under their charge. They are employed for executive, statistical, and—where magisterial powers are given—judicial work."

In an important resolution the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal declared in favour of substituting the Assamese for the Bengali language in the schools and law courts of Assam. Sir George—he had now got his dignity—affirms that the people of Assam do not understand Bengali. The petitions drawn up in their name and the court proceedings are alike unintelligible to them, and the great bulk of them are eager to employ their own tongue in the courts and schools of their own country. It is true that higher school-books in Assamese are rare, but a really literate person who knows one of the two languages can soon master the other. In the higher classes, therefore, Bengali books must still be used when Assamese books cannot be obtained. Sir G. Campbell says, "In all primary schools Assamese will be taught to the exclusion of Bengali; also in all middle schools, and in the lower and middle classes of higher schools. When a class of twelve or more boys wish for it, Bengali may be separately taught them as a language. In the upper classes of higher schools every subject in which there is an Assamese book is to be taught in Assamese. Subjects in which Assamese school-books do not exist can be taught either in Bengali or in English." This was a most creditable achievement of Sir George Campbell's.

The Indian army, it was now very generally felt, might in several ways be less expensively organized. In the days when Bombay and Madras were utterly out of reach from Calcutta, there was no doubt a reason for having three separate armies and three sepa-

rate commanders-in-chief, each with his head-quarter staff; but in times when one can go from Allahabad to Calcutta on the one side, or to Bombay on the other, in little more than a day, and to Madras in about three days, it was felt by many that the separate organization was absurd. This indication of thought and feeling has since resulted in considerable economization in army arrangements. The reconstruction of the army was now the question of the day in India. It was discussed in all the Anglo-Indian newspapers, and much engaged the attention of the Indian Government. It was felt that lumber had been accumulating—that it would be necessary to get rid of surplus field officers on liberal terms, to put a limit to colonels' allowances, and to revise the whole system of service and promotion in the Staff Corps, and readjust the scale of retiring pensions to the changed conditions of life in the present day. It would then be possible to reconstruct the native army on some such basis as would be less like a caricature of the old irregular system. It was proposed that one battalion of each of certain brigades should be permanently stationed in the East, and that men should be recruited for them on terms to suit India, and from a class different from that which had hitherto supplied the existing English army. The recruiting of the 20,000 or 25,000 men for the East India Company's force never interfered with that for the royal army. The service, the pay, the prospects, and the attractions generally were different. But the moment the Queen's army had to supply so many as 60,000 men to India the recruiting difficulty was felt. Not only so, but the equally great officer difficulty was experienced. The country was and is unpopular with many officers, who have gone out reluctantly, have not learned the language of the people, have cared nothing for their politics, and have too often hated them and denounced their climate. Any observant resident who knows the pre-mutiny times is aware how Anglo-Indian society has changed since the so-called amalgamation, and in this respect has changed for the worse. *Quoad* India, its people, and its best interests, almost every Company's officer of a few years' experience was a distinctly civilising agency, promoting definite progress, understanding and sympathizing with the people, and attaching them to English rule. No one will undervalue the professional abilities and services of the royal officers, from Wellington to Havelock; but even in their case they were valuable just as they studied and identified themselves with the country and the people. In order to this it is of vast

importance that the officers and their men should be placed in such a position as may help them to feel that they are "at home" in India, that they are fixed residents there, and not merely temporary sojourners. Before he went out, Lord Northbrook, in the debates in the House of Lords, repeatedly expressed himself strongly in favour of such an arrangement; and after he became Viceroy, although with the reticence natural to office, gave unmistakable indications that his opinions were unaltered.

It was found necessary in the spring of 1873 to send special messengers on the part of the Government to Swat—spies one does not like to call them. They left Peshawar and went to Tabla, on the extreme British frontier. They then marched to Ghurri Akbar Khan, where they rested a day. Thence they proceeded to Banda Malundri, in which place they were in extreme peril, inasmuch as the villagers of Amnour and Banda had declared war against each other, owing to disputes about land. On the 1st of May twelve Amnouries were slain and many wounded. A native officer residing in that quarter, writing to his superior British officer, says, "Pray send no more such messengers, or they will be killed, and I shall share the same fate. A letter from any Englishman will seal my doom. As soon as the land quarrel is settled, I will pay my salaams to the Akhoond—from whose head-quarters I am distant about twenty miles—and will send you a letter. Your men I have sent away, and they are now in safety. The Akhoond, or chief, feeds the hungry, heals the sick, clothes the beggar, administers spiritual consolation to the followers of the Prophet, and all freely and without price, although his retainers are not quite so charitable. Mohamadans believe that he exercises a creative power, daily producing every article necessary for the *murids* and pilgrims who come to salaam to him. He seems to like the salaam."

The most disquieting item at this date came from beyond the frontier. Prince Yakub Khan, the ruler of Herat, had sent a message to his father, the Amir of Kabul, requesting him to send a strong force, with some money, and an officer competent to take charge of Herat, while he himself would move forward with an army for the conquest of Sistan. This was a difficulty to Lord Northbrook, for after arbitration the threatened part of Sistan had been ceded to Sher Ali. The Amir showed his displeasure at the message by ordering the troops which had been sent to Jellalabad for the punishment of the Shinwaris to march on to Herat. Other

rumours described Abdurrahman Khan as wandering about the country, seeking help from all possible sources of fruitlessly anticipated schemes for driving his uncle out of Kabul.

The report on public instruction in Bengal in 1871-72 showed the existence there of 15,321 aided and unaided schools, attended by 336,093 scholars. To these numbers Sir G. Campbell added 10,000 schools and 120,000 scholars, whom Mr. Wodrow left out of the account for want of proper data. But even then the number of scholars would have averaged only 1 to every 150 of the people. In the Nadya district the census returns showed only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the people as able to read and write, while in Calcutta and its suburbs the proportion was 18 per cent. But with regard to female education there was little to boast of anywhere. Even in the metropolitan district only one-eleventh of the so-called educated minority were women. In the rural districts there was hardly one educated woman, and out of 17,407 females in the 24 Pergunnahs only 6 could read or write. Out of 33,250,000 females in the whole of Bengal only 9,518 were or had been under any kind of educational instruction. The cost of public instruction for the year amounted to Rs. 18,14,037, about £181,404, being Rs. 2,13,000 less than the Government grant. The English middle-class schools were fewer, but Sir G. Campbell spoke highly of the collegiate schools, including the Pogose school of Dacca and the Metropolitan Institution at Calcutta—both being private establishments, managed entirely by natives without help from the Government. The Lieutenant-Governor strongly objected to the high rate of fees in Government schools and colleges, as compared with the means of the people. The Rs. 12 a month, charged in the Presidency College for teaching alone, were equal to £100 a year in England, while the charge of Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 a month in the higher schools would amount to a fee, also for tuition alone, of £25 or £30 a year in England. His Honour complimented the missionary societies on the progress of their schools. In the hill districts mission schools had been carried on successfully where the regular Government agency could hardly penetrate.

The village system of Bengal seemed to be fast going to pieces. It was because there was no effective government from without that they had so long been enabled to maintain self-government within. Under a regular and settled Government they come to ruin—and no matter either. The zemindaree system has worked badly for the people, and

placed them in the power of local and petty oppressors. When the exclusiveness of the village has been broken up there ought to be something to put in its place. If the old system is taken away and nothing is put in its place, there will be a vacuum left in regard to the good of the people. The Government must teach the natives to act in concert, not only with their fellow-villagers, but with all with whom they come into contact. If the Local Funds Act had not been introduced so early, or in so elaborate a form, it might have done good work by educating the villagers to govern themselves. That Act, however, proved a failure in every respect, and the natives thoroughly disliked it. It is always to be hoped that when England pulls down she will be able to build up, and that both the pulling down and the building up will be very gradual. If we take away we ought to give something in return.

The monsoon set in with great severity, especially in Western India, where storms of thunder, lightning, and hail counterbalanced occasional damage to persons and things by tempering the intense heat of weeks. In one instance—to show what life in India is—the *putel*, or headman, of a village near Akola, one night saw a tiger carrying off a calf. Being a noted sportsman, he at once seized his gun and fired, wounding the beast, and forcing him to drop his prey. Next morning the *patel*, armed with gun and sword, and accompanied by his two brothers and a *pardhi*, set off to track, if they could, the wounded tiger. They found him after a time lying to all appearance helpless under a bush. Resting his gun against a tree, the *patel* walked up to the beast and pricked him with his sword. In a moment the tiger, springing up with a roar, struck the *patel* senseless. His two brothers fell upon the animal with their swords, only to be dealt with in the same manner. The *pardhi* at last came up, and swathing his arm with a *dhoti*, or cloth of protection, thrust it into the tiger's mouth, while he kept on hacking the beast until it fell down dead. The *pardhi* came out of the struggle unhurt, but the three brothers were past saving, and, before night closed in, were all dead of their wounds. In the same district it was reported that six or eight children had been carried off by wolves within the year. These latter-mentioned animals had become so bold that even in daylight they seized infants before their mothers' eyes.

The Legislative Council was still keeping holiday at Simla. The dangers arising from the number of wild beasts seemed to increase, notwithstanding all precautions. Sir G. Campbell had a visit from the Rajah and Rani of

Sikkim, a notable event. Recruits for the native army were falling off both in numbers and quality, wages for work having considerably risen ; but this has since rectified itself.

Almost every mail from India at this time brought home a story of an encounter, fatal or successful, with a tiger or some other wild beast. The correspondent of the *Bombay Gazette*, writing from Mahavleswar, gives a good illustration of this. He says, "A friend and myself got to the village, and were shown the place where the kill had been. We found a dead buffalo. But there was no appearance of the tiger. Our party consisted of seven ; and, after having waited for the whole night, we saw the gentleman in the morning at the remains of the buffalo. We all got up into trees ; but those brutes are good climbers, and therefore one is never safe. He was shot, however, after about an hour's dodging. He was about eleven feet long, and was beautifully marked."

There are still many gentlemen who, from their love of sport, desire to protect these creatures ; but the "sport" is extremely precarious. Besides the actual losses in men and cattle from wild beasts, there are losses which are indirect in the shape of traffic stopped or hindered, fields thrown out of cultivation, and labour suspended. Many of the people having been disarmed, the community have fewer means of defending themselves and their cattle. This has occurred since the mutiny. The annual destruction of life in India by tigers, wolves, and other wild beasts amounts to 10,000 human beings, with 1,000,000 head of live stock. In India the Government is everything. It is specially bound to take precautions against the growth of any great public nuisance, and certainly this is one. Indeed, it has long since avowed its responsibility by offering rewards for the destruction of wild beasts.

With a view to encourage education among the Mohammadans, the Indian Government offered special facilities for the study of Persian and Arabic, and the cultivation of Mohammadan secular literature. A professorship for such purposes was to be endowed at Bombay, and the revival of formerly existing educational institutions at Calcutta and Hugli was also resolved upon.

The public press in England came prominently forward in connection with the affairs of India. The *Mirror* says, "India rejoices that it has come out of the power of that evil genius of Lord Mayo—Sir John Strachey ;" but Sir John has since then done good service to the country. "It is providential," says the same paper, "that, after years of anxiety and discontent, Britain should have sent out a

Viceroy of Lord Northbrook's stamp. Better and far better that India should stagnate and rot than that she should be throttled by the tortuous and treacherous policy which has been pursued by violent politicians for a few years past—a policy which his lordship is sure to resist and suppress." Sir George Campbell suffered no small amount of blameful remark from the Indian papers, but came out clean-handed and with much credit.

In Rajputana the thermometer indoors marked 118°, "with tatties and punkahs" 90°. A gentleman of trustworthy character writes and says, * "I have been in India thirty years, and have seen the thermometer up to 110°, but never beyond, and this was in the Punjab during very unusual years." There had been no rain in the Central Provinces, and in and around Jabalpur the parched condition of the ground was severely felt. In Baroda thousands of flying foxes were found lying dead in their roosting-places. There were no events of political importance, neither were there any great changes talked about—rumour had been holding its hundred tongues of late.

There was nothing to report even in regard to the Viceroy, except that he had received several Indian princes. Among them were the Rajahs of Patiala, Jind, and Nabha—names all intimately bound up with India during the mutiny. But for the services of these Cis-Sutlej dynasties in 1857, matters in Upper India would have fared badly both with the besiegers of Delhi and the masters of the Punjab.

Lord Northbrook's Government wisely turned its attention to the fact that in India there were at least 90,000 men who had nothing to do but fight, and who were constantly tempted by covetousness. The pastoral life we are apt to look upon as an innocent and delightful one ; but nations must be made happy by industry, and industry is learnt by tilling the ground, not by tending cattle and sheep. Those who are employed in the latter pursuit can seldom find labour for more than an hour a day, or rather one man can do all the requisite work, while nine others are idle and ready for any mischief. The Government felt this to be a great danger, and used special means to encourage the cultivation of the land. Another important measure on the part of the Government was the prevention of the excessive felling of trees. The practice of stripping mountains of their clothing is a bad one. When the clothing is gone, the skin goes too—the earth which covers the bare rock is soon wasted away. Therefore it was arranged that in various parts there should not only be trees planted, but that there

* The *Friend of India*.

should be exemption of land-tax wherever the district was woodland. The Indian Government also revised the terms on which land-owners should be allowed to borrow from the State for the improvement of their lands. Hitherto the advances made for that purpose had been held repayable in three years—a limit of time which frequently tended only to plunge the borrower into worse embarrassments. But from this date six years were to be allowed for the repayment of loans laid out on wells, dams, and other water-works, while money spent in reclaiming waste lands and bringing jungle under the plough was to be repayable within twelve years. It is to be hoped, however, that too much encouragement will not be given to the cultivation of forest lands in a country which for various reasons requires not only the maintenance of forests, but also the cultivation of grain.

It is always a matter for regret when anything, however trivial, occurs to create irritability between the protected states in India and the Imperial Government. It was ruled by the Secretary of State at this time that the salutes of his Highness the Nizam of the Deccan, his Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda, and his Highness the Maharajah of Mysore should stand at nineteen guns in British territory as formerly; but the salute of twenty-one guns was still to be continued to those princes when they were within their own territories. This order occasioned no small amount of discontent in the minds of the parties concerned and among their subjects.

The Viceroy ordered an inquiry into the condition of the Bengal peasantry in the fever districts. There is a widespread and fatal recurrence of fever in the Hugli and other parts of Bengal. Some few efforts had been made by the Bengal Government to alleviate suffering among the people; but the progress of the epidemic had not been checked by them, and Sir George Campbell acknowledged himself unable to account for the spread of the disease. The inquiry was, therefore, one which was fit and commendable as regarded the action of the Viceroy. Medical men and non-medical inquirers had alike come almost unanimously to the same conclusion, namely, that defective and impeded drainage must be regarded as the chief, if not the only, cause of the Hugli epidemic. Dr. Payne says, "In the gradual conversion of a well-drained, healthy, and prosperous tract of country from the condition of the Lincolnshire fens is to be found the increasingly better health of the people."* Babu Dagambar Mittar held, and he was a high authority, that the obstruction of the natural drainage was by roads and rail-

ways, and the shutting up of outlets into the rivers by means of embankments. Lord Lawrence strongly supported this view, but no comprehensive plan for improving the drainage was set on foot. The rivers, by silting, have no doubt played their part in obstructing the drainage, but they are not the only, or even the chief, culprits. The water from the villages of Bengal runs off first into the paddy-fields, thence into the *bhils*, or swamps, from which it rushes through *khats*, or water-courses, into larger streams, and from these again into navigable rivers. Such water is foul and pestilent, and any hindrance to its free passage will of course affect a large neighbourhood. A road or embankment, carried at a certain height across any of the ancient channels, could not fail to affect it, even if the river were perfectly open. Numbers of roads had been constructed in recent years either as ordinary high-roads or as feeders of railway lines, with very little regard to the natural drainage. The blocking up of the *khats* had not unfrequently been effected by the *zemin-dars*, who wished to retain the water for their own rice-fields. But the worst form of the evil has always presented itself in the villages themselves on account of their waterlogged condition through impeded draining, when the epidemic has invariably been most fatal.*

The important question of finance—which has had much to do with all European revolutions—began more and more to perplex the Government of India. There was ground for their uneasiness. Britain is the lord of a prodigious empire, with a population only less numerous than that of China. She has to minister to the wants of this population with a revenue which would be thought small for the needs of a tenth of those numbers at home. But she cannot raise more than £50,000,000 from the country, although she receives £20,000,000 in rents, while yet the Government is the universal landlord. Out of this money there must be provided, in the first place, the means of keeping the country in peace both within and without; and it is only by a large and costly army that the safety of the frontiers can be secured and internal wars prevented. Then there are great and expensive works to be constructed in order to prevent the ravages of frequently recurring famines, the destruction occasioned by any one of which may be estimated at millions. Besides, the development of the trade and commerce must depend principally upon the executing of railways and navigable canals. But all this implies immense outlay; and, taking them at their best, the taxable

* Report, 1871.

* The *Hindu Patriot*.

community are very poor. They complain when the burden is made very heavy, and their complaints sometimes take the shape of insubordination. These difficulties drew towards them much attention from the Viceroy and his Council. Lord Northbrook devised every apparently possible means and arrangement by which retrenchment in the expenses of the Government might be obtained. He partly succeeded, but only partly. It was found to be extremely difficult to prevent an annual deficit.

Still the improvement of the people was not neglected. Sir George Campbell's scheme for redressing the grievances of the Mohammadans in his presidency gave full effect to the views of Lord Mayo and his successor, who had adopted them. The £5,000 assigned to the Lieutenant-Governor by Lord Northbrook for Mohammadani education were set apart for the maintenance of the Hugli Madrassa, and the whole of the Moslem endowments were henceforth to be reserved for the sole use of Mohammadan scholars. Minor Mohammadan colleges were to be established at Dacca, Rajshai, and Chittagong. A certain sum was set aside to pay the fees of deserving Mussulman boys who might learn English at the ordinary schools and colleges; and a number of scholarships, worth in all £1,200 a year, were provided for students of the same creed, most of them being intended as rewards for proficiency in Western rather than Eastern learning. In this way the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal sought, he said, to further two distinct aims—the teaching of English lore by means of English and the vernaculars, and the due cultivation of Persian and Arabic learning in specially endowed schools and colleges in accordance with the instincts, ideas, and traditions of the Mohammadans themselves.

There were rent riots in the Pabna district, and they shed some useful light on the existing causes of dissension between the zemindars and their tenantry. Let the reader take an illustration of these disturbances and their cause. The chief part of the land in Esafshai is divided between five Hindu zemindars, of whom the tagores of Calcutta enjoy the best and the sandyals of Shallap the worst repute. These new owners seem to have risen upon the decay of the old Nattore Rajahs. Here, as in many other parts of India, the old relations between the landlords and their tenants grew gradually tighter and less friendly, and the rack-renting process was everywhere applied. Instead of paying only 10 annas or 1s. 3d. a bigah, the tenants were called upon to pay a rupee, or 2s. This some twenty years ago was raised to a rupee and a half.

Neither was this all. Certain illegal usages, which were converted into cesses, in connection with marriage, income, and school dues, were felt to be burdensome. In addition to all this, the lands of the ryots were measured anew as a lever for fresh exactions. It appears that even this would have been submitted to by the patient peasantry, but “for the violent and lawless character of some of the zemindars and of the agents of others.” This, putting all things together, led to the formation of unions among the ryots, which unions resulted in appeals to the law courts by the oppressed people, and when these were not always successful there were disorder and contention; but all such conflict, so far as it was coupled with violence, was instigated and led on by dacoits, or robbers, and other troublesome members of society. The Government required Mr. Nolan, the assistant magistrate, to make inquiries and report; and he, while not approving of the violence of the rioters, and reprobating several murders which they had committed, rather sided with them. The same causes which produced this ferment in Pabna were found to have been at work elsewhere. In Orissa the zemindars were levying dues on markets, roads, boats, ferries, and fisheries, in spite of legislation against their so doing. In the permanently settled districts of Benares these exactions had never been allowed, but in most other parts of Bengal they had flourished without hindrance. Some 20,000,000 natives were said to have been suffering from those underhand extortions, the relics of a time when every landholder ruled his people like a little king or a feudal lord of the Middle Ages. It takes a good deal of oppression to rouse Bengalis into active resistance, but even their patience was now found to be overtaxed. In Orissa the landlords were especially unscrupulous. After the famine their own dues to the Government were largely remitted; but they kept on plundering their unhappy tenants in the spirit of the debtor in the parable, who would show his victim none of the mercy which he himself had just received. The Government, upon receiving the report of their Commissioner, immediately took steps to remedy these abuses.

Mr. Chisholm Anstey, whose name was familiar to us all even at home, and who was the senior member of the Bombay bar, and, no doubt, the ablest advocate in India, died from sudden illness after having just pleaded in a case of important public interest, the “Towers of Silence” case. He ought not to be passed over in silence. He was interred in the cemetery of Sewree on the 14th of August, 1873. Many notabilities of India were present at his

funeral, and many more would have attended if there had been time for them to make the journey. Indeed, all classes, rich and poor, were there, and many could not restrain their tears when the hearse drove up and the coffin was carried to its resting-place.

The new census of India was now completed; and, although the returns were not yet quite perfect, the population of the Empire was believed to be, in round numbers, 240,000,000. If the rate of increase according to this estimate should be found to hold good—as there was all reason to suppose it would—then at this time there were being added to an already enormous population 1,250,000 people every year. It must not be forgotten that this dangerously rapid growth of population renders the most striking testimony to the beneficence of the British rule in India. A hundred years ago these very districts were depopulated by famine, and even a quarter of a century later the country was in a great measure waste.

Intimation was made in England about the middle of September that two gentlemen of mark were carried off by cholera in one week—Mr. Justice Jardine of the High Court in the North-Western Provinces, and Mr. Edmund Willmott, Inspector-General of Education in the Central Provinces. Such are the risks to European life in India. Both were eminent men in their several professions. Cholera was very prevalent along the Ganges in the North-Western Provinces, being especially virulent in Rai Bareilly. There were heavy floods in Agra, causing the destruction of many hundred houses of the natives. In Malwah, on the other hand, the monsoon rains were so scanty that the opium crop was a subject of much anxiety—an anxiety which the result amply justified.

The Kabul Envoy left Calcutta, everything having been satisfactorily arranged between him and the Viceroy. It was agreed that the recommendations made previously to the Amir should all be unconditionally accepted. Russian intentions respecting Afghanistan and the western boundaries were fully explained. Assurances were given of a continuance of the policy pursued by former viceroys with regard to strengthening and aiding the independence of Afghanistan. A present was to be made to the Amir of £100,000 and 20,000 rifles. The main results were a perfect accord and understanding with Afghanistan. There was still another point of great importance settled. The Amir had a strong preference for Abdullah, a younger and favourite son, as his successor on the throne, and Lord Mayo was compelled virtually to recognise this desire of the Amir,

and although he did not formally make any agreement, Lord Northbrook did.

Many of the Indian princes are immensely wealthy, but it would seem that the eldest son of the Prince of Arcot was, at this time at least, somewhat impecunious. He was arrested for debt, but soon afterwards applied for his discharge on the ground of surrendering all his property. The only property surrendered consisted of a pair of horses, a phaeton (not in his possession, but in that of the builder), a zinc spittoon, a zinc hookah bowl, a gold watch (not in his possession, but in that of a pledgee), and a promissory note of his father's for Rs. 6,000 and odd (not in his possession, but in that of another pledgee).

Lord Northbrook effected a great reform by the reorganization of the Political Service of India. Under the formerly existing *régime* the pressure of events brought to the surface many able officials who had never regarded diplomacy as a profession, yet whose genius in the craft cemented the foundations of the British power in India. But those bright particular stars shone all the more brilliantly through the dark clouds of trouble which many lamentable failures of diplomacy had accumulated. Too much importance cannot, therefore, be attached to that grand school for practical Indian statesmen—the Political Department; and every measure which tends to identify it as a distinguished and fairly rewarded profession will receive at all times the cordial support of all who are interested in the welfare of the Empire. Apart from the experience of native character which it involves, this service requires a high class of training, which can only be obtained by means of a thoroughly organized department, in which the *esprit de corps* is secured by a liberal and just classification. In nothing did Lord Northbrook more clearly demonstrate the general outline of his policy in the conduct of Indian affairs than in his prompt and thorough organization of this department. While endeavouring to grapple with fiscal problems, he felt the necessity of having a firm hold on the political influences of native courts. In his reform he began at the foundation of the structure, and, by a system of promotions, provided for the reward of competence and efficiency. Besides, he well understood that among people accustomed to regard outward show as wealth or power, it was necessary to furnish the representatives of the British Government with the means which were requisite to that end, and therefore a general and large increase of salaries was made. Up to this time—1878—the change has worked very efficiently.

There were riots in Malabar, originating in a private quarrel of the Moplas with the "Warriar" family. These appear to be Nairs, or Hindu landlords of what was once the ruling race. Patambi, the scene of disturbances, lies on the Madras Railway, about 39 miles from Baipur, and 20 miles from the sea. The Ponani River flows by the town, and the trunk road from Coimbatore to Palghat passes through it. Two of the Warriars whom the Moplas had marked out for murder managed to make their escape. It appears, however, that one of the Nairs had been badly wounded and was likely to die. Twenty Moplas had been arrested, one of whom shortly after died by his own hand. The Collector went to Valuvanad with a strong force of police, and the riot was quickly suppressed. Eight of the rioters were slain, while two policemen and two soldiers of the 43rd Foot were wounded.

It was found that there was a surplus of Indian officers. Among those of their number who were unemployed—and these were many—there were not a few who were wanting in temper, or discretion, or energy, or in some other quality essential to the exercise of command. The consequence was that some could be appointed only to routine duty, while the much larger number were left without any appointment at all. Yet these men were entitled to remain in India as long as they liked, drawing the full pay of their rank until they had made good their claim to retire with an allowance of £1,100 a year for the rest of their lives.

This state of affairs was not satisfactory to Lord Northbrook, and therefore he introduced a scheme of military reforms, which embraced such points as these:—The purchasing out of officers individually, on an actuarial basis in every case; the re-officering of the native army on the regimental system, the rewarding of officers in civil appointments, and ultimately striking them off the list, with some exceptions; the reduction, if necessary, and arming of native troops with the best weapons, or so as to make them an efficient fighting force; and ultimately the permanent location in India of one battalion of the new English administrative brigade, to be supplied with drafts from England without the cadres being removed. Most of these proposals were adopted and sanctioned by the Secretary of State and his Council at home; but constant changes are still being accomplished in the reconstruction of the Indian army.

The Rajah of Jaipur attended the Legislative Council as a sworn-in member—a fact which indicated the liberality of sentiment which pervaded that council. The very last

link in the railway chain from Bombay to Madras was forged by the opening of the viaduct over the Kistna River. The Viceroy and his suite took a tour of inspection from Simla into the inner ranges of the hills. Most of his party halted at Narkunda, while he himself with Sir R. Temple went on two or three stages farther—to Sangri. Again, after returning to Simla, another tour was made as far as Agra. A *darbar* was held there, and the following chiefs were present at it:—From Rajputana, the Maharajahs of Kishenghar, Kerauli, and Bhartpur, the Rana of Dolpur, and a deputation of Ajmir talukdars; from Central India, the Maharajahs of Gwalior and Rewah; from Bandalkand, the chiefs of Datia, Chirkari, and Bironda, and the heir to the Samphthar Raj. There were, moreover, many other notables from the North-West.

The census returns for Madras having been completed, it was found that the city of Madras contained 397,552 of a population spread over an area of 27 square miles, and living in 51,741 houses, at the rate of 8 to each house. Of this number only 50,964 were Mohammadans, against 330,052 Hindus, the remainder consisting chiefly of Europeans and Eurasians. There were 104 females to every 100 males, but the proportion of females was found to rise to 107 among the Eurasians, and 109 among the Mohammadans, while it fell in the case of Brahmans to 87, and in that of Europeans to 59. The Hindus were ascertained to be divided into 124 castes that neither eat nor intermarry with each other. Nearly one-half of the Hindus worship Siva, and one-third Vishnu. Three-fourths of all the adult males are occupied in some calling under Government. Of the children between 5 and 15, 29 per cent. attended the 671 schools, and 1 in 10 of the whole male population was receiving some kind of instruction. The death rate for the year preceding the census—1871—a year remarkably free from epidemics, had been 33·2 per thousand. The Mohammadans died at the rate of 35 per thousand, while the Eurasians lost only 25·2, and the Europeans 29·3.

The Trigonometrical Survey had made good progress, and so had the Geographical Survey, it being reported by the latter that there was good reason for assuming the probable existence of coal under the more recent deposits of the Nerbuddah valley. Coal-fields were also mapped out at Kota. Coal was likewise found to exist at Sirguja. A society was formed in Calcutta for the suppression of immorality, and there is reason to believe that similar societies will gradually but quickly be formed in the presidency towns and larger cities of

India. Not only has the moral filth of Latin Europe been poured into the country, but a vast mass of foul and debasing literature has sprung up in India, so that native gentlemen refuse to have their daughters educated until they can be protected from moral pollution. The Calcutta society, leaving alone for the present such immorality as mingles in religious observances, means to direct itself to the suppression of obscene secular literature, and to the prohibition of filthy songs in the public streets. This movement has drawn towards it the sympathy of all but the most degraded, and has already done much in realising its commendable purpose.

Something very like a storm in a teapot raged at Simla. A letter published in the *Civil and Military Gazette* contained some remarks which were highly disparaging to Sir H. Norman, the military member of the Viceroy's Council. The editor of the paper, Major Fenwick, had inserted the letter on principle, as a thing of course, in a journal specially devoted to the interests and grievances of the Indian services. Although he disliked the tone of the letter, he still felt bound to publish it with a view to elicit confirmation or denial of the writer's statements. General Norman was unpopular with the Indian army, and the letter threw some light which might be misleading or otherwise on the apparent cause of his unpopularity. Be that as it might, the letter gave such dire offence to the ruling powers at Simla, that Major Fenwick found himself excluded from various entertainments at Government House, to which all Simla was invited. When Major Fenwick sought to know the reason of this exclusion, he was informed through Colonel Earle that Lord Northbrook deemed it undesirable that, "in such a small society as that of Simla, you should meet with Sir H. Norman for a time, after the violent personal attack upon him which appeared in the journal of which you are editor." Thereupon Major Fenwick wrote to request that his exclusion from the viceregal hospitalities might continue so long as the Viceroy's views on the subject remained unchanged; for his own could not alter, and he would never consent to stifle public opinion, as expressed through the correspondence columns of his journal. In thus taking up General Norman's quarrel with the Simla journalist the Viceroy hardly showed his usual discretion. The letter in question may have been a violent letter, and Major Fenwick may have been indiscreet in publishing it; but there was no need for the Viceroy to resent the attack upon his colleague as a direct affront to himself. General Norman was quite able

to defend himself. It might have been unpleasant for him to meet Major Fenwick at a viceregal party, but that is no excuse for the paltry kind of revenge which treats an obnoxious editor as a social outlaw. Was Lord Northbrook afraid that General Norman would lose his temper and come to blows with his nominal opponent under the viceregal roof? Or did he never hear of the Horatian maxim, "*Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus?*" The reason assigned by the Military Secretary for Major Fenwick's exclusion from Government House attributed to General Norman a pettiness of feeling and a want of sound sense, from which it is to be trusted he is exempt.

The Bengal Government began to realise the folly of placing too high a duty on so universal a necessary of life as salt. When the duty was reduced the increased consumption was very great; and the duty having been subsequently raised, the consumption, in spite of the yearly increase in the numbers of the people, ceased to advance. But there was something more serious than that impending. The Bengal papers began to sound their warning notes as regarded impending famine. There had been no rain in the Patna division since the 16th of September. The later rice crop had utterly failed, except on the irrigated lands, and, worse still, the ground was so hard and dry that ploughing for the spring crops was out of the question. The Lieutenant-Governor issued a circular enjoining all the district and division officers to examine into the state of the crops for themselves, and report upon them weekly for the information of the Government. The evil had come. The Viceroy intimated, at this stage of the alarm, that he would not interfere with the export of rice except in the last extremity. Many objections were raised against this policy, and, while interested parties objected to exportation at all, others, of the same mind with Sir G. Campbell, would simply have had restrictions placed upon the traffic. This divergence of opinion has already been referred to. The Madras and Burmah authorities were instructed to purchase grain gradually through traders, and were to pay their labourers in food, and to lend to municipalities and agriculturists money for the purchase of seed. Measures were also taken for the transmitting of labourers from one district to another, and for reimbursing importers who distributed food cheaply. The fears which were the origin of these arrangements were more than realised, and many persons perished from actual want.

It was naturally enough contended that

the resources of the Empire should be freely, though judiciously, used for the supply of food to the imperilled districts, and by this means that proof should be afforded of Britain's right to rule India. Famine is invariably followed by pestilence, and it was necessary to provide against both. No one who has seen an epidemic in India would ever wish to see another. In a week a whole village may be helpless, with not one person able to assist another. To prevent both was therefore now the task which lay before the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. On the first announcement of the danger Lord Northbrook promptly left Simla for Calcutta. The Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor alike appealed to the English merchants and settlers, and, with few exceptions, were successful.

The two weapons with which to do battle against famine are a supply of food and the paid employment of the people; but there is a third which must always, in such cases, be taken into account; that is, charitable relief from England. Large sums were subscribed in this instance in London and throughout the whole country through the channel of the Lord Mayor's Fund. Whatever may be her faults, and of course she has some, Britain is never deaf to the call of need from wheresoever it may come. Her own poor creatures at home would be well assisted, if they would only take care of themselves, although now and again there may crop up persons who would rather die than let their poverty be known.

To add to the general gloom in Bengal, fever again wasted the Bardwan division. All the villages along the Haripal road, from Serampore to the Damudah, suffered severely. Shirkali may be taken as a type of them. Out of a population of 1,000, 300 were affected, and many of them died.

The fashion of striking had for some time prevailed in India as in England. The coach-drivers in Calcutta, and the butchers in Madras, went out for higher wages, but were compelled by their necessities to go in again with only loss for their pains. This was sad policy, especially when famine had already come. When a famine sets in in India the people go forth like a flock of sheep, without any knowledge as to whither they are going. Lord Northbrook was aware of this, and took the removal of labour from one district to another under his own immediate inspection and control. Mr. Hunter, treating of a former famine, represents the state of things as most appalling—even worse than anything connected with the present; but now, at the date which is before the reader, crowds,

numbering hundreds, collected around the doors of all who could be supposed likely to assist them, and were with difficulty got away. There was danger connected with this calamity—danger which would certainly aggravate it. In 1838 it was found that the crowding of half-starved people into one place is apt to breed pestilence, and at that date the 300,000 strangers who crowded into Agra brought on an epidemic which slew 200 or 300 daily for months together. It was so now. Multitudes perished not from want only, but from its sequences and effects.

But ceremony and display must go on, even if thousands should die. The 1st of October is always a very grand day in Indor. On that day Holkar worships publicly and offers a sacrifice. This year there was a special amount of magnificence. Holkar approached the place of worship, borne by an enormous elephant, on the head of which, and coming down between its eyes and all around its ears, was a covering composed of gold mohurs linked together. The head-piece cost about two lakhs of rupees. The various trappings were of gold and silver, and were inlaid with precious stones. The silver howdah rested on a velvet cushion, and was lined with crimson satin. The spike used by the mahout was of solid silver. Holkar himself was very plainly dressed. He wore a white silk or satin dress with a red waistband. On his neck he had a necklace of emeralds set in gold, and strings of pearls round his turban and hanging from his ears. In his hand were a brace of jewelled pistols, and a jewelled sword dangled from his side. Such is the barbaric splendour with which English rulers have to contend in India in order to gratify the populace; but happily the representatives of England do not enter into competition in this line of things. When his Highness arrived at the place of worship—which was nothing more than a raised platform of mud, with a tree growing out of the centre—a beautiful palanquin was brought up to the elephant, and the prince was carried in it to the platform, although the distance was scarcely a dozen feet. The officiating Brahmin waited by while his Highness performed his *poojah*, which done, Holkar took some leaves of the tree, and his followers imitated his example. As soon as he left the platform to mount his elephant, the surrounding mob attacked the tree and cleared off every leaf and twig in the twinkling of an eye. It is believed that whoever has a leaf or twig of that particular tree will have good luck for at least one year. The next duty Holkar had to perform was

the sacrifice. A buffalo in splendid condition was to be the victim. It was held down by several men; the legs were fastened, and the head so secured that the poor brute was perfectly defenceless. Holkar's elephant soon came up to the spot. At a given signal the buffalo was thrown on its side, and the elephant advanced, crushed the poor creature to death, and then passed on. The mob was then permitted to cut away any piece of flesh from the carcass, the head alone excepted, which was reserved for the vultures and jackals. Such is life in India, social and religious. Faithful to the British rule as he has been, Holkar has always oppressed the people who are under his sway.

Following Lord Mayo's example in 1869, when great scarcity existed in Upper India, Lord Northbrook invited the railway companies to lower their rates of carriage in regard to food grains, which they promptly did. Many relief works were commenced, and thus the needs of the starving people were provided for. The road-cess was suspended, and additions were made to the medical staff in each district. With due caution, emigration was also aided by the Government. Lord Northbrook was cautious, confident, and full of activity and resource. Sir George Campbell, who had been selected by Lord Lawrence to report upon the Orissa famine, had the mechanism of Bengal well oiled and completely under his control, and was precisely in the position in which his wonderful energy found itself at home, and could do nothing but good. Nobly supported by the influence of the Indian Council and the Secretary of State, if, under Providence, such men, so warned, so encouraged, and so trusted, could not solve the problem of keeping life in the bodies of even five millions, or twice five millions, of Asiatics, who can exist on rice and gruel without wanting more, the thing could hardly have been done by anything short of a direct miracle. But they did it without the miracle, and history shall attest the fact to their lasting honour. Sir George Campbell had resigned his post of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal before any apprehension of famine had arisen. His state of health had been giving way, and his medical adviser had strongly urged him to avoid another hot season in India. He himself had written home to his brother, saying, "My plan was to be at home in February. But that, of course, must now be uncertain. I am ready to stay as long as I am in a state to be of use. If I am fit for work I shall without doubt remain at my post longer than I intended." Noble men were these. They showed that they were kindred to those who

can brave the battle and the clash of arms, and that there can be chivalry and heroism in the service of peace and humanity, as well as in that which leads a man to brave open-mouthed cannon or bristling steel.

There was discretion mingled with benevolence in the conduct of both the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor. In thanking the British Indian Association for their expression of sympathy, Sir George Campbell says, "While Government recognises the duties imposed upon it by its position in such a calamity, it must be remembered that the Legislature has made over to the zemindars of Bengal and Behar the greater part of the land revenue of these provinces—a gift carrying with it the care of the estates and of the many people by whom the revenue is produced, and that in times of distress the Government must look very much to the landlords of Bengal to aid these poor people. To do this is both a moral obligation and a measure of prudence on the part of a landlord who would maintain the prosperity and productiveness of his estate." While the zemindars in some districts were fully alive to the duties which were incumbent upon them in such a crisis, others displayed so opposite a temper that the Viceroy warned them that, in the event of their continuing indifferent to their "obvious and natural" duty, he was ready to consider whether some legislative provision should not be made to the effect that the landlords shall stand security for the repayment of advances made by Government to the ryots. His Excellency, having himself gone over the afflicted portion of the country, gracefully complimented the Lieutenant-Governor, and especially thanked him for his "excellent circular." The Governor-General praised the admirable orders and arrangements for relief, the action of the officials, and the services of the planters. He said, "The energy, the thorough mastery of the subject, and the anxiety not to omit any possible precaution, displayed by all the officers" with whom he came into intercourse were worthy of the highest commendation. Private trade was active, and large quantities of grain were sent into the distressed districts from the North-West Provinces and the Punjab.

Lord Northbrook's financial policy displayed itself more fully in the early part of 1873. He set himself firmly against any further increase of local taxation, disallowed on that ground the Municipalities Bill brought in by the Bengal Government, and made all India happy by abolishing the income-tax. A surplus of more than one and a third millions on the outlay of the previous year enabled him at once to remove an impost which bore heavily

on many classes of people with small advantage to the State. There were riots in some parts of Bengal—a fact not much to be wondered at, considering the wants of the populace and the exactions of the zemindars.

In the early part of the year the Daffa tribes on the north-eastern frontier of Assam raided into British Indian ground, killing three and carrying off thirty-nine of their countrymen who had been settled in English lands. Redress for these and similar outrages was demanded of them in vain, and the Government at length resolved to employ force, which was successful.

To understand properly the state of society in India it is probably well to note a fact which was brought into prominence about this time in the law courts. The middle classes are, as a rule, thrifty in their habits. The Chetty, the Mudaliar, and other castes, not only contrive to earn a decent livelihood, but also, in numerous instances, to build up large fortunes. Many of the thriving shopkeepers in Madras and in the large Mofussil towns are natives, who first embarked in trade as simple pedlars, hawking about their wares through the streets. But above the shopkeeping class are native merchants, who carry on large transactions, generally speaking with great profit to themselves. Scores of such people now living might be pointed out, who, from small beginnings, have risen to positions of wealth and the social influence which generally accompanies its possession. But the aristocratic class in India does not, as a general rule, deserve the reputation of being careful and circumspect in pecuniary matters. There are numbers of petty Rajahs and zemindars, Hindu and Mussulman, who have drifted into hopeless indebtedness. Mohammadan noblemen from the highest to the lowest, and especially those in receipt of Government allowances, are in this hapless position. Reference has already been made to the position, in this respect, of the Prince of Arcot; but that position is by no means singular. Indeed, there is scarcely a Mussulman nobleman who is above the miseries and embarrassments of debt. Many of the Hindu zemindars are in the same condition. Native nobles, as a rule, do not manage their estates with advantage to themselves or to the people under their care. But there are some honourable exceptions.

In connection with the impending famine, the planters who compose the Landholders' and Commercial Association declared to the Government that they "felt deeply the emergency into which the country had been brought," and at the same time expressed their cordial approval of the measures taken by the Lieutenant-Governor, in conjunction

with the Government of India, to avert, as far as human agency could, the great calamity. They, moreover, expressed their willingness to select labourers from among those who might choose to emigrate to Assam, and to contribute Rs. 15 per head to the cost, if the men and women were landed at depôts at the principal ghats called at by steamers. The indigo planters in Northern Behar were also forward in works of helpfulness. But the Zemindars' Association, on the other hand, in a lengthened reply to the Viceroy's communication, not only abstained from offering any assistance, but pointed out that the Government would have to find four months' food for 60,000,000 people. The Bengal Government found that in all Bengal one-half of the yearly food supply was lost. On all sides Lord Northbrook continued to be assailed with clamorous demands for the immediate stoppage of grain exports from Bengal; but as yet he saw no reason for changing his policy. The number of famine-threatened people in Bengal Lord Northbrook estimated at 24,000,000 who might require relief; but in the end that number was considerably increased. The monthly cost of feeding these people was £66,000.

The Government largely assisted migration from the distressed districts to Assam, Cachar, and British Burmah, the emigrants being sent in batches of from seventy to a hundred to these different places, and supplied with food from the Government stores. The distress was first felt in its severity in Saran, from which very many at once emigrated, while others were employed on the relief works. In rich and populous Tirhoot the poor also at an early period of the scarcity were flocking to the relief works. Monghyr was better off; but even there more than 5,000 people were daily fed at the works. The zemindars of Bardwan, alive to the danger of a failing water supply, were urgent in petitioning the Government for advances to enable them to dig tanks, and so keep their labourers employed. In North Bhagalpur, however, the same class of gentry proclaimed their intention neither to take advances nor to help their tenantry in any other way. Very different was the conduct of the Rani of Babili, a lady landholder of Vizagapatam in Madras, who gave 400,000 maunds of paddy, or unhusked rice, for gratuitous distribution in the famine-stricken districts of Bengal. For this noble almsdeed she was warmly thanked, not only by the Madras Government, but by that of Bengal, and by the Viceroy himself.

In dealing with the famine, it was found extremely difficult to guard against the dangers of overcrowding. In such seasons large

numbers of persons are collected together at the relief works. If, even in comparatively healthy seasons, cholera is apt to show itself among the crowds which resort to sacred spots in the way of pilgrimage, what is to be expected when thousands of half-starved natives flock together at the most trying season of the year, under conditions specially favourable to the spread of disease? Even if the first comers set to work in good health, the later additions to their number will probably consist of people already suffering from want and its lowering effect on their health and strength. With increasing numbers the means of adequate shelter become more and more difficult to find, and nothing generates disease so quickly as overcrowding. These were considerations which the Indian Government, with its accumulated experiences of past famines, bore, in this instance, well in mind, and did its best to ward off the evil. When Lord Northbrook's policy is tried by its fruits, it will be found that his Government did its best for the famine-stricken districts in Bengal. Lord Northbrook resolutely refused to leave Calcutta for Simla during the season of distress, and Sir George Campbell, whose state of health required his immediate return to England, declared that "nothing but carrying him on board ship should force him to leave Bengal during the current year."

Mr. Schaleh, one of the few officials who did their duty in the Orissa famine, was appointed president of a central relief committee at Calcutta for the whole of Bengal; and Sir R. Temple, probably out of regard to Sir G. Campbell's state of health, was commissioned to supervise the relief measures in the entire presidency. Large numbers of persons were employed on the relief works at Dinajpur, Bhagalpur, and Patna. Cash payments were made at first, but when the distress became more severe, grain was given instead of money. To afford employment for the destitute, the Viceroy sanctioned irrigation works from Gandak and Kosi for Tirhoot. Railway projects north of the Ganges were also approved of, and it was agreed that a tramway to Darbanga, a distance of 44 miles, should be immediately constructed.

This was in February, 1874. Including the 50,341 tons of food grain bought by the Government of Bengal, of which 47,600 tons had already been received, the Government of India provided for the supply of 342,000 tons, chiefly from Burmah, up to the middle of May. More than this, however, had been bought by the Court of Wards, the zemindars, and the planters, with the aid of advances from the State. Taking into account the usual estimate of 10 per cent. of the whole

population threatened by famine, the Viceroy avowed himself sure of being able to feed 2,500,000 people for seven months at the rate of a pound of grain each daily, or 240,000 tons in all, with 100,000 held in reserve against all contingencies, and the means of obtaining yet more at his command. He argued that any embargo on exports from Bengal would have ruined the traders in British India, Burmah, Ceylon, and other countries, without doing any good to Bengal itself. The exports he, moreover, held, omitting the rice grown especially for foreign consumption, were too small to have any appreciable effect on a population which consumed 30,000 tons a day. The export trade in food in Bengal was so great a benefit to the presidency by insuring a surplus production in ordinary years, that his lordship considered it dangerous to run the risk of driving customers to other markets by means of severe restrictions.

The difficulty of the hour in India was one of transport; but that was lessened by the early discovery that actual famine would probably be confined to Tirhoot and the neighbouring districts north of the Ganges. The Gandak River to the west, and the line of the projected Darjiling Railway to the east, marked, so far as now appeared, the probable limits of the famine tract. This part of the country is far worse provided with means of communication than the districts south of the Ganges, which might suffer from scarcity, but which were likely at present to escape the scourge of famine. There was no great road on the north of the Ganges, and the distribution of the food imported strained to the utmost the resources of the Government. Sir R. Temple, however, was scouring the country at the rate of 40 miles a day, in order to infuse some of his own energy into all who were working under him; while carts and cattle were hurried up from other districts for the benefit of Tirhoot.

An important meeting was held at the beginning of the month in Calcutta, under the presidency of the Viceroy himself, at which the Lieutenant-Governor explained the situation of the province, and at which important measures were adopted. The Central Committee was empowered to appoint an executive committee for the purpose of collecting subscriptions, with a chairman to direct relief operations. Under this body there were to be district committees supervising subdivisional committees in smaller areas, wherever they might be necessary.

In addressing the electors of Buckingham about this time, Mr. Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield) referred to the Bengal famine, and paid

a marked compliment to Lord Northbrook as a man "capable of great industry, of great firmness, and of resource," in whom he placed full confidence in this great crisis. "The difficulties," he said, "with which the Viceroy's Government had to contend were indeed very great. A Government which undertakes to feed a people is obliged to give any price for the food that is demanded. It will often find that its resources are extremely limited—that with boundless capital it will obtain, comparatively speaking, very scanty supplies, and in the distribution of them it will encounter difficulties unknown to a private trader." There is another difficulty with which the Government had to contend, namely, that of distributing its food supplies to the right places at the right moment. In the west of Ireland, during the famine of 1847, there were no merchants, no traders, no chapmen, and the result was neither food nor distribution. But the able and active men, in whose hands lay the fate of Bengal, were able to cope with this great embarrassment by means of their admirable system of organization.

At an early period it was reported that the officials, railway, and planters were working vigorously. Two hundred thousand were already employed on the relief works, and although many of the people in Tirhoot, Champaran, portions of Monghyr, and Parnia were very emaciated, no cases of death from starvation had yet been reported. The railway was carrying 2,500 tons daily, five steamers were bringing grain from Patna, and steamers were being got in readiness for Rajshahi. The Calcutta subscription quickly amounted to £22,000. The distress increased in parts of Tirhoot and Champaran in spite of all that could be done to alleviate it. It was vigorously met by the Government, and charitable relief was largely administered. The famine had become very severe along the whole course of the rice country between the Ghogra and Kosi Rivers, including Nepal, and the people were migrating southwards. In a private letter Sir R. Temple writes, "Amid black districts, marching into blacker confines."* There was an increase of vagrancy, crime, and child desertion. Women and children were now suffering severely, and there were deaths caused by sickness from starvation. Doctors were supplied, and the labour test on the relief works had to be relaxed. Even high-caste women sought and obtained employment on these—a fact which abundantly testifies to the depth of the distress.

The worst area of suffering was restricted, as it was apprehended it would be, to Tirhoot,

Champaran, Monghyr, and Parnia. As these parts had been first afflicted, they continued to suffer the most. In those districts there are about 9,400,000 souls, of whom 5,500,000 live by husbandry, while about 3,200,000 more belong to the labouring class below the rank of the artisan. Two of these districts, Tirhoot and Monghyr, lie near the Ganges and the East Indian Railway. The branch canal from the Gandak, the construction of which was now ordered, was expected to do much for Champaran. A similar branch from the Kosi, it was anticipated, would help the people of Parnia; and the tramway from Chamta Ghat, on the Ganges, to Darbanga, would lighten the suffering in Northern Tirhoot. Outside this darker circle there were several districts, such as Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Saran, Gaya, and Bardwan, where some 20,000,000 were found to be pinched by scarcity more or less severe—a severity which extended to Benares, Ghazipur, and one or two other districts of the North-West Provinces. Nearly the whole of Southern Behar was saved by the timely opening of the Son Canal Works. The transport difficulty soon began to disappear, and recent rains, if they could not undo the effects of the drought of the previous year, at least served to fill the wells and keep the rivers navigable for some few weeks longer.

Mr. W. Inglis was appointed to do for the Government of the North-Western Provinces the same kind of work which Sir R. Temple was doing for that of Bengal. Outside the area of most suffering the prospects were beginning to brighten somewhat, although they were still dark enough. Relief committees were everywhere active, and twenty-five relief centres were at work in Tirhoot alone. "In every village," says the *Times*' correspondent, "the arrangements are excellent."

Prices were rising. But little rice came into Calcutta or went out of it. Still Lord Northbrook assured the Duke of Argyll, who was the Secretary of State for India, "we have at our hand ample supplies of grain from beyond the sea to meet any demand that may come upon us from the distressed districts. Private trade, however," his lordship assured his Grace, was then "active, while the Government measures for importing grain were well understood by the traders." Arrangements were made by the Government for sending emigrants from Bengal to Burmah in the ships employed to bring rice thence to Calcutta.

The correspondent of the *Daily News*, however, took a darker view than did the Viceroy. He had passed through the afflicted districts, and was living in the midst of them. According to him matters were far worse than the

* London *Times*, Feb. 22nd, 1874.

Indian Government believed them to be. The poor people employed on the relief works were in the receipt of only three halfpence a day—the value of a pound of rice—and even of that they were defrauded in many instances and to a large extent. He therefore contended for the appointment of European supervisors without delay, that the bounty of the Government and the gifts of private charity might not be wasted.

A dispatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, at this date, gives a distinct view of the whole matter, and although it is a lengthy document, it would be unpardonable not to give the reader the substance of it. The *ipsissima verba* would occupy too much space. Acknowledgment is expressed for the unreserved sanction which had been given by the Government at home to the Government of India to adopt such measures as might be deemed necessary for the saving of life. Large transactions for the purchase of grain, it is said, had induced the Indian Government to adopt a prudent reserve in regard to them, and that reserve had been rendered stronger because information had been received that a general impression had begun to prevail that the Government proposed to take upon itself the duty of regulating the food supply of the people, and that there was much danger that such an impression would interfere with the activity of private trade in grain. The efforts of the Government of Bengal and of the local officers are recognised and commended. The Viceroy had sent a dispatch before this to the Duke of Argyll, and this is incorporated in the present document. Lord Northbrook there says, “Her Majesty’s Government may rely upon the Government of India not shrinking from using every available means, at whatever cost, to prevent, so far as they can, any loss of the lives of her Majesty’s subjects in consequence of this calamity in Bengal.” Again, in replying to an address which had been presented to him, speaking on behalf of the Government of India, his Excellency said, “The Government is fully impressed with the grave responsibility which rests upon them, and we have taken, without delay or hesitation, measures which we trust may mitigate the distress. Our aim is to prevent, so far as is possible, the loss of the lives of any of her Majesty’s subjects.”

The dispatch then goes on to say that his Grace is aware of the measures which had been taken to enable the Government of Bengal and the local officers to meet this great emergency; and further says that, judging from the experience of Orissa and in Behar in the years 1865 and 1866, the Government

judged that it would be necessary to store grain in the distressed districts for the payment in food of the labourers engaged upon Government works, if any scarcity of supplies should exist at the places at which they might be employed. While confidence was expressed in regard to the internal trade of India, and that that would generally meet any deficiencies of grain in different parts of the country, it was yet averred exceptional circumstances might arise in which it would be necessary for Government to supplement private trade. It was therefore intimated that sufficient supplies were being laid in for the sustenance of those who were or might be employed on the Government public works, and that those supplies would continue to be obtained in such a manner as would interfere as little as possible with the trade in grain. The Government of India had managed to obtain supplies from beyond the limits of the territories affected by the failure of the crops.

Having thus explained their arrangements, the Indian Government go on to speak of the calculations by which they had been guided. Not supposing that there would be such a deficiency in the general food supply of Bengal as could not be met from the resources which are open in other parts of India by means of trade, they had, therefore, to calculate the probable number of persons who might require assistance from the State. The total population of the famine districts was estimated at 25,000,000. The largest number of people who had, on former occasions, come upon relief works and charitable relief taken from committees and others was 10 per cent. of the population of the most distressed parts of the country in which famine had prevailed. Applying that proportion to the whole districts now affected, the Government avowed its belief that they should be able to provide for the maintenance of 2,500,000 persons for a period of seven months. The food for that number was officially declared to be at the rate of 1 lb. of rice per day, and that gave a requirement of about 240,000 tons of grain. It was thought desirable to have in reserve a further quantity of grain, and the Government had therefore secured a supply of 100,000 tons. Those proportions of demand and supply have already been spoken of; but this is the Governmental declaration. The Lieutenant-Governor, it was further stated, was alarmed at the extent of the scarcity; but means had been employed to meet the requirements of the crisis, even if the famine area should extend. Such is the substance of the Government statement. The promptitude of the supreme authorities, and the help which

they rendered in this trying season, cannot be too highly commended. The charitable relief was also very large. The Mansion House Fund in London contributed most liberally and efficiently to the good work, as it is accustomed to do in all cases of dire distress, whether at home or abroad. In this instance his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales gave £500, and asked to be allowed to become patron of the fund.

Governments must look into the future; and the Government of India now entered on a careful inquiry into the best means of thoroughly irrigating the distressed districts in time to come. Flying telegraph lines were constructed to connect these districts with Patna—a very important measure in connection with continued and prompt supplies. To add to the difficulties in the British provinces, Nepal, which had been draining away food from North Behar, had now only six weeks' supply, and the Resident was obliged to consult Sir R. Temple and the Governor-General, and they were constrained to promise help. If this had been long withheld, the Nepalese would have been compelled, on their part, to deluge with their applications and their labour the relief works in Bengal. In parts of the North-Western Provinces the distress was little less serious than in Bengal. Labourers were thronging in certain parts to the relief works, willing to do what they could for six pice (2d.) a day. In Bengal the wages were raised from 1½d. to 2¼d., which at the current prices insured the labourer 2¼ lbs. of rice daily. In regard to the statements of the Commissioner of the *Daily News*, the Viceroy owed to a scarcity of European supervisors for the relief works, but vindicates his Government from all blame for failure to achieve the impossible. Mr. Bullen, an old Indian, speaking at the Mansion House, commenting on the semi-starvation reported in the *Daily News*, reminded his hearers that the "natives of India were always in a certain sense in a state of semi-starvation. They lived sometimes on one meal a day. They wore very little clothing, and of course a person new to the country, seeing them in their wretched plight, would conclude that they were in an evil condition, when really they were not very much worse than in their ordinary every-day state."

Subscriptions from England on behalf of the famine-stricken districts continued to flow in apace. In Manchester £50,000 had been already collected. Glasgow bid fair to double its first instalment of £5,000. Birmingham offered £1,000, with a prospect of more to come. Brighton opened her purse, Cam-

bridge had met to consider the great exigency, and had resolved to help. In Dublin also appeal had not been made in vain. English charity, in fact, was fairly roused on behalf of a calamity which Government action, however active, could only partially relieve. A new and powerful agency—that of the pulpits—began to supplement the efforts of mayors and town councils; and this ball, once set rolling, gathered strength and size in its beneficent course.

One great difficulty in the way of the Viceroy was the marked unwillingness of the people to apply for relief. With all his care to avoid stringent labour tests and to keep the sufferers duly supplied with food, he "could not guarantee, in dealing with a population so numerous, and scattered over an area so large and difficult of access, that cases of starvation might not occur." From the end of May till the end of August some 3,000,000 people in six districts on the left bank of the Ganges, to say nothing of those in nine other districts where the suffering was less severe and general, it was seen must be kept alive by public or private efforts. The lowest classes were "gradually becoming pinched," and several deaths from starvation were reported in Monghyr. Although the relief circles had been so arranged that every village could be visited and dealt with; although food was pouring into afflicted districts at the rate of 2,000 to 2,500 tons a day, there was still much distress; yet the Viceroy continued to be hopeful that he would be able to grapple with the difficult problems of supply, transport, and local organization. At the same time, to others it was distinctly apparent that the task before him was one which the boldest and most resourceful of governors might have despaired of surmounting without help from other quarters. The very passiveness of the Bengalis, their caste habits, which restrict them to certain kinds of food cooked by certain persons, and their unwillingness to seek relief in the appointed quarter—these are points which tell heavily against all unaided efforts of the best-meaning Government to save life. Add to all this the inevitable scarcity of European supervisors and the frequent roguery of native underlings, and it is easy to see how wide a field remained open for the auxiliary labours of volunteer agents zealous in seeking out, and furnished with the means of relieving, cases of real but concealed distress.

Again, even in the midst of the calamity in the country, riots happened in connection with the Parsi translation of the "Life of Mahomet." This time they occurred in Bombay. A mob of Mohammadan roughs attacked the Parsis on the 13th of February, forcing entry

into their houses and fire-temples, destroying property, and carrying off money and valuables. The military were at length called out, after the police had utterly failed to quell the disturbance. That the Mohammadans began the rioting is a fact which was publicly acknowledged by the Governor himself.

As time wore on, so also increased the severity of the famine. This was properly the all-engrossing subject of interest in India. Great additions were made to the number of relieving officers, and, in the most afflicted districts, large supplies of grain were continually being stored up, while fresh importations were on the road. It was intimated by the Viceroy that "the Government would supply labour for those who were in the habit of manual labour, thus giving them the means of procuring food, and that it would stock the markets with grain, so as to enable all classes of the people to buy food at prices considerably below famine rates." But there are classes of people and kinds of suffering which no amount of State agency can be sure of reaching. Throughout the land there were found many individuals, indeed many families, the members of which were quite unaccustomed to labour with their hands, and who nevertheless, in ordinary times, have great difficulty in eking out a bare subsistence. Their means, at this juncture, utterly failed. Broken-down families of gentle birth, widows, orphans, and others, if not assisted in such a crisis, must pine and die. It was difficult for the Government to deal with this large class of sufferers. It had neither the time nor the machinery for such a task. To hold, as some persons seem to do, that Government should find food for every one is "an enormous fallacy." The thing cannot be done. It has never yet been done by the best and wisest Governments in the world. No Government can undertake to keep alive 20,000,000 or even 10,000,000 people for a prolonged period. It may succeed in bringing a certain amount of food into every district, and even into every village. It can find employment for all who are able and willing to work, and food without which the work could not be done. It may even organize means of simple relief for those who cannot, or who can scarcely be expected to work. But it can only proceed by rule and system, and no set of rules ever yet invented can possibly meet all the wants of hungry and needy millions for many consecutive months. Government may have a large staff of inspectors and other officials; districts may be mapped out and brought under the most minute official inspection; reams of paper

may be daily used for "reports;" dépôts may be established; well-supplied works may be set on foot to be well overlooked; yet, with all the will and the utmost power to save, thousands may notwithstanding perish. There is a listless apathy begotten of famine that seems to paralyze brain and limb. There is a stage when the heart cares not to seek the food to save life, panic-stricken to a degree which almost courts death. It is a disease, this unfed hunger, which comes gradually on a whole household. They waste away in common, and as they waste the fate which is on all seems to lose its terror for any one. This, then, is one peculiar difficulty which relieving Governments find it hard to cope with. The "genteel" sufferer was, therefore, the worst off of all in the Bengal famine.

A change for the better soon occurred in Bombay in regard to the riots. Instead of turbulence and tumult it came to be conference and conciliation. The Mohammadans held meetings, at which their leaders gave pledges of peace. The Parsis also held meetings, at which they remonstrated against the outrages to which they had been subjected, and blamed the Government for not having taken stronger measures for their protection; but under the judicious advice of their leading men they abandoned their intention of requiring compensation for their losses before recognising the amicable overtures of their opponents. Both Parsi and Mohammadan deputations waited upon the Governor, the former asking for protection, and the latter urging Sir P. Wodehouse to permit processions during the Moharrem. In reply, his Excellency told the Parsis that they had got sufficient protection, if not more than they deserved. As for the Mohammadans, their prayer was very properly refused in the interests of peace and order. The Moharrem, one is glad to find, passed off, in defiance of strong declarations by disappointed Mussulmans, without any attempt to break the peace. At the same time every precaution had been taken by the Government. Guards were strengthened, pickets thrown out, and officers kept within their lines. Suspensions which had been rife as to the origin of these outbreaks were strengthened by the disappearance of some leading Mohammadans from Bombay, who were supposed to know more about the matter than they cared to tell.

Meetings in aid of famine relief were held and subscriptions opened in Madras, Bombay, Jaipur, Rangoon, and several other places. At Jaipur the Maharajah himself presided, and Rs. 10,000 were collected on the spot.

The first subscriptions from Rangoon amounted to Rs. 18,000. The Maharana of Udaipur subscribed Rs. 10,000. Sir G. Campbell transmitted his special thanks to the Rajah of Bardwan, who, besides a handsome donation to the central fund, had organized a relief department in his own states, and arranged for the purchase and importation of food. From all quarters it was understood that the measures of relief undertaken by Government were being pressed forward with the utmost activity.

The *Daily News*' Commissioner visited Patna, from which so much of the rice supply came to the famished districts, and says, "It is some ten miles long, with no breadth to speak of, and of which a single main street is the backbone." The country is famous for its production of the finest opium and saltpetre, and great quantities of wheat and other grains, as well as sugar and indigo. The district has an area of 1,828 square miles. After Patna, the capital, the chief towns are Dinapore, Phatuka, Baikuntapoor, and Phoolwarse. The population is about 1,200,000. It was at Patna that the English first established a factory in the eastern provinces of Hindustan, and the city is indebted to the European trade for most part of its growth and prosperity. The population of the city is more than 300,000. The correspondent of the *Daily News* further tells us that "on the occasion of his visit he and a friend passed long gangs of pilgrims with their jars, destined to hold the sacred waters of the Ganges, balanced on a stout bamboo across one shoulder. The rails of the railway siding, as far as the eye could reach, were occupied by rice trucks. Other material than rice may at ordinary times reach Patna goods station, but just at this time it was wholly given over unto rice. Rice was everywhere. Trucks full of it stood in long lines; other trucks were rapidly and methodically being unloaded by gangs of coolies. The bags as they were checked were piled in square stacks on the landing platforms; the empty trucks were passed on, and full ones were wheeled up. From the station to the water-side is a distance of about a hundred yards. The steep sloping bank is like a fair. Among the rough-wattled shanties, where food is exposed for sale, circulates an ever-moving and ever-changing throng. Pilgrims are basking in the sunshine, after having bathed in the sacred waters. Beggars squat on their heels, crooning monotonous appeals for alms. Dhobies are washing clothes in the muddy water at the river's brink. Beyond them are bathing Brahmans and Rajputs—the 'unco guid' of Hinduism. They pour the water on their

heads in a regulated number of handfuls; then, standing knee deep in the stream, with outstretched palms and Brahmanical string interlaced in their fingers, they mutter prayers, scooping up handfuls of the water at measured intervals. Beyond the bathers there lines the bank a vast fleet of quaintly shaped craft, from little duck-built boats to great, lumpy, top-heavy barges, with huge raised poops, and rudders that resemble half-a-dozen hurdles cut into a triangle. This is the rice fleet, most of the vessels being engaged by contractors in conveying the Government rice across the stream to Bunka Ghat. Higher up than these lies a huge decked flat, capable of carrying 6,000 maunds. Through the shanties on the beach has been kept open a broad path leading down from the station to the ghat, and this is kept clear by stalwart sepoys of the 2nd Native Infantry Regiment. Down it pass an unbroken stream of laden coolies; up it pass an unbroken stream of coolies trotting back for another load. The fellows seem to stride along easily, carrying on their heads rice bags weighing over 150 lbs.*

Bunka Ghat, a couple of miles away, down the Patna Arm, and round a corner of the island, was next visited. "Bunka Ghat," says the Commissioner, "as seen from the water, is not a prepossessing place. All that is visible is a cluster of vessels, a few straw huts about half-way up a steep white bank, which swarms with coolies, and over the top of which are seen tall poles, whence float flags of various colours. We land, clamber up the bank, and see before us, as far as the eye can reach, a great area of what seems a positive chaos of bullock carts. There is a square mile of them at least. How can they be got loaded? How, supposing them loaded, can they ever be got out of the confusion which surrounds them? But the embodied force, which has already performed the feat of evolving order out of all this chaos, is presently apparent. This force presents itself in the person of a tall, lean, brown man, who wears a skull-cap under this burning sun, and carries in one hand a revolver, in the other a hunting whip. I afterwards learn that the revolver is used for shooting dogs, which swarm in hundreds and gnaw the rice bags. The whip is an occasional means of adding cogency to an argument. This man is a very galvanic battery of energy. As he strides through the camp we have to run to keep abreast of him. His explanations rush forth in a torrent of words, hardly checked by the occasional extermination of a dog, or the swift interposition of a tangle and its im-

* *Daily News.*

mediate unravelment. He takes one's breath away with his rapidity, in which, nevertheless, there is not an atom of bustle or fuss. The name of the lean brown man, who has changed chaos into order at Bunka Ghat, is Major de Kantzow, an officer whose name was honourably known in the mutiny as having raised the corps of irregular cavalry which first bore his name, and afterwards was known as the "Rohilkhand Levy." Major de Kantzow has to arrange the delivery of Government rice to three different contractors—one carrying to Seetamurree, another to Mozufferpore, and a third to Motteharee. To get rid of the confusion arising from the intermingling of the supplies destined for each of these, a flag of a given colour has been assigned to each contractor. This flag is borne by the ships which carry grain for him, and it flies at the angles of a specific portion of the landing area assigned to him. Outside each of these landing areas Major de Kantzow has staked off two spaces. One space is occupied by empty carts, which filter in turn through a wicket in a second space, where they are loaded; and then, the carters having been paid, they are started off in long trains for their several destinations. As the carts come into camp, their destination, according to the contractors by whom they are hired, is indicated by a native policeman, and all confusion is thus obviated. Then Major de Kantzow has cleared the camp of all grass, to minimise the risk of fire, levelled the landing areas, and cut sloping paths down to the brink of the river, to save the loaded coolies the exertion of clambering up the steep bank. He sees to the roads leading out of the camp for several miles, keeping coolies at work filling up the ruts and easing the gradients. He keeps the peace, looks after the sanitary arrangements, shoots the dogs, regulates the bazaar, and finally controls single-handed the landing, storing, and delivery of the rice, which is now being landed and sent away at the rate of about 3,500 tons per week. A faint idea of how onerous and multifarious are his duties may be found from the fact that about 3,000 carts on an average are in camp waiting to be loaded or being loaded. Major de Kantzow lives in a straw hut in the centre of the camp.* Such is one scene out of many in connection with the famine in Bengal.

It was telegraphed home from Calcutta about the middle of March, "The distress in the famine districts is increasing. In Tirhoot the number of persons applying at the relief works has risen from 20,000 to 100,000 within ten days. The applicants are in an

emaciated condition, but prefer working to entering the poor-houses. Three or four deaths from starvation have occurred, but food is still obtainable in the markets. No deaths from starvation are reported in the other districts. In North Champaran the state of affairs is extremely bad, and the people are more than ever dependent on the Government. In Rangpur much distress is being relieved. Altogether 400,000 persons are employed at the relief works."

In Parliament there was a hearty acknowledgment of Lord Northbrook's energy in connection with the famine. Lord Salisbury said, "I should not be doing justice to my own feelings if I did not say how much reason we have to be grateful for his exertions, and how much reason we have to admire the vigour, judgment, and self-denial with which he has applied himself to the tremendous responsibility. All of us on this side of the House always admired his ability; but we had no notion how his powers would expand under the pressure of responsibility, until we saw the measures he had adopted and the conduct he had pursued in the terrible position in which he found himself placed by this famine. My lords, we have every reason to repose confidence in him, and I have no doubt that at the end of the year he will have the satisfaction of feeling that millions of human beings owe their lives to his exertions."

The amount of grain lying at some of the railway stations was enormous. The traffic authorities were doing their best, trucks and third and second class carriages being indiscriminately employed for the conveyance of grain. Veterinary surgeons were added to the Famine Relief Staff to look after the immense number of cattle assembled at various points.

But while all this distress in Bengal was receiving a commendable amount of attention from the Viceroy and his Council, other matters were not uncared for. Various Acts of importance were passed; and Mr. Forsyth's mission excited a large amount of interest. Mr. Forsyth, writing to his brother from Kashgar, says in substance what he had reported to the Viceroy that Amir Yakub Khan, since he had finished his conquests, had made it his aim to administer the strictest justice, and had spared no pains to make himself acquainted with everything that was going on. He is his own administrator, and does not allow others to meddle. He is undoubtedly a terror to evil-doers, and consequently there are few countries in the world in which so little crime is committed as in his dominions. Theft was formerly visited with death, but a milder punishment is now

* Archibald Forbes, in *Daily News*, March, 1874.

awarded. Property is everywhere safe. Mr. Forsyth, for example, saw goods lying on the road, which some merchant had been obliged to abandon for a time, his pack-animals having died. No one ventured to touch them. The peasantry are remarkably good-natured and agreeable, and there is little or no violent crime. There are no blood feuds, as among the fiery race of Afghanistan. Drinking and smoking were never the vices of these people, and both are discouraged by Yakub Khan. The poorest peasant knows that he has access to the Amir, and that he will receive justice. Mr. Forsyth was greatly struck with the air of comfort about the city, the good shops that lined the streets, the prosperous-looking traders, the fine condition of the common people, and the abundance of food everywhere. Gold, copper, lead, and coal may be found "in almost any quantities," and the Amir is anxious to work them properly. He is peacefully disposed towards his neighbours, and now wants to live in peace. The envoy from India, Mr. Forsyth, seems to have taken a violent fancy to the people and the country now ruled by Yakub Khan. The former, he declares, are "far more European in their habits and manners than any Indians, Afghans, or Persians. They show the greatest desire to mix with us freely, and there are no caste prejudices in the way of social intercourse. Russian and English can here meet on common ground, and find a people ready to welcome them both." Mr. Forsyth's report was received by the Indian Government, and means were at once adopted for more strongly cementing the bonds of friendship between that Government and the Amir.

In regard to the famine, relief meetings continued to be held in various parts of India, and the public were subscribing regularly and liberally. The Hatti planters now reckoned 500 deaths as having occurred from disease and hunger. Relief, however, was checking the mortality. Charitable relief organization, in the form of village visitation, was efficiently working throughout Tirhoot and Champaran, where 41,000 persons were relieved daily: 790,000 men, women, and children were employed at the relief works. The Commission at Darbanga telegraphed that the relief organization was now ahead of the famine. The arrangements to meet the distress in other districts were progressing well. The total amount of grain allotted to the famine districts had been 382,000 maunds; 140,000 were actually in store, and 80,000 in transit. The large reserves were warehoused at Calcutta. The Darbanga Railway was expected to be completed in April, and it was hoped would greatly facilitate the transport of grain.

Other routes of inland transport were working successfully.

In some parts the distress was less than had been anticipated. The rubbee had yielded half a crop. But there were 14,000 labourers at Bettiah, one of the least-afflicted districts, on the road relief works, and 4,000 infirm and indigent persons were gratuitously fed. The grain arrivals there were perfectly satisfactory. It was found difficult in most quarters to make approaches to the ryots, even when they were starving. Rain had fallen in Northern Bengal with good results. Sir William Muir had relinquished the governorship of the North-Western Provinces, to be succeeded by Sir John Strachey. Sir Richard Temple had been appointed to the lieutenant-governorship of Bengal in the room of Sir George Campbell, whose health had utterly broken down. Indeed, there was every probability that it would be found, as he had said, that he would not "abandon his post, in the present crisis, till he should have to be carried on board ship to go home." No deaths had yet occurred in the Behar district; but the lower classes were suffering much distress in Darbanga, and the maintenance of relief works alone could prevent mortality. Great care was now taken that all wages were paid in full, and in some places Government was, moreover, selling grain to the labourers below market prices. The water difficulty was increasing, and some labourers had to walk miles to drink.

The distress in Tirhoot was increasing. The bullocks were sick and dying. The carters in connection with this death among the cattle had become panic-stricken, and in Tirhoot 2,800 of them had fled, thus adding to the perplexities appertaining to transport. The Viceroy, however, in the face of all this, declared, in a formal resolution, that while it was not impossible the strain on the State resources might increase, he had little doubt that it would be met. Sir Richard Temple now estimated that half of the Patna, Bhagalpur, and Rajshahi divisions might suffer distress, involving 4,573,707 persons. But at the worst he believed that not more than 3,432,713 would require either to be entirely maintained or largely assisted. Thousands of the people were emigrating, and many houses were empty and desolate.

At Ramnagar the distress had become intense, reaching the better classes more than elsewhere. Some few Pardah women had even been reduced to join with crowds of the meanest beggars, for the sake of obtaining charitable relief. The sale of Government rice, however, and other expedients, had considerably relieved the prevalent misery. Grain

advances to the ryots were producing the best effects; 14,000 of the poor were prevented from starving by the relief works, and 1,500 more by gratuitous charitable relief. Including these and the purchases of Government grain, three-fourths of the population, 285,000, were virtually on the hands of Government. Stimulated beyond even his usual extraordinary activity by the great distress, Major de Kantzow achieved an amazing triumph of dispatch from Bimka. In one day he sent off 2,000 tons in 3,200 carts, occupying 8 miles of road.

Again Lord Northbrook intimated to the relief committees that "the application of a rigid labour test was not recommended by Government. Use discretion, but save the perishing." With the spread of suffering among all classes of the people, the system of gratuitous relief, it was felt, would have to be adopted on a very large scale, even—as the Viceroy perfectly understood—at the risk of many who might still be able to support themselves. Nothing in his famine policy had, as yet at all events, in any way belied in regard to Lord Northbrook, under the pressure of a great emergency, the name which he had previously won for statesmanship of the highest order. From first to last he seems to have been thoroughly alive to the difficulties which were before him, especially to the one great difficulty of transport. Nor did he overlook the lesson taught by Indian famines; for surveys were ordered for such a system of irrigation as might avert all human likelihood of such famines in the future. One cannot but respect and admire the Government of India when he beholds it distributing enormous quantities of food to perishing millions. It is but fair to it to contrast its sense of duty to God and man with the cold-heartedness and indifference of the rich court of Teheran, which would not sell one out of its rich collection of jewels, or deny itself a single sensual enjoyment, for the sake of feeding the hungry. What did the Government of Russia do in the winter of 1873-74 to save its subjects in the province of Samara from death by famine? And what did even the Government of Italy do when, in the spring of 1874, there were multitudes of starving wretches in various parts of the territory under its care, who sank beneath the too heavy burden of this same sort of calamity? One is proud of the action of the Government of India and its head in connection with this great crisis.

In the first instance, English charity fell strangely short of its usual mark in the matter of the Bengal famine. In two months the Mansion House Committee had collected only £75,000, which, even with the addition of the

sums received from Glasgow and Liverpool, represents but a poor fraction of what England could easily contribute in mitigation of so dire a calamity. The severity of the distress was not at once realised in England; but subsequently the fact became more distinctly apparent, and the Lord Mayor's Fund redeemed its good name accordingly.

There were many indications of selfishness and absolute greed in connection with the famine in Bengal. No consideration will prevent a Hindu from turning the calamities of a whole country to his own profit. In relation to this distress private trade was now turned into a new channel by public benevolence. Government invited dealers to import grain by rail into the distressed districts at half rates, the other half being paid to the railway company from the Exchequer. The up-country traders took advantage of this proviso to bring down produce into Tirhoot on easy terms, and were then detected exporting it as fast as possible to marts where there was no distress, but higher prices. Where there is no public opinion there can be no public indignation, and no shame follows on exposure or detection. The Behar famine, indeed, familiarised Englishmen with scores of ingenious devices by which the best intentions of Indian legislators and statesmen are perpetually baffled and thwarted. Even in ordinary times the results of native apathy, untrustworthiness, and petty avarice are found in all localities and departments. A good law is set at nought. A measure intended to reform and purify generates a new species of corruption. Social indifference evades a just tax or neglects an imperative duty. Considerable sums of money stick to the palms of those who collect them. Respectable men bring all their acute invention to the task of throwing a judicial investigation on the wrong scent—an active police-officer, engaged in tracking the perpetrator of some revolting crime, receiving about as much aid from his countrymen as an attorney with a writ would do in the wilds of Connemara. A house catches fire, or a boat is upset in the Ganges, and hundreds of spectators look on imperturbably, without moving a limb to save. These qualities of character in the natives greatly impeded the beneficial acts of the sympathizing Government.

And at this period of the famine there were other difficulties which the Government was obliged to anticipate. Supposing the next rainy season not to fail, a worn, weak, and disheartened peasantry could not be dispersed over thousands of acres to take advantage of it in preparing sandy loam or stiff clay for the crops, without much misgiving as to the result. The work of ploughing, sowing, har-

rowing, weeding, and banking up water, where that sort of labour might be needed, would have to be got through. Many of those employed on the relief works would have to furnish sinews and hands for the task, and the Government was well aware that few of them had the requisite bodily strength. True the strain would not be so great as is demanded by field labour in England. The agricultural implements are simple, and the work is often intermitted. The Gangetic plough can be carried over the shoulder, and the harrow is simply a many-pronged rake, or a small ladder, as the case may be, which is drawn by two bullocks to smoothen or pulverise the soil. A Norfolk labourer would smile at the series of scratches which in the East do duty for furrows. But the ground has to be gone over half-a-dozen times. Yet the results are surprising, the crops being luxuriant and magnificent. But even with this required small amount of labour it was much to be feared that, with all atmospheric and other favourable influences, the future crop could scarcely be prepared for.

From all quarters there was evidence of the success achieved or well-nigh insured by the Viceroy's Government in its campaign against the famine. The *Friend of India* even admitted that Lord Northbrook's energy "was rising equal to the strain since he awoke to the gravity of the facts." Seeing how early he did awake, no higher praise could well have been given him. Besides ordering up more rice from Burmah, and doing his best to solve the transport problem, his Excellency had shown an earnest desire to meet every requirement of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and the North-West—Sir R. Temple, Mr. Inglis, and Mr. Rivett Carnac—in placing commissioned and non-commissioned officers, sepoy, and material at their disposal. Mr. Carnac's request for 300 sergeants and sepoy to superintend a transport train of carts was promptly conceded. The Government of India had met the need for horses by sending up some fifty under Captain Deane of the Viceroy's body-guard, and ordering down a portion of the Central India Horse. These horses were urgently wanted for the use of relief officials, and plenty of fodder could easily be had for the time being from the Ganges.

The distress was reported to be creeping south, and State grain was already being dispatched to Manbhum and Hazaribagh. On the other hand, the rains in February had made the *rabi*, or spring harvest, of South Behar as good as in ordinary years. North of the Ganges things were going on as well as could in reason be expected. The only tracts,

according to Sir G. Campbell, in which the condition of the people was clearly getting worse, and in which there was really any actual famine, were the three north-east subdivisions of Tirhoot, with a population of 2,000,000, and a comparatively small tract of North Champaran, with a population of about 300,000.

The Duke of Argyll was now succeeded by the Marquis of Salisbury. It is not necessary in a history like this to be too political, but the change was hailed in India.

In regard to the famine, a person on the spot tells us that he and his companions "kept to the villages, and mixing with the people as much as possible," he struck across country from Pandoul factory south-east to Buheyra, between which and Darbanga was the principal relief road, and at the Darbanga end of which some 36,000 men, women, and children were employed according to the labour test. At Darbanga and Pandoul the crowds upon the works, all emaciated though they were, had been enjoying relief for some time, and with the officials and the planters declared that they could observe an improvement in the *physique* of the sufferers from regular though scanty feeding. The peculiarity of Buheyra was that whole bands of starving families were roaming about the roads and forests, fresh from the lingering starvation of their own villages, and driven to seek aid by sheer want. They had not yet been registered for relief. A few of their men only had gone on the roads, and all were in a lower stage of famine than the general multitude. The Lieutenant-Governor had visited the place, and was much affected by what he saw. The result of his visit was the issuing of urgent orders for other arrangements. This same visitor of these same districts says again, "As I stood in a mango grove with the magistrate at sunrise, upwards of a hundred women, with two or three children each, collected—I should more correctly say crawled—around us in the space of five minutes. They were at once entered for charitable relief, and as I left hundreds of others, new cases, were flocking for the same purpose. The most callous could not look at the sight without being deeply moved. Some, in family groups, sat apart from others, the higher away from the lower, or outcasts, but all in the same dire straits—the more respectable, however, being mute, passive, and almost stolid."

The observer soon could distinguish the two famine faces—that which was pinched, anxious, and imploring, and that which had gone further and was marked by the far-away

* *Allen's Indian Mail.*

look which characterizes the dying. All around to east and west in this district, to say nothing of Nepal, and gradually towards the south, there were much suffering and distress. Let the reader realise it for himself that this suffering came in the form of want of food—it was absolute hunger. The sufferers were, in a way, provided for: what Government could do more? But after a cold night the hundreds of starving ones who were already on the police register might be seen gathering up their rags all around, and seeking the sunniest spots, where some munched the precious relics of cold food saved from the meal of the night before. A few men only had begun to attempt excavating a large tank on the edge of the jungle. Nowhere on the works were there such wrecks of humanity as these. One boy of eight, all bones, stood with his head falling forward on his breast, leaning on his mother, who implored food for his sake.

In the subdivision of Darbanga the village relief system, as set on foot by Sir R. Temple, was already grappling successfully with the famine. The hideous sights of emaciated bands of skeleton women dragging along the still more skeleton children, and wailing piteously for food, were no longer seen. The weak had been sent to the relief house or hospital, the families were being returned to their villages; and the strong men only were at work on the roads and tanks. The women were recovering their natural modesty, and the elder children were beginning to laugh and to play occasionally. Although 200 English officers, civil and military, had been drafted into the suffering districts, the scarcity of the English agency compelled the Lieutenant-Governor to fall back here and there on active native substitutes.

An unpleasant feature of the famine time in Bengal was the breaking out of frequent fires in the distressed villages. Many of these may fairly be accounted for by carelessness and the inflammable state of the straw thatches after a few weeks of hot dry weather. But it is undeniable that in not a few cases the mischief was wilfully done.

The planters in Southern India now began more fully to see the benefit of importing labourers from the famishing districts, and an increase accordingly was made both in the transport expenses and in the wages of those who had already emigrated, or were willing to do so. The planters did not think that the proportion of the travelling expenses of the coolies from Bengal should exceed Rs. 5 a head, and they demanded that the coolies should enter into an agreement for not less than three years.

Sir G. Campbell was alarmed by the signs

of coming famine, but his warnings were unheeded. But no sooner did Lord Northbrook really understand the state of things than he hurried to the spot of severest suffering with a promptitude as admirable as it was probably unexpected. What was to be done? Here was a man terribly in earnest, determined to convince himself of the realities of that for which he was in the last place answerable to his Queen, his God, and his countrymen. How was this to be met? Heroic measures had become the simplest. The time was clearly come to show the courage of one's convictions. There was not much accomplished, however, by his lordship's visit. He had better have left the matter in the hands of those who were on the spot. Yet his zeal was creditable. Neither was his inability to make things better in the least discreditable to the Viceroy. The Government calls upon the Commissioner, the Commissioner calls upon the District Officer, the District Officer calls upon the tahsildar, the tahsildar calls upon the village accountant, and the village accountant takes a rupee from the head cultivator. And if this was the case in the early days of the famine in the Punjab, with a picked staff and a hardy population, in many of the provinces where people are helpless the condition of things must have been much worse. It will be a great gain if Indian rulers will learn to see that such things do not afford sufficient ground for sudden action, and that (*pace* Mr. Grant Duff) our Camerina, like a bottle of port wine, is "better not shaken."

Sir G. Campbell and Sir W. Muir retired from their respective posts, and departed homewards in the same steamer from Bombay. The departing Lieutenant-Governors received farewell addresses and dinners. At Allahabad Sir William was "overpowered" by the honour done him, and Lady Muir received her meed of praise for her kindly influence in good works and high social example. Sir G. Campbell a few days before had opened the new buildings of the Presidency College, and received a farewell address from the Calcutta Trades' Association at the new Economic Museum, which he opened later in the day. On the same evening he took his last dinner in Calcutta with the Viceroy.

The difficulties in connection with transport for the relief of the famine were greatly removed by the completion of the Darbanga Railway. In the famine districts 140,000 tons had been actually stored, and 80,000 more were in transit. "It is feared," the Viceroy wrote, "that there has been a good deal of speculation and misstatement in regard to the

numbers." Sir G. Campbell himself admits the drawbacks to a system under which "every one, down to the smallest child, gets paid for the merest pretence of work," while "works where real work was exacted were deserted."

The Indian Budget showed how disastrous the famine in Bengal had been to the State. As compared with the cost of former famines, even five or six millions might seem a very large sum. But no former famine was encountered from the first with means so ample and a will so resolute, and a considerable amount of the large expenditure was laid out on roads, tanks, canals, and other means of preventing similar disasters in the future.

The *rabi* or rubbee crops were expected to keep South Behar, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, and perhaps Saran through the hot and rainy season without much addition to the previous pressure. There was as yet no general distress, although prices were rapidly rising in Malda, Rajshahi, and Dinajpur. It would come, but when it did Government was prepared for it. In Rangpur and Dinajpur the famine would have been fearful but for the exertions of the Government. Severe distress was from the first averted. In Madhubani 400,000 persons, or nearly two-thirds of the population, were on the hands of the Government. With all the help that could be given them, however, the poorer classes in Dinajpur had but one meal a day, and in some places only one meal in two days. Cattle in large numbers were dying, and cholera was prevalent. From the able-bodied task-work was exacted, but the feeble were maintained by gratuitous relief. The English manager of the Hetampur estate, Beerbhoom, was carrying out relief works in a way most honourable to the zemindar. As Baboo Ram Rajan Chuckerbutty was the chief zemindar of the district, he wished to do something for his ryots on his own account without taking aid from the Government. First of all he remitted two annas in the rupee from the rents all round, which would amount to Rs. 26,000. Then, when the ryots were not able to pay the interest, that was remitted. On relief works, such as digging tanks, he spent about Rs. 14,000 a year. All who were able were supplied with work, and those who could not work were furnished with food. And all this was in addition to his subscription of Rs. 11,000 to the District Committee.

Poor things! In Darbanga there were many starving infants unable to digest the coarse food given them.

Every one was pleased to find that, in spite of the famine outlay, there was to be no increase of taxation. The long-desired adop-

tion of a low uniform salt duty for all India involved the abolition of an inland customs line 2,400 miles long. The Bill for this purpose was brought in and carried through Council in one day. For the welfare of the country the measure was of great importance. Its immediate effect was to reduce the duty on salt in Bengal and the Central Provinces, and to raise it a little in Ganjam. But the Viceroy maintained that the people of Ganjam would very largely benefit by the removal of this customs line, inasmuch as they would be enabled to get cheap grain from large districts of the Central Provinces without any interruption of the line, and he believed that they were not to be pitied for the slight increase in the impost, as they would easily be able to recoup themselves for whatever little they might have to pay. His Excellency also said that the Bill would test to a very fair extent the degree to which the reduction of the salt duty would affect the consumption.

The Budget Statement says, "The Government of India are resolved to use their best endeavours to maintain for the future a considerable surplus of income over ordinary expenditure, and thus to make provision beforehand for any calls which are likely to arise on account of famines. But there remains the further and more important consideration whether the disastrous effect of periodical failures of rain may not be mitigated, and to a great extent obviated, by the extension of irrigation works and of railways, or other means of communication. This subject has constantly received the attention of the Government of India. Already a vast area of country has been rendered secure from the effects of a failure of rain by the irrigation works which have been originated or renewed by the British Government. Had it not been for the large expenditure upon the construction of the guaranteed railways, it would have been impossible to have taken adequate precautions to preserve the lives of the people in Behar. In the forecast of expenditure upon reproductive works in July, 1873, it was estimated that 2,700 miles of railway and irrigation works, calculated to secure from liability to drought 50,000 square miles of country, would be constructed during the five years ending with 1877-78, at a cost of £22,500,000 sterling.

A general review was now being made of the position of the whole of her Majesty's dominions in India as regarded liability to famine from the want of either works of irrigation or means of communication.

The famine had now been successfully encountered. Prices for grain had fallen in many places, and fluctuated in others, but

nowhere could prevailing rates be called famine prices. The ingathering of the spring harvest had been brought to an end in most of the Behar districts. South of the Ganges the out-turn had been much better than was originally expected. The most unfortunate districts still continued to be Bhagalpur, Saran, and Tirhoot.

The Yarkand treaty was ratified by the Viceroy. It provided equal privileges to be enjoyed, and equal duties to be levied on all traders from India, of whatever faith; free access and egress to English traders at all times; European British subjects to be allowed to trade to the country under certain regulations, and to be furnished previously with passports from the Indian Government, without which they would be prohibited; a representative of the Amir was to reside at Calcutta; and a British representative was to be received at Kashgar.

According to the latest reports from the famine districts 1,342,000 persons were employed on the relief works, 200,000 were receiving charitable relief, and 450,000 were supported by advances or sales of grain. Piece-work was gradually being enforced for able-bodied individuals. Generally speaking, the condition of the people was better; but severe distress occasionally broke out, and required constant vigilance on the part of the authorities, upon whom the natives generally depended to remedy all deficiencies. Nothing like the numbers now relieved were at the same time assisted in 1861 or 1866.

The Parsi grievances were formally brought before the Indian Government, and received careful consideration. It is of great importance in India that the Viceroy and his Council should hold an even balance between one religion and another. According to Sir Jamsetjee, in a memorial addressed to the Secretary of State, those grievances were—1. That on the 13th of February, 1874, mobs of Mohamadan rioters, carrying out a preconcerted design, issued from the mosques, and made almost simultaneous attacks in different localities on Parsi fire-temples and dwelling-houses, defiling sacred things, destroying or plundering property, and maltreating individual Parsis; 2. That the community had done nothing to provoke this outbreak; 3. That had the police done their duty there would have been no serious rioting at all; and, 4. That the continuance of the agitation after the 13th must be ascribed to the weakness of the Government in failing to realise the actual state of affairs in Bombay, and to provide a force sufficient to restore confidence and maintain order. It was found that there had been a conspiracy in Tashkand, in which

Mohammed Amin, the son of the Khan, was implicated. Sixteen of the conspirators were executed.

There have always been conflicts between the Home Government and the Government of India in regard to money. For some years before this time India had been paying for the privilege of recruiting her English forces four or five times as much as she used to pay when "John Company" was king. For every cavalry recruit about to start for India the War Office charged the Indian Government about £136 14s., for every horse artilleryman £78 14s. 8d., and for each infantry recruit £63 8s. 5d., while every foot artilleryman cost £58 9s. 3d. The Duke of Argyll opposed this practice, and when the Marquis of Salisbury came into office he followed in the track of his predecessor. In all our Indian wars the only instance in which efficient help has been obtained from England was the mutiny of 1857, and even that was all but put down before a single soldier from this country had reached Calcutta or Bombay. The neck of the mutiny was broken by the fall of Delhi, and the peril to which India had meanwhile been exposed would have been greatly lessened had India not been unduly drained of English soldiers for the Crimean and Persian wars. Even for the help derived from England during the mutiny India had to pay the full cost to the last farthing. In every other instance India had to settle her own affairs at her own expense, with such troops as were ready at hand. Sometimes, as in the Chinese, Persian, and Abyssinian wars, she contributed more than her own share in troops and money to the imperial needs.

What the Indian Government asked in all fairness was that the period of training recruits for Indian service should be curtailed; that the charges for the home depôts of regiments serving in India should be divided into two parts—one representing the value of the troops at home; and that all military charges against India should be set down in detail under the several heads to which they naturally belonged. There was a committee appointed by Parliament to inquire into this matter. Correspondence between the former Secretary of State for India, the former Secretary of State for War, and Lord Northbrook was laid before this committee, and the conclusion arrived at was that an undue portion of the effective strength of the British army was paid by India.

The male labourers in Tirhoot on the relief works were now almost all on piece-work, it being highly desirable that the efforts made to relieve distress should not tend to induce idleness or pauperism. The famine was now much

localised. There had been some anxiety in the north-west, but it was passing away, and the crop prospects were favourable. A new State department was created to look after the State railways. Superstition is strong in India. A rumour was rife in Famine-Wallah that "the English had mixed cows' and pigs' fat among the rice." This false report led almost to utter starvation among the people, and to rioting as well, but the Government managed the matter successfully.

But for the famine there would this year have been a surplus in the Indian Treasury of £1,818,700, while the cash balances would have stood at £20,250,000. But if the net famine outlay for the year, amounting to £3,920,000, were added to the year's estimates, the ordinary surplus becomes a deficit of £2,101,300. For the current year Lord Northbrook estimated the net famine outlay at £2,580,000.

The net expenditure from the Home Treasury, including the Government share of the guaranteed interest payable in England, was estimated at £10,569,400. It was expected that India would have to borrow some £8,500,000, £5,000,000 of which had been already raised in England. But in spite of the heavy financial drain, Lord Northbrook wisely resolved to raise no fresh taxes. Moreover, besides a fair surplus on ordinary outlay, he aimed at securing in ordinary times such a margin as might serve to meet the demands of famine in years to come. "If the surplus were employed in the reduction of debt, in the construction of reproductive public works, or were to remain in cash balances, the expense caused by future droughts might fairly be met by appropriations of such balances, or by loan, to the full extent of the accumulations of surplus."*

The Salt Law Amendment Act was felt by the people to be a great boon to them. For generations, in certain tracts of country, all travellers were subjected to an amount of annoyance which would be incredible, if it were not authenticated by official documents. In the Chundah, Rypore, and Sambalpore districts, along 465 miles of road, all persons passing were liable to be stopped and searched at any moment at the discretion of the customs peons. In the Nagpur district the Chief Commissioner reported, "The customs line has been felt by the people as a greater grievance than all the other grievances put together. No one can travel along the valleys of the Nerbuddah and the Wardah without being liable to constant search by customs officers of low degree." It is well known that, notwithstanding the posting of

these guards, smuggling was extensively practised by the means of bribes paid to the peons, who enriched themselves by extorting money from travellers and traders through the unregulated power which they were allowed to wield. To trade, according to official reports, this hindrance amounted almost to a total stoppage in the interchange of commodities between certain provinces.

Sir Richard Temple issued orders for the purchase of 10,000 mules for the famine districts, so immense were the numbers of the needy. It was well that Sir George Campbell's warning in regard to Bengal had been so early. It was prescient even as to details. From the first, in a conference with the Patna officials, the late Lieutenant-Governor pointed to the rice tracts of North Behar and Bengal, especially to the north-east of Tirhoot, as places which must import. Sir George was well aided by Mr. Molony, the Commissioner of Rajshahi, who gave it as his opinion that "it would be well in some parts of his districts for Government to lay in stores while water transport was still available, as in two months the water would have sunk so low." His advice was taken by the Viceroy, and thus, no doubt, many lives were saved.

In the early part of May, 1874, India was in the midst of her hot weather, but in Bombay the prolonged coolness of the previous month had been advantageous. Madras suffered from a heavy gale on the 4th and 5th, which sent every vessel off to sea at once in search of safety. Considerable damage, however, was done. Cholera was raging at Port Canning, and had broken out in Calcutta. One of its earliest and most conspicuous victims was Mr. Le Poer Wynne, who had but lately succeeded Mr. Aitchison as Foreign Secretary to the Viceroy. He had risen step by step, and had inspired much confidence in his abilities in the minds of those with whom he came into contact. He had but lately returned from three months' absence at home. A violent attack of cholera, lasting about eighteen hours, was followed by utter exhaustion, and he died on the 4th of May. India lost by his removal a valuable servant. His funeral was attended by the Viceroy and all his staff, the Commander-in-chief with his staff, by the whole of the Viceroy's Council, by all the Secretaries and Under-Secretaries to the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, and by about seventy other gentlemen, all assembled of their own accord to pay the last mark of respect to the lost colleague or the widely loved friend.

The famine districts began to wear a settled hue of hope and good cheer. The numbers

* *The Gazette of India.*

on the relief works still increased, but the signs of real want and suffering were no worse or more widely spread than before. In the worst district, that of Darbanga, Sir Richard Temple found the relief "circle" and "sub-circle," or group system, completely organized in all its details. Every cluster of villages—from five to ten in number—was formed into a group or subcircle with a native official, and a store of grain with its store-keeper, so that every village could be visited twice a week, or even oftener, and Government grain be within reach at a distance of two or three miles at the furthest. Each circle was, moreover, frequently inspected by the circle officer and his assistants.

The native barbers of Puna were thrown into consternation. Sir Augustus Spencer, Commander-in-chief at Bombay, had forbidden them any longer to shave the chins of the British soldiers under his command. Smarting under this sudden blow to their worldly prospects, the poor barbers laid their plaint before Sir A. Spencer and Lord Napier himself. What the latter answered did not transpire; but the former quenched the last ray of hope in the petitioners' breasts by telling them that his own action in the matter had merely followed up an order from Lord Napier. The object of this order was twofold, viz. to reduce the number of regimental followers, and to induce British soldiers to shave themselves, as they are obliged to do in all other parts of the world. In the comparatively cool climate of Puna it is possible that the British soldier may have to shift for himself in such a matter as this, but the extension of such an order to warmer stations would be a simple act of oppression. If the native barbers must lose their occupation, why not let the British soldier grow a beard?

As looking in upon the natives of India, the manner in which the princes treat their criminals is worthy of notice. In Gwalior, the capital of Sindia's dominions, the gaol is merely a small square with open corridors. In the Rewah prison the arrangements are described as disgraceful. There is only one native state, that of Alwar, in which the gaols are placed under the supervision of an English officer. Very few gaols in Rajputana can boast of a hospital ward, or even of any space reserved for the sick, who, as soon as they become worse, are usually set free. The best gaol under native management is said to be in Jaipur, where lunatics mingled with other prisoners may be "seen confined by a long chain to the leg." On special occasions a general gaol delivery takes place. At Bhartpur, for instance, the prisoners, some of them the most notorious rogues and mur-

derers, were all set free because a son had been born to the Rajah. At Kotah the prisoners are taken out to beg in the streets—a cheap and easy method of maintaining criminals. In Jodhpur gaol, according to Dr. Moore, "there is a crowded, if not happy, family of human beings, dogs, cats, pigeons, and rats all wallowing in the dirt." The management of native gaols, indeed, is conducted on principles which have long ceased to find favour in England. But so jealous are native princes of any interference with their right to manage, or rather mismanage, their own gaols, that any attempt by a British officer in the direction of improvement would only lead to his exclusion from the few sources of information which are now open to him.

In a recent dispatch from Kashgar to the Viceroy, Mr. Forsyth threw out some useful hints to intending traders from India and to English manufacturers at home. Mr. Forsyth is naturally sanguine in his expectations in regard to this new field of commercial enterprise. But too much ought not to be attempted at once. The difficulties of the road in respect of climate, supplies, and means of carriage are very great. To convey 300 loads from the Punjab to Yarkand would not only involve a heavy outlay, but require an immense amount of forethought and arrangement. A mule or pony should not carry more than 2 cwt., and 5 per cent. of spare animals ought to be taken. English goods should be packed in bales of 1 cwt., carefully wrapped in skins or other stout materials. Striped goods are preferred to checks, and bright colours are in special demand. No patterns with figures of beasts or birds should be sent, nor are tweeds at all desired. It will be prudent also for Englishmen trading or travelling in those parts to consider that the people of Eastern Turkistan, though good-natured, friendly, and hospitable to Europeans, own to no inferiority of race, and will not submit to be roughly treated. They meet Europeans with perfect politeness, but on terms of equality, and any attempt at hauteur or domineering will be fiercely resented. The people are peacefully disposed and well to do, violent crime is rare, and the mineral wealth of the country in copper, iron, lead, and coal is well worth development with the aid of European science and enterprise. It was much to the credit of Lord Northbrook's Government, especially at such a time, that they opened up this new field for the manufacturers and skilled artisans of England and India.

The *Madras Athenæum* thought that the war which was at this time being waged with famine must necessarily be carried on under the

constant and enervating dread of failure, and that not until the last vestige of it had disappeared—not, indeed, until new and bountiful crops should have rendered it a thing of the past—would the Government be able to tell whether the victory was theirs. Surely such considerations plainly point to an important duty with reference to the future—the duty of adopting such measures as might render the production of a doubtful struggle hereafter unnecessary. Drought cannot be prevented, but preparation may be made for facing its consequences. To this end two great measures are requisite. The administrative reforms initiated by Sir George Campbell ought to be pushed forward without delay. But more important still, and that upon which Sir Bartle Frere rightly laid the greatest stress—the internal means of communication must be perfected. How Bengal is to be provided with roads, railways, and canals, civil engineers can no doubt determine. The necessity for them is great, if famines are to be prevented in the future. It is hopeless to try to thin the densely populated districts of Bengal by emigration. Emigration would make no appreciable impression. The Government must therefore be content to deal with the people closely packed as they are. And the first thing to be done is to improve the condition of the agricultural labouring classes. They must be protected against the unrighteous oppressions of the zemindars. They must be raised to a true appreciation of their rights and privileges as British subjects. They must be emancipated from the thralldom of a landed system which, while it gave proprietary rights in the soil to hundreds who had no claim to an inch of it, reduced to a condition of absolute serfdom hundreds of thousands who actually possessed hereditary rights. And when all this is done, then, and not till then, may it be confidently reckoned that the Government will be able to cope with the consequences of drought, and that the horrors of famine will be no more.

Throughout the district of Tirhoot, with its population of 4,333,000, the people were crammed down upon the land at an average of 691 to the square mile. In one large subdivision of it there were 822 persons living by agriculture on each square mile, and throughout another division there were 855. In Champaran there were 589 persons to the square mile. It may be imagined what crowds of men, women, and children such districts are capable of suddenly massing together in a time of unusual distress. We have some experience of crowds of this nature when a scarcity takes place in Ireland. Yet, deducting all the space covered by water in that

country, and taking the population of Ireland at 5,500,000, the result is under 178, or only 1 person to $3\frac{1}{4}$ acres. In Bengal it is at least 2 persons to every single acre. Besides, Ireland has its cities and large towns of manufacturing wealth, but these districts in Bengal have none.

It was a stupendous work for the Government to provide for these famine-stricken people. The whole scarcity area was such as could bear the insertion of England into it without making much appearance. But 40,000,000 people were placed under a surveillance so searching that if any one among them did not take his meals regularly, he immediately became the subject of an official report. Districts which had been absolutely isolated became suddenly penetrated by a network of roads, and these were connected with the main lines of communication. What this means may be gathered from a single instance of very many separate works which were necessary to accomplish it. A line of railway was required to connect the famine spot at Darbanga with the Ganges, and the railway system on its other bank. Incidental allusion has already been made to this on a former page. The rolling stock and material for the permanent way had to be transported by boats over the great river, the line itself had to be carried across three considerable rivers or streams, and the operations had to be conducted during the most inclement season of the year. This railway, measuring 53 miles, was made and completed at the rate of exactly a mile a day. It is not silly vanity, but pardonable and commendable pride, which prompts an Englishman to ask what Government in the world but his own would have undertaken so gigantic a work on behalf of its perishing people? Truly the Government of India won many laurels in connection with the relief of the famine in Bengal.

Several of the native princes made themselves conspicuous at this time in quite another way. The Rajah of Bhaunagar was engaged in marrying four wives at once; then the Gaikwar of Baroda married a woman of very low degree; while Sindia seized and tried to carry off from Lucknow a former mistress who had left him and gone to Lucknow, where she afterwards became the wife of a respectable Mussulman. Unable to see her with her own consent, the Maharajah tried force. But the English officials would stand no nonsense even from Sindia, and his Highness was ere long journeying homewards—his retreat hastened by a polite request from the Chief Commissioner to leave Lucknow at once.

The Viceroy, in regard to the famine, tele-

graphed home to the Secretary of State—"Good rain north of Ganges, partial rain south of Ganges. Fears of agriculturists much allayed, but some anxiety is still felt for future crops. Extended inquiry shows that seed grain is generally sufficient, but help from Government will be required in certain peculiarly situated tracts. Private trade continues active near railways and great rivers, but away from these the demand on Government stores is greatly increasing. Government grain is available wherever supplies of trade are deficient. Estimated consumption of Government grain to middle of May, about 50,000 tons. Sales of Government grain now amount to between 1,200 and 1,500 tons daily. Condition of people unchanged. Considerable increase of labourers in West Tirhoot, and on Northern Bengal Railway; elsewhere increase slight. Increase of distress in Birbhum and Northern Parnia. Deficiency of grain reported in Pabna and Jalpiguri, near which there was recently a grain riot. Fifty soldiers sent to assist police; two rioters killed; place reported quiet. Transport on all important routes now complete, and on that line completion before rains will be secured by employment of reserve carriage from Northern India. Of 1,500,000 on relief works, not more than 180,000 are in receipt of daily wages; remainder are employed on relief work system, reduction of wages being cautiously enforced where possible. There has now been a careful inspection by Government officials, village by village, of distressed tract, 350 miles long, and 70 miles broad, comprising 27,750 villages, and over 2,000,000 houses. Funds subscribed by the public are being used where State aid is scarcely justifiable. No known cases of deaths by starvation are reported by last telegrams, and the Government of Bengal report that four deaths which had been reported as famine deaths were really not so. It was found often impossible to distinguish between death from privation and disease, but it was certain that there had been no extensive mortality from want. The rain had benefited Champaran, and the Government was supplying the Nepalese with seed." A later telegram from the Viceroy says that good rain had fallen in most districts except the south. East Tirhoot agricultural prospects were good for most crops, except for lowland rice, in which a deficiency was expected. The relief labourers were leaving the works for agricultural and private employment. The sales of grain to the public were increasing; but cholera was spreading. There was much distress in West Bardwan, but not so much as in Tirhoot. Many men had deserted their families. Fever aggra-

vated the suffering. The missionary societies were invited by Sir R. Temple to afford assistance, to which invitation they cordially responded.

Sir G. Campbell having arrived at home, bore witness at the Mansion House to the triumphant energy with which the Indian Government had fought against the famine, and declared his firm belief that the worst of the evil was over. "There was food enough in India," he said, "to feed the whole people, if the transport arrangements worked well."

Thus must be left, in this history, the Bengal famine. It was a sad disaster. It taught many lessons; and if Lord Northbrook had never done anything more in his life than what he did in connection with it he would have highly merited the praise of his fellow-men.

The Bombay Salt Act gave much displeasure to the people of Bombay, but nevertheless it received the assent of the Governor-General. Lord Northbrook declared that it had not been passed in undue haste by the Local Government, and expressed his opinion that such a measure had been urgently needed. On the 23rd of May Lord Napier unveiled the statue of Sir James Outram, which had been lately erected near the Maidan of Calcutta. Lord Napier recapitulated the principal events in the hero's life—how he had reclaimed the savage Bhils of Central India; his dazzling career in Afghanistan, and especially before the walls of Ghazni; his memorable ride through Beluchistan; his services in Sind; his brief but brilliant campaign in Persia; his gallantry and self-denial before Lucknow; and his fine personal character. The Viceroy assisted on the occasion, and the whole of the garrison troops and volunteers were paraded by the Commander-in-chief. The first bridge built over the Ganges was opened at Calcutta on the 15th of May, 1874. Bombay was grieved at the death of Dr. Bhau Daji, a native gentleman distinguished equally for his medical skill, his antiquarian learning, and his enlightened zeal for the general good. He was regretted by all sections of the community—by natives who were proud to be countrymen of a man possessed of such talents, and by Europeans who admired his intelligence and his liberal-minded, though unassuming ways of thinking. He was the first Hindu student in European surgery and medicine. To the needy and distressed, whether in his own country or in England, his purse was always open, and his personal efforts on their behalf were great and persevering. He was renowned for his successful treatment of leprosy. Tolerant of all creeds, he had much lurking tenderness for that of Christendom, but out-

wardly at least he conformed to the religion of his forefathers.

Prejudice is especially strong in certain parts of India. Mr. Johnson, a missionary, started from Peshawar in disguise with a caravan bound for Kabul. He had several narrow escapes from discovery and consequent death on his way through the border tribes. Spies dogged his steps, and scowling villagers made him feel anything but comfortable. A Pathan whom he met called him a Feringhi, but a friendly fellow-traveller disarmed the man's suspicions by saying that he had come from Kashgar. Once safe in the Amir's own dominions, Mr. Johnson owned himself a Christian fakir; but no sooner had he uttered the words, "I am not a Mussulman," than all who were present shrank from him as an unclean animal. But an old and respectable man, evidently the chief of the village, said in a little while very kindly, "You need not fear; no one will kill you here in Sher Ali Khan's country."

The magnitude of the efforts of the Government in India on behalf of the poor famine-stricken community in Bengal may be imagined when it is recorded that, besides the ten steamers and barges which had been ordered from England, 800 boats from Oudh and 4,000 from Bengal itself had been engaged for transport during the rains. This fleet was divided into detachments, and wherever grain was wanted boats were dispatched to the point of need. By the 3rd of July 15 inches of rain had fallen in Tirhoot since the 1st of May, and the number of persons on the relief works had diminished from 1,000,000 to 250,000. The total number of persons receiving relief at the works all over the country was still, however, 750,000, in addition to 478,000 receiving other aid.

Mohammed Yakub Khan, the Amir of Kashgar, had now become a conspicuous personage. He was a native of that part of Khokand which goes by the name of Andijan, and he was born in 1828, of Tajik or Aryan parents. His father was a custom-house clerk. While he himself was still a youth his abilities raised him to the post of *divanji*, or chief collector of customs. In 1847 he exchanged the pen for the sword, and became *pansad bashi*, or commander of five hundred. He soon rose to distinction, being repeatedly wounded and always heroic. Buzurg Khan having embarked on an enterprise which finally wrested the whole of Kashgar from Chinese rule, Yakub joined him. They were successful, and step by step this bold man rose till he reached the highest dignity. He now reigns undisputed master of the dominions which have been won by his sword and re-

duced to order by his strong hand and moulding brain. He is in friendly alliance both with Russia and England. His sway, if stern, is cheerfully obeyed, and it is just. His religious zeal is tempered by statesmanlike procedure and prudence, and an enlightened regard for the people's welfare.

Instances of *suttee*, it was found, still continued to occur in remote villages of Central India and Rajputana. The wretched victims are spurred on to self-sacrifice by the hope of rising to a higher life after death. The practice in such cases is that after the funeral pyre has been more or less burnt down, the widow slips away from her house, perhaps under pretence of going for the customary purification by bathing after a death in the family, and then she quietly seats herself on the smouldering heap. If the fire has burnt too low to consume her, it is still sufficient to ignite her clothes and lead to her death at once or shortly afterwards from the burns which are inflicted, unless she is discovered and rescued immediately, as sometimes happens. But more frequently some member of the family, on coming up and finding the widow already scorched, will leave her where she is, adding fuel, if necessary, to the fire, in order to complete an act which he may still regard as a religious duty.

There was a partial failure of the harvest in the easterly portion of the North-Western Provinces. The capture of Niaz Mohammed Khan, the rebel of 1857, who afterwards took service with the Nawab of Junaghur, was effected at Bombay during Lord Northbrook's visit. He was sentenced to death, but the punishment was commuted to transportation for life.

In the course of his yearly tour in these provinces the Lieutenant-Governor discovered a curious defect in the working of the civil law, as illustrated by the case of a prisoner in the Dhera gaol, who had no means of paying the costs of an unsuccessful defence. In criminal cases provision is made for setting a sick or dying prisoner free in order to save his life; but for civil prisoners no such escape had been provided. Fortunately for this particular sufferer, Sir W. Muir pointed out another way of obtaining his release, and the poor man, the undeserving victim of another's roguery, was set free. Sir William during the same tour visited the fast-decaying temple of Govind Deva at Bindraban, said to have been the noblest specimen of Hindu architecture in Hindustan proper. Its restoration was forthwith sanctioned, and the process of repairing the Taj at Agra was steadily carried on. The number of vernacular newspapers in the province rose from 30 to 36,

but the circulation fell from 7,594 copies to 5,917. A like fall was recorded in regard to the nine magazines. The tone of the native press was fair and loyal, although the absence of trustworthy information, and of anything like a broad and enlightened treatment of important questions affecting India, renders these papers singularly uninviting to an English reader. Much attention, however, is paid to local matters, such as municipal government, and this may be a hopeful sign of what may hereafter grow into a healthy public opinion.

In Dhera 1,801 acres produced 3,692 lbs. of black and 407,856 lbs. of green tea. In Kemaon, on the contrary, the out-turn from 1,395 acres showed 125,225 lbs. of black against 60,475 of green tea. The almost exclusive manufacture of green tea in Dhera is due to the fact that it is bought up by Kabuli merchants to supply Central Asia, where the green leaf only is in demand. The opening up of this Central Asian trade has been a source of great advantage to the planters, who now receive at their own doors the average price which they formerly obtained in Calcutta, after incurring no small amount of expense and risk, including freight, brokerage, and commission. The cultivation of cinchona was extensively abandoned in some parts, but was introduced in other districts. This cinchona cultivation is of vast importance to India, and at this time—1878—is attracting much attention. The reason why the plant does not thrive in some localities is that it is very liable to harm from frost, which sometimes cuts it down when growing well, even in a single night. There is more hope of the success of the silkworm cultivation in the Dhoon. The mulberry grows freely, and the women of the Ghurkha regiment stationed at Dhera are handy at reeling. The cocoons produced have been valued at a sum sufficiently ample to cover the cost; and there is a further likelihood of creating a trade in the eggs, which are much valued in Italy, and can be kept in the higher ranges of the hills safe from premature hatching or spoiling.

Recent legislative work dealt with the codification of the laws and regulations on the assessment and administration of land revenue, which from time to time had been issued since 1775. Mr. Fitzjames Stephen obtained a commission on the subject in 1872, and Mr. J. Inglis carried the subject further. It was a difficult matter to deal with; but important laws were passed by Lord Northbrook's bearing upon it. Still, however, no complete remedy has been found for the evils arising from forced sales of land,

by means of which the land is gradually passing from its old hereditary owners into the hands of successful money-lenders. During the mutiny the ousted owners almost invariably turned against the purchasers, and drove them out; but with the restoration of order the old evil again gained ground, and produced an abundant crop of suffering and discontent. The question bristles with difficulties, and the attempt to reconcile the conflicting claims of debtors and creditors on principles of sound economy and simple justice has not yet succeeded.

In 1874 the number of municipalities was raised to 78 by the admission of 13 new towns. The total income of these was £184,926, most of which was derived from octroi, and the total outlay was about £920 less. The land assessments for the year amounted to £4,112,630, of which only £20,985 remained uncollected. There was a somewhat wild spirit of speculation in connection with tea-planting in Assam, and the rapid progress of that particular industry gave birth to visions of fabulous wealth. Yet up to 1863 tea-planting maintained a healthy state. A few joint-stock companies had been formed for the purchase of private gardens, and as their operations were distinguished by prudence, they proved sound even during the crisis. But from 1863 to 1865 there was a mad rush on the waste lands; local labour was engaged and seed obtained at exorbitant rates; and when the earth had been as yet only scratched, the speculator set about the formation of a company "which was to start by buying the lands he had scarcely finished clearing as accomplished tea gardens, and what still remained of undeniable waste, at a cost out of all proportion to the amount he had contracted to pay for it to the State, and what it was worth.

The mania increased, and more daring adventurers began to persuade shareholders to invest in "gardens" that actually, as such, had no existence. For example, the manager of a London company manufacturer was advised by his employer to clear and plant a certain area of jungle-land for delivery to a company to whom it had just been sold as a ready-made tea plantation. Mr. J. W. Edgar records that the Cachar planters "had a saying to the effect that it was very doubtful whether the making of tea would pay, but there was no uncertainty about the making of gardens, which in fact were formed for sale, not for cultivation." The *modus operandi* was to purchase for a mere trifle a piece of waste land, plant it out with tea, and then to sell, the price obtained often giving the vendor 1,000 per cent. upon his

expenditure. Mr. E. Money, in his prize essay on tea, remarks that "in those days a small garden of 40 acres was sold to a bewitched body of money-seekers as a property of 200 acres. I am not joking," he says; "it was done over and over again. The price paid was, moreover, quite out of proportion to even the supposed area. Two or three lakhs of rupees have often been paid for such gardens when not more than two years old, and 40 per cent. of the existing areas were vacancy. The original cultivators 'retired,' and the company carried on." Naturally these mushroom companies soon produced a multitude of hideous evils. It is needful to note that fact here, for the existence of so great a calamity much embarrassed the Government of India. When the collapse came, troops of young Englishmen sent out to manage the concerns found themselves in a strange country without the means of subsistence. Some died, and the rest literally begged their way out of Assam. The local labour was diverted, and the *bonâ fide* tea firms had to import hands from Bengal at a ruinous cost, which, however, was somewhat counterbalanced by the increased price given for seed. But this source of profit soon came to an end, and the labour difficulty remained as before. Still the cry was, "Labour, more labour," and the Calcutta recruiters drained the purlieus of the city to supply the demand. The lame, the blind, the insane, the diseased—no matter what they suffered from if they could crawl—were drafted off to Assam, whose gardens began to be more like open-air hospitals than thriving plantations. On the voyage to their new home the miserable creatures died off like flies, the strongest only reaching a haven. Many even of these afterwards succumbed, and the mortality in one place was so great that the manager of the estate fled, leaving behind him heaps of unburied dead, and scores of labourers who were dying unattended by medical aid of any kind. The fabric of tea industry, which had been tottering so long, fell with an awful crash in 1866, and the crisis lasted till 1868. In 1869 a favourable turn of affairs again gave birth to dividends. The quality of the tea gradually improved, and the cultivation of tea in Assam has made progress ever since.

More than 1,000,000 acres in Assam, Dacca, Gooch Behar, Chittagong, and Chutia Nagpur are now occupied by this crop, the total produce amounting to 23,000,000 lbs. in the course of the year. This yield of tea is almost entirely exported from Calcutta. Assam turns out 11,750,000 lbs.; Silhet and Cachar, 6,500,000 lbs.; Darjiling, 3,500,000 lbs.; Chittagong

and Chutia Nagpur, 500,000 lbs.; and the North-West, 1,500,000 lbs. The gardens are generally well filled with plants, highly cultivated, and carefully managed. The amount of leaf produced per acre is satisfactory, though falling far short of the sanguine expectations formed during the early days of tea-planting, and the prices are good, while the bugbear in regard to labour is disappearing. It is estimated that, by means of careful cultivation, 400 lbs. might be obtained from an acre in full bearing, and this quantity, if skilfully prepared, would bring £40 in the home market. Any one with Rs. 20,000 or 30,000 of capital ought to find tea-planting a most profitable undertaking. Even the once doubtful companies, which were fleeced by speculators, are now being fostered into prosperity. The Government of India, relieved of its Bengal famine cares, has devoted much attention to the new province of Assam. The Viceroy having announced his purpose of personally visiting Assam, there was a perfect clamour of claims upon his lordship. The Calcutta newspapers were very anxious to draw up his programme for him. One paper insisted that the Viceroy ought to go to Darjiling, and another argued that he should go to the Nilghiris. Simla held forth her arms and cried, "Come unto me." Allahabad wanted his lordship and his Council for a little while to legislate locally upon some difficulty, and Madras thought that the least his lordship might do would be to spend a few weeks at the paradise called Ooty, which is peculiarly adapted to the *dolce far niente*. His lordship followed his own mind, and went to Assam. Mr. Thomas Douglas Forsyth, lately employed on a special mission to Kashgar, was appointed by the Queen an Extra Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India.

Several new spinning and weaving mills were about to be started in Bombay and the Mofussil. Large issues of shares had been made, and these had found eager purchasers. Many of the existing mills were to be enlarged. The projectors of the new mills were all native capitalists. The increase in the number of the mills would bring it up to forty-six in all.

Mr. H. Blanford's latest Meteorological Report threw much light on the connection between rainfall and famine in India. Observations carried on for seven years over part of Eastern and Northern India had convinced him that science might yet reach the causes which affect the distribution and regularity of the rainfall. This knowledge once attained, he even expressed a hope in his report that in time it would be possible to forecast the sea-

sons. He had found, on the one hand, that whatever is characteristic of each monsoon is persistent while it lasts, although, on the other, it is equally clear that the abnormal features of each monsoon are almost equally persistent. This fact is of vast importance, for, to use Mr. Blanford's words, "if the connection of these irregularities with those of the rainfall can be once ascertained, it may be possible, even at an early period of the season, to obtain a clue to its probable peculiarities." This law, as Mr. Blanford calls it, first showed itself to him in comparing the distribution of atmospheric pressure in 1868 and 1869. In the former year unduly low pressure in the north-west of the Bay of Bengal, by obstructing the passage of the winds towards Behar and Upper India, flooded the Lower Gangetic delta, and caused that drought in the north-west which slew its thousands in Rajputana and Central India in 1869. Again, in 1873, did the difference in atmospheric pressure differ so widely from that of average years as to weaken the current of wind from the bay, and reduce the rainfall of Bengal and Behar greatly below the average.

Mr. (Sir T. D.) Forsyth's sanguine hopes in regard to Yarkand began to be realised. On the 25th of June, 1874, the last 300 mules, laden with piece goods direct from the firms of Messrs. Holme & Co., manufacturers, of Derby, Bradford, and Leeds, left Jallandar, accompanied by Mr. Russell as manager. Mr. Russell intended to join Mr. Shaw and Dr. Scully, and go on in advance of the caravan with samples of all his goods, in the hope of effecting sales before their arrival. He expected to reach Yarkand by the end of August. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce gave much encouragement to this undertaking. The Punjab Government did the same. The goods were of a superior description, and were wrought from patterns supplied by the Yarkandis themselves. This was a most important movement, and it has been fruitful of good results. It is well not only that British trade should be promoted in all countries that can be opened up for it, but it is especially desirable that the English rule in India should be surrounded by friendly powers, over which it professes to exercise no sway except what comes from amicable intercourse.

Lord Salisbury sent out a dispatch blaming most of the parties in any way concerned in the Bombay riots. The body of the Parsis he does not censure; but a few fanatical Mussulmans having been insulted, as they alleged, in connection with a paltry little book entitled the "Life of Mahomet," it was wrong on the part of the Mohamadans to avenge the insult by plundering

the houses of respectable Parsis, and defiling their temples, just as it was wrong in the Parsis, two days later, to create a disturbance at a Mussulman funeral. Lord Salisbury was of opinion that the Government of Bombay ought to have resorted to the aid of the military. The principle of employing troops only in extreme cases, although good in England, is not similarly suitable to the circumstances in India; and in the present instance his lordship believed that the display of a small amount of military force would have saved life and prevented disorder.

A great Indian soldier died at this time, and his deeds were so bound up with certain important occasions in India that it would be a censurable oversight not to name him. During the siege of Delhi no more brave or distinguished a soldier upheld the honour of the British arms against a host of rebels. Major-General Sir Henry Tombs was born in 1825, and went out to join the Bengal artillery in 1842. Within two years he had gained the bronze star and an honourable mention for his services in the Gwalior campaign. During the first Sikh war of 1845-46 Lieutenant Tombs fought his guns at Mudki and Ferozeshar, and was aide-de-camp to Sir Harry Smith at Aliwal. In the second Sikh war of 1848-49 he served on the artillery staff at Chillianwallah and Gujarat. Thrice mentioned in dispatches, he was rewarded with a brevet majority as soon as he became a captain in 1854. On the outbreak of the mutiny in 1857, Major Tombs led out his troop of horse artillery from Meerut, with the force which Brigadier Wilson commanded in the battles on the Hindan. In the action of Badli-keserai, fought by the joint forces of Barnard and Wilson, he handled his guns with marked ability, and throughout the trying siege of Delhi his skill and courage were equally conspicuous on the many occasions on which they were put to the proof. In a sudden sortie of the rebels his picket was surprised and well-nigh overpowered, when he dashed in to his subaltern's rescue, and brought him off safely, after a hard fight in which he himself was wounded. It was for this service, which made him the idol of the camp which he had saved from imminent peril, that he received the Victoria Cross. After the capture of Delhi, Tombs played a brilliant part in the final capture of Lucknow and other movements by which Lord Clyde suppressed the revolt in Oudh and Rohilkhand. Still young in years, though already old in honours, he became a lieutenant-colonel in 1858, and a brevet colonel in the following year. The Companionship of the Bath, which had already been awarded him, was exchanged for a

knighthood after the Bhotan campaign of 1863, which he brought to a successful issue. In 1865, at the age of forty, he commanded the Gwalior brigade. Two years later he became a major-general, but it was not till 1871 that he succeeded to the command of the Oudh division. That command ill-health forced him to resign in 1873, and he came home only to die of his severe ailment—cancer in the head. No braver soldier or more competent leader of men ever adorned the ranks of that old Indian army, which has always been so fruitful of heroic names and the men who bore them. Sir Henry died on the 2nd of August, 1874, at Newport, Isle of Wight, at the age of forty-nine.

Complaints began to be made, or rather became loud and deep, in regard to the administration of justice in India. The British ministry, in whose hands the destiny of India is placed, is accountable only to Parliament, and Parliament knows no other influence than that of public opinion. But it had for some time been observed that in India there had been a disposition to repress and conceal, rather than to remove or correct, the faults existing in the judicial administration in that country. A smooth surface to the general appearance of such things was presented, so as to hide from Parliament and the public the existing blots and sores which had been allowed to eat into the social body of our great Eastern Empire. The law courts, with the exception of the four High Courts, which are presided over by judges independent of the Government, were believed to be habitually converted into instruments of spoliation and revenge, through the incapacity, carelessness, or subserviency, and frequently through corruption, both of the judges and their subordinates. Such was the opinion of the public prints; but, although there may have been some small amount of ground for it, it was decidedly too strong. There are many able and upright judges in the provincial courts of India; and Lord Northbrook, instead of favouring such malpractices, held a rather tight rein on men who occupied judicial positions. Two new Bills, which ultimately became law, were, however, introduced into the Legislative Council, and these provide for the more direct supervision of the law courts by the Government. It remains to be seen whether these acts will not operate hurtfully against the independence of the magistracy.

Revenue officers were blamed for having oppressed the people by imposing unduly heavy burdens on their land; but no sooner had the fact become publicly known than measures were taken by the Council for pre-

venting the recurrence of the evil. Such a policy as this, unless utterly prevented, must in its results be deeply injurious. The infection thrown back into the body must increase in virulence until an irruption is no longer to be repressed. The people, goaded to desperation, will take the law into their own hands, and then, of course, the consequences must be of a kind which can only be regretted. In this connection it may be remarked that a serious charge had specifically been brought against Mr. Levien, the Judge of Rangpur in Bengal, and the Judges of the High Court, Calcutta, recommended his removal from the bench.

His Excellency Lord Northbrook forwarded a donation of Rs. 100 towards the funds of the Soldiers' Total Abstinence Association, and gave expression to the pleasure he had in doing anything to promote the welfare of the British army in India. The Association numbered at the time 4,539 members belonging to various corps.

The recoronation of the King of Burmah took place on the 4th of July at Mandalay, and on the 12th his Majesty went in solemn procession round the moat of the city. Preparatorily to this ceremony, strange to say, all the bridges were demolished.

Lord Northbrook had continued the policy of his predecessor with such effect that, while maintaining the strength of the European force, the military expenditure had been reduced since 1868-9 by £1,000,000 sterling, and a fresh scheme was now sanctioned from which a further saving might be expected. Lord Salisbury, at the same time, diligently set himself to enforce economy in every branch of Government. There were several departments in connection with which the Indian Secretary believed that there might be retrenchment; but, over and above these, he was of opinion that the Indian Government ought to be rendered as independent as possible of the opium revenue; then, as far as might be, the incidence of taxation ought to be equalised; and, further, the tariff of export and customs duties should be so altered as to encourage trade and commerce, thus creating fresh sources of wealth, which would be available as sources of taxation in cases of emergency.

Lord Northbrook held a durbar at Dacca, and Khaja Abdul Gani Miah, C.S.I., gave a ball to the Viceroy on the occasion of his visit. The entire programme of his lordship's visit to Assam* was to the effect that he would proceed in his yacht to Dacca. A levee was to be held there, and the town was to be illuminated on the night of the Viceroy's

* *The Times of India.*

arrival. It was also decided that the circumstances of the visit should be utilised to raise subscriptions for the erection of a building to be called "The Northbrook Hall," in commemoration of the Viceroy's visit. From Dacca Lord Northbrook was to go to Cachar, Silhet, and Cattaek, arriving afterwards at Chillong. His Excellency was to spend a week there, and to return to Calcutta after having been absent from it nearly a month. In about a week after his return he intended to leave for Darjiling.

Shortly after his lordship's arrival in Calcutta he entertained Mr. Forsyth, the Oriental traveller, the latter being accommodated in the official residence of the Viceroy—an honour which is not often awarded. The Anjuman-i-Panjab presented a congratulatory address to Mr. Forsyth on the success of the Yarkand mission. Mr. V. Ball, of the Geological Survey, was sent by the Governor-General to Dera Ghazi Khan to report on the coal discovered in that neighbourhood. Symptoms of serious disturbance had shown themselves among the troops of the Amir of Kabul, now the ally of the British Government.

India is far from being easily ruled. In spite of all English efforts to suppress practices which are in conflict with Western and Christian civilisation, kidnapping was busily carried on in the native state of Shujangarh, owing to the demand for bondservants among the thakurs of the country and the principal people of the state, and also on account of the ready purchase of children by the *arora*s, a class of Hindu traders in the Bhawalpur district and certain parts of the Derajat. Some are rescued by British interference, but not a few are speedily sold and sent away to Central India, where they are lost sight of.

Mr. Robert Elliot, a well-known Mysore planter, excited no small amount of interest by the publication of a thoughtful and suggestive pamphlet, in which he declared that he foresaw the bankruptcy of the British Empire in India in about fifteen years from the date of his writing, unless a new leaf were turned in English Indian policy. But he also admitted the great difficulties involved in governing a vast and growing population pressed down upon the soil, with no outlet as yet open to it in the way of emigration or manufactures. For a growing population which already averages 400 to the square mile of cultivated land he finds little relief from emigration, to which the people do not take kindly. Others are of the same opinion as has been indicated on a previous page. Irrigation works have been begun somewhat

later, but it must take time for these to have much effect. Mr. Elliot therefore believes that India must "either manufacture, or drift on to a period when, from sheer over-population and the cost of frequent famines, it will be impossible for England to carry on the administration of the country." To avert such an issue he would, therefore, tempt British manufacturers to send some of their capital and younger sons to India, to do there what younger sons have repeatedly done in various colonies.

In all parts of India, however, irrigation is of vast importance. If many of the people could be employed in factories, doubtless the burden of the soil would be much relieved; but that soil well watered, the burden would press far less heavily. Yet there are numerous difficulties in connection with irrigation which successive Governments have tried to surmount, and have not invariably succeeded. Lord Northbrook felt these, and appreciated them with even a sensitive keenness. Take, for instance, the Ganges and Jamna, which unite at Allahabad. It is easy to comprehend the general character of the rivers, despite their turnings and twistings, as if to set off the caprices of nature against the wildest of all the caprices of man; but the vast host of tributary streams forms a subject much more intricate and less amenable to rules. When the hot season sets in the small streams become dry, so that no one looking on them would suppose that water had run down their channels within the memory of man. But when the rains fall and the water rises immense districts are submerged. For example, the Ganges which at a given date may perhaps be only a couple of miles wide, in the course of a month may become eight or nine miles, taking in nullahs and water-courses innumerable. The course recently dry becomes navigable; the dry cross country can be paddled over in a canoe. A correspondent of the *London Times* informs us, August, 1874, that "a new embankment on the little Gundock was causing the removal of a large village. The mere raising of this embankment sheltered a considerable territory, and the villagers at once began to remove their houses—many of them very good houses—to where they should have protection from the flood. This was to them an advantage, and they appreciated it; but in other instances the opposite is the effect. In fact, no uniform plan of irrigation or drainage could be made to apply to any considerable portion of India, but the variety is curious. If we begin at the end of the wedge at Comorin, and investigate the schemes upwards, we shall come first of all to the tank system; that is, to what in Eng-

land would be called ponds, only ponds in some cases an eighth and in some a fourth the size of Ennerdale Lake, in Cumberland, stocked with fish, and admirable for boating, where people prefer a water that seldom ripples, still less swells into waves. Along the entire east coast of India, from Comorin to Point Colimere, and then again with slight breaks as far as the Kistnah River, we have this tank system prevailing; and if we draw a line from this point across the continent, we shall find that, with the exception of a thin strip of territory forming Travancore and South Canara, watered from the hills, the entire country, including the whole of Mysore, is irrigated on the tank system. A little higher, as indeed also a little lower, but not with such marked characteristics, we come to what is called the Madras system of irrigation. The Kistnah and Godavari Rivers are here intercepted on their way to the ocean, dammed off by huge embankments, and made to diverge into several channels in the form of a fan, stretching out, one may say roughly, south, with a slight tendency towards the east. This is a system to which marvellous care has been directed. We find it again as we go northward, where the Son River is made to form a navigable canal. Here, again, the fan system is brought into operation. The Son is turned off in diverging lines to the Ganges, and a large extent of country is irrigated. In the Punjab there is an excellent system of well irrigation. The wells literally stud the country almost like forest trees. In Bombay the system bears the name of 'inundation canals;' that is, canals to receive and distribute the water in times of flood. The irrigation works are manifold, and yet the number of them furnishes but little reason for pride, all things considered. Still, what has been done is the trustworthy promise of good to the country. There are elements of irrigation, with respect to tanks, wells, and other methods, which are a credit to Lord Northbrook's Government, and the results of which will be grand hereafter." One cannot say where the power to irrigate ends. On the streams which have just been mentioned, and some of which are not even marked on the maps, and which, indeed, are not existent in dry weather, you may sail for miles and miles in diverging lines, learning what an immense security Providence has given India against famine and drought, and how she herself points out in the wet season what man ought to provide against the dry.

Heavy floods occurred on the Sind frontier. The waters completely breached the bunds which had recently been erected near Jacobabad, and if the inside bund had given

way nothing could have saved the town. The heaviest floods had their source in Beluchistan, and fears were felt of a junction between those which came respectively from the Cutchee and the Indus. There were also floods in Gujarat. The rainfall had been unusually great, and the crops suffered considerably. Many persons lost their lives, and a number of bodies were washed down the Sabarmati as far as Ahmadabad.

The Indian Government, on the report of the Baroda Commission, allowed the Gaikwar eighteen months to reform abuses and amend his evil ways.* If by the end of 1875 he should have failed to profit by the grace thus offered him, he was informed that he would probably "find himself a prince only in name." In plainer language, he was given to understand that he would be "deposed in the interests of his people, and for the peace and security of the Empire." As lord paramount of all India, by right alike of treaties and conquest, the Viceroy could do no less in view of the misgovernment which the Baroda Commission had brought to light. No one acquainted with Indian history can question the right of the Indian Government to make its will respected by the native feudatories, who exist as rulers only on conditions which they cannot safely venture to defy, and which it is alike the duty and interest of England to forbid or to relax. The Empire of the Queen or Empress of India really extends from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, although no less than one hundred and fifty-three feudatories claim, and to a certain extent enjoy, sovereign rights within the vast peninsula. The English rule is now a highly organized system of government, answering more nearly to the conception of a benevolent despotism than anything which history records. It is difficult, therefore, for England to permit neighbouring princes who are nominally sovereigns, but who are really controlled in all the important parts of their policy by an English Resident, to perpetrate the tyrannies by means of which they oppress their people. The Gaikwar professed to make improvement in his administration, but he did not.

At Silhet the town was lighted up in honour of Lord Northbrook's visit, and a wealthy zemindar, in commemoration of that visit, presented a gift of Rs. 90,000 for the founding of a school. Two grave problems bearing on the future of British India forced themselves on public attention. One of them was how to deal with the growing numbers of poor whites and half-castes; and the other was how to deal with the growth of population,

* *Times of India.*

which was no longer devastated and thinned by perpetual wars and their attendant evils.

The Viceroy arrived in Calcutta from Assam on the 30th of August. During his journey he had been everywhere received with cordiality, often rising into enthusiasm. At the Legislative Council, on the 2nd of September, it was decreed that the new province of Assam should be placed and received more directly under the British Government. His lordship, in connection with this transaction, said that "he had found high qualities in political offices, and in administrative capacity, which had shown the greatest zeal in everything that leads to the material well-being and improvement of the people, and especially in the construction of roads." The chief necessity in Assam is the improvement of the means of communication between different parts of the province. His lordship further declared himself gratified with the numerous signs of prosperity that greeted him everywhere in Assam.

Strange things happen in India as in England. A young Hindu lady, the daughter of a judge, preached a sermon before a congregation of about forty Hindu women of high caste. The assembly met in the temple used by the Prathna Samaj of Ahmadabad for their worship. The subject of the discourse was, "We worship only one God." Thus is light spreading in India.

In a few weeks after his arrival in Calcutta the Viceroy was compelled to leave it for the more bracing air of Hazaribagh, in the highlands of Western Bengal. His lordship had been suffering from a slight attack of Assam fever. A flood took place on the Kistnah River, and many lives were lost. Numerous villages were laid under five feet of water, and the people were without food for three days. The inundation of the Indus was also of extraordinary height, the greatest which had been known in the present century.

The Nizam's State Railway, which connects his capital of Haidarabad with Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, was formally opened, festivities being held in honour of the event. At the banquet a letter was read from the Viceroy congratulating his Highness on the great work which had been completed in his territory. The line is a single one, about 120 miles long, on the standard gauge, with a branch to Sikandrabad. The cost was about £8,000 a mile, and the work was well done.

The Viceroy issued a masterly resolution on the proposed irrigation works in Behar, and the estimated expenditure of £7,000,000 was reduced to £4,000,000. Many inundation canals and embankments were sanctioned,

and railway surveys were ordered for the purpose of connecting Tirhoot with the Ganges, all of them being inexpensive. The Viceroy deprecated large works, costing much delay, and sure to be always uncertain.

Nana Sahib was reported to have been captured, but the report, after investigation, turned out to be false. It was now, indeed, doubted whether he were still alive. A cyclone raged around Calcutta; ships were lost, and carriages were thrown off the line, the telegraph being washed away for miles. The report on education in the Central Provinces for the bygone year showed a decrease of 72 in the number of schools, and of 3,081 in the number of scholars. The average daily attendance at the same time sank from 47,948, out of a total of 82,930, to 45,042. This falling off was principally in private unaided schools. The number of scholars attending Government schools was somewhat larger than in the previous year. The Bengal famine was now officially reported to be over, and the whole famine outlay was found to be within the sum estimated. The interference of the Viceroy no doubt prevented civil war in Afghanistan. Yakub Khan arrived in Kabul on a friendly visit to his father, and recognised Abdulla as his father's heir. This was an important point gained. A fall of rain, probably the heaviest and most destructive on record, occurred at Darjiling. Much damage was done, and it will be long before this calamity is forgotten. Sind was likewise visited with great floods. The new bridge over the Hugli was fairly completed, when the central portion, destined to be removed daily for the passage of ships, was for the first time fitted into its place, filling up a gap of 200 feet. In a long and weighty resolution on some minutes by Sir Richard Temple concerning railway and irrigation works for North Behar, the Government of India declared that "those works were not, in the first instance, designed to bring waste lands into cultivation, or to increase the wealth of the country by improving the present means of communication, but to avert for the future, so far as might be practicable, the danger and loss, both to the people and the State, occasioned by the failures which have arisen from the absence of the autumn rainfall over a large area of country." It was further stated that "the resources of the Government being far too limited to provide against the possible effects of a general failure of rain throughout the country, it must be satisfied with doing its best to prevent the simultaneous failure of the crops over a large area of country by the protection of a portion of it, so that the

whole might not be subjected at the same time to the same calamity."

These schemes proposed inundation canals from the Gandak in Saran and Champaran in connection with an embankment already in construction, minor irrigation works in Ramnagar, and the same in other districts. Lord Northbrook was thoroughly alive to the duty of cutting his financial coat according to his cloth.

It has been averred with too much truth that the English Government in India has no religion. It simply says to the natives, "You shall not commit crimes, you shall not make disturbances, you shall keep contracts, your property shall be peaceably distributed on your deaths by such and such rules, and, above all, let no one who values his life dispute our authority. As regards theology and all morals exterior to the region of law we have nothing to say to you. You must choose for yourselves. One doctrine we do insist upon. Religion must for all practical and public purposes be regarded as matter of private opinion, which may not only be formed but be changed without involving any definite external civil loss. We will not suffer one creed to persecute another. You must not, however, suppose that we have nothing to teach you. Physical science is true, so true that we will teach it publicly, although it expressly contradicts and stultifies Hinduism, and although the method in which it is taught and the temper of mind which it encourages are practically fatal to many native creeds, and, it may be, not easily reconcilable even with Christianity. This is our English gospel. We believe in it with the most unhesitating faith. We will enforce it with the most unflinching resolution in every particular and throughout the whole extent of the country. Whosoever will be employed or lead a comfortable life must believe and practise it. Whosoever neglects it will find that the world will pass by him, that he is out of harmony with his neighbours, that his sons will take up other views than his own, and that the more active and compliant part of the population—the usurer, the trader, the lawyer trained in English colleges and instructed in English learning—will get the better of him."* This language is strong, but it is true. Words like these are not used by the Government of India, but in reality this is the spirit in which that Government conducts itself towards the people. It is true the missionary, in most cases with passionate earnestness and self-devotion, preaches his gospel too. He educates the natives, but he educates far many more than ever become Christians. Strange

* *Pall Mall Gazette.*

as it may seem, the English in India are Englishmen first, Englishmen above all, Englishmen to the pitch of fanaticism, ready and willing to die for their English creed. Most of them are Christians of a sort, but only a very few are zealous Christians. The great majority are Christians simply by birth and education, and a very perceptible majority are not Christians at all.

The Viceroy, according to the Indian papers, worked much too hard.* "Of this," they say, "there can be little doubt. His labours were incessant, and were rendered all the more severe by the quiet, concentrated manner in which he gave attention to every subject coming before him. Captain Baring, his private secretary, shared in this omnivorous appetite for work, and every day got through an amount of toil which would have crushed any one endowed with a less vigorous constitution.

The public interest in India was divided between the imprisoned fakir at Cawnpore—an impostor pretending to be Nana Sahib—an expedition to Dacca, and an attempt to poison the British Resident at Baroda. Colonel Phayre was in the habit of drinking a glass of sherbet on his return from his early morning walk. One morning the glass was brought to him as usual. Having swallowed a mouthful of the sweetened lime-juice, he luckily found something wrong with the taste of it, and, noticing some sediment in the glass, sent it to the residency surgeon, who found an abundance of arsenic. It was asserted that more than two persons alleged to have been concerned in this attempt had themselves died from poisoning.

The Moral and Material Progress Report was an improvement even on those which had gone before it, gratifying even as they were. Yakub Khan, who had in a friendly spirit visited his father, was kept prisoner by the Amir, and new arrangements were made in regard to the territory which his Highness desired to give to his second son, such arrangements being approved by the Viceroy. It was intimated in the emigration returns that in 1873 24,569 emigrants had sailed from Calcutta to the colonies, being more than 7,000 in excess of the number who had sailed the year before. Agriculturists and men of low castes formed nearly two-thirds of the number, the remainder consisting of Mohammadans and high-caste Hindus, with a fair sprinkling of artisans and 29 Christians. The number of emigrants who returned from the colonies was very small. The arrangements at the depôts for feeding and lodging the coolies were very satisfactory. The emi-

* *Friend of India.*

grants who returned from the Mauritius to Madras brought with them agreeable evidence of their success there. The money brought back by these people amounted to Rs. 25,264,8. They all appeared healthy, with the exception of 14 out of 172, and these were simply invalids.

Lord Northbrook started from Calcutta on the 25th of November for an official tour and inspection through Behar, purposing to take Sonpur, Chapra, Motihari, Mozaffarpur, Darbanga, and Barh on his way. This journey occupied about a fortnight. His lordship everywhere met with a most cordial reception. At Sonpur he was greeted with an address by the people of the district, in which the efforts of the Government to meet the famine were warmly acknowledged. Sir Richard Temple made a rapid tour through Orissa, and received addresses and congratulations. A railway and several other useful works were wanted, and these the Lieutenant-Governor promised to recommend.

Lord Northbrook issued another minute concerning irrigation works. In his opinion there was no present need or justification for very large outlay in that direction. As to the projects for making canals navigable, the Viceroy was quite aware of the advantages often obtained by combining navigation with irrigation; but economy was to him of paramount importance, and navigation could be afforded only where there were assured prospects of returns for any additional outlay, or when the extra expense was comparatively small. In Bengal, at any rate, such expense had hitherto resulted only in loss.

The man who personated Nana Sahib was identified as one Jumna Khan, who had tried the same trick before. He could not, it seems, be prosecuted as an impostor, but might be detained in custody during the Viceroy's pleasure.

Lord Northbrook opened a Fine Arts Show at Calcutta on the 12th of December, 1874, and afterwards distributed prizes to students. From Sir R. Temple's report it appeared that the whole quantity of grain carried into Behar during the famine was 900,000 tons, of which 500,000 were due to private enterprise. The greatest number of persons aided by the State at the worst period of the famine was 4,500,000. The maximum, in the original estimate, had been 3,900,000. But the stocks of grain hoarded were much larger than was anticipated, and the energy of the cultivators made the autumn crop the largest ever known.

There was something approaching to another riot at Bombay on Christmas Day, 1874—the day also happening to be the Mohammadan

Sabbath. It seems that Jalbai, author of the book which ostensibly provoked the former riots, had published a pamphlet in reply to Lord Salisbury's comments on the former work, and that certain pictures in his second essay gave fresh cause of offence and provocation to the Mohammadans. A strong force of police appeared on Christmas Day in the neighbourhood of the principal mosque, and no disturbance took place, it being known that, in the event of one, troops were ready to act. The reigning prince of Gaikwar was arrested on account of the attempted murder of the British representative. This was a grave measure. His state was a branch of the great Mahratta confederacy, and though much inferior in extent to the dominions of Holkar, of Sindia, or of the Nizam, is still a considerable principality. The arrest of such a prince naturally caused much excitement, and it was necessary that British troops should be placed in position in order to preserve the peace. These princes are not our mere puppets. They have roots in the country, and command a natural allegiance which no foreign power can for many years be able to extort. Extort! Yes, nothing could enable us to execute such an act as this successfully but the conviction of both rulers and people that we have, under any circumstances, an adequate force at our command to support us. Evidence came out by degrees that the Gaikwar was really cognisant of the attempt to poison Colonel Phayre. He suffered in consequence of his complicity; but the man and the matter were really so contemptible that here it is unnecessary to pursue the subject further. This Gaikwar received the just reward of his deeds in being himself put prematurely to death by similar means.

Lord Northbrook spent his Christmas at Barrackpore, when, after returning to Calcutta, he received the Maharajah of Jodhpur in durbar. The occasion was one of considerable display. Those Indian princes do like tinsel and ceremony. A deputation from the Indian Association waited upon his lordship a day or two afterwards to thank him and congratulate him on the success of his famine-relief measures. In reply to their address Lord Northbrook promised to convey the expressions of the loyalty and gratitude of the people to the Queen. With regard to the effects of the famine, his Excellency said, "On my recent visit to Behar I omitted no opportunity of freely conversing with many persons, officials and non-officials, Europeans and natives, who were personally acquainted with that part of the country. There was no difference of opinion among them. There was a universal concurrence of opinion that without the

extensive precautions taken by the Government the mortality must have been very great in Saran, Champaran, and North Tirhoot."

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce having sent a deputation to the Secretary for India, Lord Salisbury took occasion to show how little a change of ministers in England affected the Government of India. "In England," he said, "one political party might displace another, but with reference to India there was no distinction of party." He himself was "well satisfied" with the Duke of Argyll, and he avowed his earnest desire that, so far as Indian politics are concerned, there might "never be any break of gauge observed in the Government of India." With regard to the unchanging character of our Indian policy, Lord Salisbury's remarks are true in a certain sense and to a certain extent. It is fortunate for India that the distinctions between English parties disappear inside the India Office. Each new minister for India is content to walk as far as he can in his predecessor's footsteps. But it can hardly be maintained that in the field of purely Indian politics no change of Viceroys or Secretaries of State ever begets a corresponding change of principles and measures. The Indian policy of one Viceroy or Minister for India may sometimes differ from that of another as markedly in its own way as the general policy of a Liberal differs from that of a Conservative Government. Either the head of the Indian Government forms and seeks to enforce his own opinions on many leading questions, or else his counsellors mould his policy in accordance with their own leanings and convictions. Party feeling of a certain kind has its battle-fields in India as well as in England. One section of Anglo-Indian statesmen is always seeking to pull down what another section is building up, and the favourite cry of one period becomes the joke of the next. Irrigation, railways, education, land revenue, gaols, native princes, foreign policy, taxation — each of these and other kindred topics divides Indian statesmen and politicians into two or more hostile camps, in one of which a Viceroy or a Secretary, in the other a Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, may have set up his flag. This conflict of opinions not only moulds the policy of the Supreme Government, but likewise that of the provincial ruler. In such cases there is usually something to be said for both sides. Each set of opinions gets its innings, and the conditions of the conflict tend to preserve each side in practice from the dangers of excess.

One remarkable feature in connection with the arrest of the contemptible Gaikwar of Baroda was that, after he had been taken

into custody, there was a discovery made of forty lakhs of rupees (about £400,000), half a year's revenue of the state, quietly hidden away. Sir Louis Pelly offered the Gaikwar carriage exercise, but he declined—1st, because some one was sure to poison him beyond the place of his confinement; and, 2nd, because he had been given to understand that the troops would not now salute him as they had been accustomed to do in former days. When he first entered his place of confinement he was very particular about his drinking water, and exhibited symptoms of great fear; but he gradually got over that sensitiveness, although he was still suspicious that some one would probably poison him. But all his food was carefully examined, both by British officers and by his own servants. His principal officer of state confessed most explicitly to his master's knowledge of the whole affair; but the Gaikwar himself made light of the matter, and "continued cheerful, having a story-teller to lull him nightly to sleep."

It was found necessary to send a military expedition into Daffla, but there was no need for fighting. When the chiefs found that they were about to be taken to task for their robberies and cattle-stealing, they came quietly into camp and submitted. Their submission was at once received. The expedition did much work in the way of cutting a passage through the bush and making roads. The native press was remarkably unanimous against the annexation of the Gaikwar's dominions; but Lord Northbrook wisely and justly, in spite of many petitions, treated him as a criminal and a prisoner. The Viceroy's ultimate decision on the case was that "the Gaikwar of Baroda, Malhar Rao, is deposed from his sovereignty, and he and his issue are precluded from all rights, honours, and privileges thereto pertaining. Malhar Rao is to select some residence in British India where he and his family shall reside, on suitable allowances to be provided from the revenues of Baroda." A merciful sentence this was on a great criminal.

There were outbreaks of cholera in various parts of India—in Oudh, Cawnpore, Faizabad, Jaunpur, and Benares. On one day the railway train turned out eighteen corpses at Lucknow, and out of almost every train cholera-stricken passengers were taken. Lord Hobart died suddenly. His worth was only latterly beginning to be appreciated. As Lieutenant-Governor at Madras, he did much which was acknowledged after his decease. So is it with some men. There was a special mission appointed to Burmah, of which Sir T. D. Forsyth was head.

A great fire broke out at Peshawar, which destroyed one half of the town. The hot winds of May had no doubt helped to aggravate the mischief by rendering all woodwork as dry as tinder, while the strong breeze blowing at the time fanned the fury of the flames. The cause of the catastrophe was believed to be accidental. No thefts took place, notwithstanding the near neighbourhood of some of the most expert plunderers perhaps in the world.

There was some difficulty in settling who should succeed to the rule of Baroda. There were several claims to the throne; and the Viceroy, who assumed the office of umpire, decided in favour of the late prince's son, Partab Rao. Sir Richard Meade read this decision to a large assembly, and intimated that "if the peace of Baroda were endangered, instant steps would be taken by the Viceroy's representative, who had been vested with full powers to restore peace again." There was one unfortunate result. Those Indian princes have many families. When this decision became known, Morar Rao, the brother of one of the rejected claimants, shot himself dead with a pistol. The deposition of the Gaikwar was a just act. He had so acted that three Europeans of great experience had declared him guilty of poisoning, and two of his own race had, in giving judgment, abstained from declaring him innocent. And there were other reasons in themselves amply sufficient for deposing the Gaikwar.

The Duke of Buckingham accepted the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Madras Presidency. His rule has happened to be at a time of great trial, and he has in his administration shown great self-denial, and no small amount of statesmanship.

On the 27th of May the young Prince of Baroda was formally invested by Sir Richard Meade. Sir Richard, in the name of the British Government, installed him as Maharajah of Baroda, he changing his name to Syaji Rao. Sir Richard, addressing a very large assembly of sirdars and others in Hindustani, called upon them to support the new administration. There was no disaffection. All went off well. The Maharajah Holkar wrote to the Governor-General to signify his entire concurrence in the course adopted by the British Government in regard

to Baroda affairs. Much more importance was attached to this Baroda business than it ever deserved. There were great festivities in connection with the installation of the new prince, Sir R. Meade and all the officers of the garrison being present. The healths of her Majesty and the Viceroy were drunk, and the feeling among all parties was manifestly most cordial.

An embassy to the King of Burmah was rather insulted, but Sir T. D. Forsyth, who was at the head of it, pocketed the affront. His Majesty would not receive the British envoy in his boots! Sir T. D. Forsyth made a compromise between Burmese etiquette and British convenience, and advanced to the royal presence in his stockings, but his feet stepped softly on clean carpets laid for his especial use. The Home Government, it seems, was at the pains to give directions to Sir T. D. Forsyth that he should conform to the old custom, and take off his shoes in the presence of the King of Ava, and the envoy did as he was told.

Lord Northbrook's viceroyalty was now coming to an end. He had done remarkably good service. But the Bengal famine, in which he had acted so noble a part, had exhausted him, and he wanted home. But an event of unusual importance to India—the visit of the Prince of Wales—was about to occur, and he could not well leave till that was over. With that royal visit it will now remain for us to deal, introducing allusion to Lord Northbrook by the passing mention of simply a fact or two. Lord Northbrook's superiority as a financier must be allowed by all who know him; but Lord Salisbury and he came into collision in regard to certain Acts as to tariff duties and other financial changes. Unless the Secretary of State is a remarkably good-natured man, he will not quietly submit to the humiliation of being arrogantly set aside and treated with contempt by the Viceroy. This Lord Northbrook rather did. The privilege of appeal to the Secretary of State and the Parliament of England is greatly prized in India. It will be necessary to again refer briefly to Lord Northbrook's administration to make this history complete. But meanwhile there comes in the Prince of Wales's visit to India, which must make a distinct chapter.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES'S VISIT TO INDIA.

THE Prince of Wales told a distinguished audience which had been invited by the Governor of Bombay to meet him at a state banquet shortly after his arrival in Bombay, that "it had long been the dream of his life to visit India." Lord Canning seems to have been the first who suggested to the Prince Consort a visit to India as part of the education of his eldest son, the future king. The probability is that the Prince Consort himself perceived the importance of such a visit.

It was in the winter of 1874 that the project of a tour to India was formally entertained and discussed by her Majesty and the Government, and in the autumn of 1875 the subject became matter of anxious deliberation and arrangement among the authorities as to the manner of the visit. There were difficulties to be overcome, and there were objections to be removed, for such an expedition had never been undertaken by any one in the position of the Prince of Wales. There had been many royal visitors to India, indeed. Some of these had been terrible conquerors, overthrowing dynasties wherever they went. Others, in later times, had travelled incognito. But it was impossible for any son of the Queen to hide for the time his name and genealogy. The Duke of Edinburgh could not, for example, go as a private person, and he had some experience accordingly of the manner in which his brother, the heir apparent, would be received. But the position of the Prince of Wales was, in many of its bearings, totally different from that of any previous visitor. It was so both in respect to his home relations and his connection with India. It was impossible to estimate what might be the awkwardness occasioned in England by his absence for half a year. And then in India how must the Viceroy, the Queen's representative and the embodiment of British royalty, conduct his affairs and regulate the demands of etiquette in the presence of the Queen's eldest son, the heir to the throne? The question was delicate. But such difficulties were all successfully overcome.

The Prince of Wales felt that it was his "mission" to go to India, and he resolved to fulfil it. It became known in the beginning of January, 1875, that the project was seriously entertained, and on the 16th of March the Marquis of Salisbury made an official

announcement to the Council of India of the intended royal visit. The Council then passed a resolution that the expenses of the journey should be charged on the revenues of India; but a month later they explained that they meant only that the expenditure which was actually incurred in India should be charged on the part of the Empire which was under their care. And they were right. It was already difficult for the Indian Government to strike a balance between their income and expenditure, and even in India the cost of this tour, without taking other outlay at all into account, was sure to be immense. It proved so, although no one grudged it. It was well-laid-out money.

It was now necessary to provide the Prince with a following and companionship which might promote his own personal enjoyment, but which should also be regarded by Indian princes and people as indicative of his royal rank. The Duke of Sutherland, Sir Bartle Frere, and others were selected. Lord Sufield, the head of the Prince's household, was naturally chosen; Colonel Ellis, Equerry to the Prince, and who had served in India, was also nominated; Major-General Probyn, Mr. Francis Knollys, Lord Alfred Paget, the Rev. Canon Duckworth, Dr. Fayrer, the Earl of Aylesford, Lord Carington, Colonel Owen Williams, Lord Charles Beresford, Lieutenant Fitz-George, and Mr. S. P. Hall were also included in the royal suite. Dr. W. H. Russell, the famous *Times*' Commissioner and Special Correspondent, to whom the public are much indebted for graphic accounts of this royal progress, was also invited to join the party as, for the time, Hon. Private Secretary to the Prince.

The Prince left London on the 11th of October. The great crowd which assembled on the evening of that day to bid him "God speed" at Charing Cross station afforded ample testimony to the interest that was taken by the general public in this adventurous enterprise. When the Prince and Princess made their appearance, and walked slowly down the platform between the line of soldiery and the great concourse of people, there was a demonstration in regard to which it would be hard to say whether a feeling of sadness at the Prince's departure, or of sympathy with his wife's sorrow, or of desire to assure the royal couple of enduring and

affectionate loyalty, predominated. There were cheers and waving of handkerchiefs, moistened eyes, quivering lips, and many an audible "God bless you!" When the train reached Dover there were 6,000 or 7,000 people assembled on the approaches to the Admiralty Pier. The weather had been extremely rough for several days and nights, but both wind and sea had gone down. At 10.10 P.M. shore rockets gave signal for departure, and as the *Castalia* moved from the pier there was a clamour of farewells which followed her far out into the night. She arrived at Calais in two hours. And here was one of the saddest events of the departure. The Dukes of Edinburgh and Connaught had bidden adieu to their brother at Ashford; but the Princess had resolved to accompany her husband to Calais. She did not, however, intend to go on shore, meaning to return to England in the early morning. The train was to start at 1.50 A.M., so that there was short time left. They might never meet again. But that grief of separation was abundantly compensated for by their subsequent happy reunion. The royal tourist reached Paris at 7.20. Marshal MacMahon and a number of gentlemen composing a shooting party happened to be at the station, and gave him a cordial greeting. The Prince desired to be incognito in Paris, but he could not escape recognition. He was compelled to receive many visitors. The overland journey to Brindisi was safely and comfortably performed, and the party arrived there at eleven P.M., where the *Serapis* was awaiting them. Her boats were alongside the pier, she herself lying off a few yards, with her long line of ports lighted up, and her white sides and golden scroll-work gleaming brightly in the glare of gas-lamps on shore, and of the lanterns displayed at the companions and over the sides to show the way.

Brindisi has an antique look about it. When the line of mail steamers to the East turned Brindisi into an active port for a few hours in the week, there were great expectations raised in regard to the future of the place, and it was predicted that the town would become the centre of important commerce. Land was bought on speculation—the harbour was dredged out and improved—a new breakwater was completed—houses were built on a large scale—and all was going well, apparently, when the discovery of certain advantages appertaining to Venice, the former Queen of the Adriatic, changed this tide of affairs. Nevertheless, many travellers still prefer the long journey from Turin to Brindisi to the sea route from Venice. But now Brindisi was very gay. The arrangements on

board the *Serapis* were highly satisfactory. This fine vessel was attended by the *Osborne*, the *Hercules*, and *Dallas*.

On the 17th the Prince's ship slid very quietly through the waters, attended by her consorts, on the way to the far-off land. The incidents of the voyage were manifold, and the honour which was paid the Prince at the places at which his ship called was abundant. It was to be anticipated that the King of Greece would strive to be in advance in showing his respect, and he was. But, without dwelling on the voyage, it is important that the reader should be quickly carried forward to India. Port Said, the Suez Canal, Ismailia, the intercourse with the Khedive, the investiture of Prince Tewfik, the Red Sea, Aden, and other objects and subjects of interest might seem to some to have only collateral relation to the matter with which this book professes to deal.

On the 8th of November the Colaba lighthouse at Bombay could be made out by its reflection on the water at 1.30 A.M. Being only twenty-five miles distant from land, the engines were almost stopped, there being only motion enough to keep the *Serapis* in her place till it should be time for her to make the run into the harbour of Bombay. The morning was very beautiful. The Prince went up and stood on the bridge, gazing upon the scene which was before him, and this was his first sight of India! At eight o'clock the ships of the East India squadron, numbering twelve, all dressed, fired a salute with magnificent effect. When the smoke had cleared away there became distinctly visible the fine panorama of the bay, fenced in by the blue ghats with the flat in front, and surrounded by a great expanse of commercial buildings, steeples, and dwelling-houses. The scene, however, was once more shut out by the rolling cloud of smoke from the broadsides and forts. It was just nine o'clock when the *Serapis* entered between the lines of the men-of-war, the marines drawn up and presenting arms, officers in full uniform with uncovered heads, and the crews on the yards cheering, ship after ship. The fleet then fired another salute, the bands on board each ship playing "God save the Queen" and "God bless the Prince of Wales." "The scene is one not to be described," says Dr. Russell, who was an eye-witness; and others who saw it bear similar testimony.

All the arrangements for the reception of the Prince were so complete that little could now happen beyond what had been provided for. The order of the procession, the visits of the Viceroy and Governor, the forms to be observed, had all been agreed upon. When the *Serapis* came to her moorings

many boats went off with the members of the staff of the Viceroy and of the Governor. There had been some little trouble in making these proper arrangements. The Commander-in-chief had, in fact, formally declared that he could not salute either the Viceroy or the Governor when once the royal standard was flying in the harbour; but these difficulties were happily got over, and both Viceroy and Governor had their salutes nevertheless.

Six hours elapsed between the arrival of the *Serapis* in harbour and the reception of the Viceroy on board; but that was because so much had to be done. There were constant arrivals of persons on business, Sir Bartle Frere being in especial request. The officers to whom the Prince and his party were to be so deeply indebted for their well-being in India then went on board, and were introduced to his Royal Highness. Among the four officers who were presented there were two Victoria crosses and only six arms; for one had lost one of his in action in the time of the mutiny, and another had had to suffer amputation on account of injuries inflicted by a tiger. The *Serapis*, while all this was going on, was gazed at eagerly by tens of thousands, whom those in the ship could see on shore.

It was now nearly three o'clock, and shortly before that hour there was a salute from one of the batteries, which was taken up by the ships of both squadrons, and which announced that his Excellency the Viceroy had embarked at the Dockyard. Presently a barge with the Viceroy's standard approached the Prince's ship, and he was received with all the honours due to his official rank. There had been a notion entertained by some that the meeting of the Prince and the Viceroy would be awkward, by means of difficulties affecting their relative position and rank—no, not in rank, because of that there could be no question, but in precedence in state ceremonial; but it was not so. The Prince of Wales and Lord Northbrook perfectly understood what was due to themselves and to each other. Neither was the *entente* established at the very beginning of this intercourse interrupted to the end.

The Prince having presented the members of his suite to the Viceroy, the Viceroy presented his staff to his Royal Highness, and together they retired to a sofa and held a lengthened conversation—lengthened, that is, for the circumstances. There were many better opportunities to come. By-and-by it was perceived, from the commotion at the landing-place in the Dockyard, that the Governor was about to embark. Again the saluting

battery belched forth a salute, and Sir Philip Wodehouse, the Governor of Bombay, was seen going off to the ship. He also was received by his Royal Highness with much kindness.

When it was time for his Royal Highness to set his foot on the shores of India, on which he had been gazing all day, there was some curiosity as to the order in which the Prince and the Viceroy would take their seats; but according to marine views, whether from instinctive politeness or not, Lord Northbrook unquestionably gave precedence to his guest, for he stepped on board the launch first, and remained standing until the Prince had descended the companion and had taken his place beside him in the stern of the boat. Once more the cannon spoke, the crews aloft cheered, bands played, marines and guards of honour presented arms, officers saluted the royal standard as it passed each man-of-war. Moreover, the day was now deepening into night, and all the ships were illuminated. The Dockyard stair and passage do not usually present any features of attraction, but now the decorations were ample and tasteful. On each side of the way, between the piers, were long lines of benches rising in tiers, draped with scarlet cloth. In the front rows sat or stood, in eager expectation, chiefs, sirdars, and native gentlemen of the presidency, multitudes of Parsis, rows of Hindus, Mahrattas, and Mohammadans dressed in their best, a crowd of them glittering with gems, eager to catch an early glimpse of the eldest son of the Queen, and ready to give him the most cordial of welcomes.

Among those who are thus assembled is a tall man in a white turban glittering with jewels—a man of determined expression and powerful frame—who is standing up with a sullen expression and a lowering countenance. He is the Maharajah of Udaipur, the head of the oldest house in the presidency—a house compared with which our oldest families are parvenus. And he will not sit down, spite of entreaties, because there had been assigned to him an inferior place to that allocated to the young Gaikwar of Baroda. In the old days this misunderstanding might have caused a bloody war; but now a young civil servant is detached for the purpose of throwing oil upon the troubled waters, and presently, under the spell of his eloquence, the sullen brow of the haughty noble relaxes, and the setness of his face breaks into a half-smile.

When the Prince went on shore the anxiety of the chiefs to see him was intense. For once they were much agitated, and the proudest departed from their habitual reserve. At first he was shut out from their view, or was only

revealed at times in the centre of a waving mass of cocked-hats, plumed helmets, and uniforms, in the midst of which he was scarcely distinguishable; but when they could identify him the frankness of his smile, and the candid look with which he surveyed them, produced on the instant a favourable impression; and when he paused to return their salutations, with hand uplifted to his helmet, they were more fully able to form an idea of his courtliness.

The day on the evening of which the Prince landed on Indian soil must have been a remarkable one for Bombay. The whole population was out of doors to see the preparations for the reception of his Royal Highness, and the equipages of the innumerable rajahs blocked the streets as they moved about, consisting of cavalry with strangely picturesque uniforms. Bombay was filled to overflowing, and it was estimated moderately that there were at least 100,000 more people than the usual population. The apathy of the East dissolves under the spell of approaching royalty. Every Oriental loves gorgeous pageantry and the pomp of regal progresses.

The manner in which the Prince was to make his first appearance before the Queen's subjects in India had been a point of some consideration. Oriental ideas of dignity and grandeur insensibly acquire influence even over the minds of Europeans after they have been some time resident in the country, and therefore it was suggested that splendidly caparisoned elephants would form the most fitting mode of carriage for the Prince, the Viceroy, and the high officials and their suites in his Royal Highness's procession through the city to the Government House at Parell. But it was ultimately decided that the entrance should be made in carriages.

Immediately that the Prince had landed, and the strains of "God save the Queen" had died away in the hum of many voices, the Corporation, headed by Dosabhoy, the Parsi chairman, in the pure white robes of his race, and in the head-dress worn by his people, presented a loyal and well-composed address. The Prince's reply was happily conceived and well spoken. Then the Prince, with Lord Northbrook by his side, advanced slowly along the carpeted avenue, at the end of which there was a band of Parsi girls awaiting him with garlands and baskets of flowers. From time to time he stopped to speak to the Princes who were presented to him by the Viceroy, the first being Sir Salar Jung, who, though not a prince but a prime minister, represented the state of Haidarabad. He shook hands with most of them, and was

especially gracious to the younger chiefs. It is to be doubted whether a native noble left the pavilion without feeling gratified at the notice taken of him.

When the Prince emerged from the Dock-yard another salute was fired by the artillery. Dr. Russell says, "The aspect of the streets can scarcely be conveyed in words. . . . There was something almost supernatural in the long vistas winding down banks of variegated light, crowded with gigantic creatures tossing their arms aloft, and in every extravagant gesture which the eye—baffled by rivers of fire, blinded with the glare of lamps, blazing magnesium wire, and pots of burning matter—sought to penetrate. For the most part the streets indulge in gentle curves, and as the carriages proceeded slowly, new effects continually opened up, and fresh surprises came upon one from point to point, till it was a relief to close the eyes out of sheer satiety, and to refuse to be surprised any more. After several miles of these melodramatic effects, no wonder there was an inclination to look for one welcome little patch of darkness to receive us in its grateful recesses ere the night was over. Certainly it was a spectacle worth going far to see. The like of it will never probably be seen again. This is generally said of any spectacle of unusual magnificence, or of extraordinary grandeur; but, taking it all in all, I believe that very few who witnessed the sight would care either to have missed it, or to go through it all once more."

Night had long fallen ere the royal party had reached their journey's end; but at length the whisper came from the front and ran down the line of the procession, "We are nearly home," and Parell received the Prince with all due honour, the most illustrious of the many guests who have been sheltered under the roof of the old Jesuit convent. The illuminations had continued up to the very gates, and the mansion itself was ablaze with lights prepared for the occasion. There were many scarlet-coated servitors in the hall and on the steps, the Governor's body-guard lining the corridor and staircases, and the day was to be wound up by a banquet in the great hall. The accommodation afforded by Parell is not very extensive, although the dining-room is very fine and large, and the state apartments remarkably imposing; but in any case it was necessary that those who were included in the Prince's suite should be accommodated, and the greater number had to sleep in tents, which was felt to be no hardship. On each side of a broad avenue formed by noble trees there was a fine camp prepared for their reception, with crowds of

servants waiting to be engaged by the occupants of the tents. Outside the main street of the camp were tents for the servants, for a battery of artillery, and for a detachment of the 2nd Queen's Royals, and the quarters of the vast miscellaneous gathering of people which is to be found at every centre of power and authority in India. The tents were ready—beds, tables, chairs, washing apparatus, lamps, and other requisites. The dinner was a grand affair. All honour was given to the Prince and his retinue. Sir Salar Jung was present at the banquet as the only Indian nobleman, and probably others might have been but for religious prejudices. After the banquet there was a state reception in the grand drawing-room, and the Prince remained till near midnight affably conversing with various guests, but the departure of the Viceroy for Malabar Point was the signal for the breaking-up of the company. The heat of the day had been excessive, and therefore there were very few who were not glad when it was time to walk down the steps of the Government House, and make their way along the avenue of trees to their tents, where the servants were waiting ghost-like in their white garments till they should see their masters to bed.

Next morning the English gentlemen must have had a sensation of strangeness come over them when they awoke and found dark-skinned persons all around them. People and trees and surroundings of all kinds were different from home—mango-trees and mango-birds, the gold mohur-tree, cocoa-nut and toddy trees, the wheeling kites overhead, and higher still the soaring vultures, the cry of the great woodpecker and the chattering of the familiar minar—together there must have been evidence that this was a new land, and that it was India. But there was little time for any one to look around him on this particular morning. This was the Prince of Wales's birthday, and it was to be duly honoured all over India at noon. The first object which greeted the eyes of the Prince this morning was a portrait of the Princess, which had been intrusted to Sir Bartle Frere for this occasion. One may imagine his delighted surprise as he unexpectedly saw before him the well-limned features of his beautiful consort.

But this was a trying day to his Royal Highness. "He had been familiar with all the formal courtesies of royalty at home, and had himself performed many of them; but now, at very short notice, he had to make himself acquainted with formalities of a novel character, much importance being attached to them, and the due etiquette had to be observed

under the eyes of princes and chiefs who had been familiar with it all their lives. It was intensely hot even at eight in the morning, but the Prince was obliged to wear a uniform of European cloth, laden with lace, and buttoned up to the throat, and to stand and sit for hours, going through the same kind of labour with each of the rajahs whom he received, who, after a time, must have appeared to him very much like the same persons who had just left the room and were coming back again."* A little before ten A.M. the members of the suite who were not on outdoor duty were directed to repair to the inner audience chamber on the drawing-room floor of Government House. At the entrance stood two gorgeous living figures in scarlet and gold surcoats and turbans, with massive gilt implements in their hands. Servants similarly dressed, with gilt bâtons of curious form held like swords, were ranged along the sides of the room. Twenty-four chairs were placed on the left of the silver throne, which had been prepared for the Prince at the end of the room on a cloth of scarlet and gold. Behind this seat stood four servitors—two with peacocks' feathers and horse-tails, and two with broad fans, which were moved by the bearers to and fro on the long stems on which they rested. On the right of the Prince's throne twenty-four chairs were ranged, with a second rank behind. On the wall at the back of the throne was a portrait of the Queen. In front, extending about three-fourths of the length of the room or hall, was "the carpet," which is so important in connection with all durbars. But the programmes did not style this a durbar—the ceremonies were called "private visits"—inasmuch as his Royal Highness held no official connection with the Indian Government. In the early correspondence on the subject of the visit it had been mentioned that the Prince could not hold "durbars," but it would have been very difficult to have detected much difference between these and the private visits, except in the fact that the chiefs were introduced separately and had separate audiences. Thus certain grave questions connected with precedence were avoided. But the "carpet" was there, by means of which the Viceroy and others measure the degree of consideration and honour which is assigned to the durbarees, or those entitled to be received in durbars. It is with reference to the outer edge of this carpet and to the exact number of steps taken by Prince or Viceroy from the throne that the rank of the visitor is determined and acknowledged.

The Prince went into the throne-room

* Dr. W. H. Russell's *Prince of Wales's Tour*, p. 129.

shortly before the time fixed for the first reception, which was ten A.M. He looked at the gorgeous chair of state with its golden arms, one representing a lion, the other a bull, as if he thought it somewhat too fine. Many of the members of his suite were around him, while others of their number were engaged in the trying task of galloping up and down in the hot sun in attendance on rajahs. The first who was presented was the Rajah of Kolhapur, who went in great state, and departed in a similar manner. Notwithstanding his years the Rajah seemed to be a mere child. "It was interesting," says Dr. Russell, "to watch the face of the Rajah as he raised his eyes to meet those of the Prince." As became his years, he was timid, and stood for a moment at the entrance to the throne-room. "But inexorable fate in the shape of Major Henderson led him forwards towards the Prince, who had risen and advanced down the carpet to meet him. At the edge he stretched forth his hand and took that of the Rajah, whom he drew towards him kindly. After the Rajah trooped the sirdars." The Political Agent then conducted the chief to the chair on the right of the Prince. The Rajah's quick, soft eye rolled down the line of the suite opposite, and then remained fixed on the Prince; and his sirdars, who sat in a row contrasting very much indeed, in their Oriental bravery of shawls, jewels, and tissue of gold, with the plain uniforms of the Prince's suite opposite, watched every gesture of both. A few compliments were exchanged. And then it came to the turn of the sirdars, each of whom rose and advanced to the foot of the throne, salaaming low. The usual courtesies in the way of presents were exchanged, and the Rajah and the sirdars, walking backwards, left the royal presence to make way for others. It would only be repetition to record other receptions; they were all very much alike, except as to the distance the Prince went on the carpet. All eyes, however, were dazzled when Maharajah Syaji Rao, the little boy whom the Government of India installed as the Gaikwar of Baroda, stood at the threshold of the door. He was weighted—head, neck, chest, arms, fingers, and ankles—with such a sight and wonder of vast diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and pearls as would be worth the loot of many a rich town; and the little gentleman had more at home. He was met at the edge of the carpet, and strode with much solemnity to his seat near that of the Prince, being accompanied not only by the usual following, but specially attended by Sir Madhava Rao and Sir R. Meade, who are really the rulers of Baroda; and they have ruled well both for prince and

people. Next occurred one of the most interesting events of the day—the reception of Sir Salar Jung, at the head of a deputation representing his Highness the Nizam of Haidarabad, who was ill and unable to attend. The Prince received Sir Salar Jung in the middle of the carpet. He shook hands with him and the members of the deputation which he headed. Sir Salar has done much for Haidarabad, and deserves more than ordinary praise for the wisdom and enterprise of his administration, he being Prime Minister. On this occasion he was the most plainly dressed of the whole deputation, the sirdars being much more splendid than their leader. He was manifestly oppressed and diffident, it is supposed on account of a dispute between him and the British Government. He seemed to regard himself as a *persona non grata*, and spoke only when he was spoken to. But the Prince showed him much cordiality, as did the British public when he subsequently visited this country. A salute of twenty-one guns was given, not to the Prime Minister, of course, but to the Nizam whom he represented, and who is entitled to that number. But let this suffice. There were many presentations, but the formalities were at length wearisome, so that when the last of the durbarees had departed the prevalent feeling was one of thankfulness. But for the poor Prince there was yet much to do ere his birthday came to a close.

The Viceroy was received, and had a long conversation with his Royal Highness, before the latter left Parell House on a very interesting errand. His Royal Highness went to pay a visit to the *Serapis*, where the crew were enjoying a dinner which he had provided. The men of the *Osborne* were similarly treated. There was a fine work of the confectioner's art ready in the saloon, which the Prince cut, and his health was drunk with much feeling, for he had endeared himself to all while on board. Telegrams were exchanged between Sandringham and Bombay. The passage of the Prince between the shore and the ships was, of course, made with pomp, salutes, and yards manned, flags, music, and cheering; and when he landed, the city, which had been in great excitement since the day before, was beginning to light up, for this was the happy occasion for which the natives had been longing—the general illumination of the fleet and of the town, a spectacle which those who saw it can never forget. It seems to have been a surprise even to those who had passed through the streets the night before.

The ships were so brilliantly illuminated that the great bay looked as if filled with fiery pyramids. The sea that lapped the sweep of

the bay and all its curvings from Malabar Point to Elephanta was fringed with flame. The Prince, attended by the Viceroy, the Governor, the officers of state, of the army and navy, and the chiefs, drove through the principal streets from Mazagone to Parell, passing by every public building and object of interest on the way. "None who have not seen an Indian illumination can imagine the beautiful effect of the soft light of the buttee, or the oil-lamp, a small saucer of baked clay, with a piece of cotton wick. The lamps were fed incessantly by men and women with cans of oil. But the inscriptions were monotonous, and rarely deviated from the stereotyped "Welcome," though now and then one came upon an unusual exception, such as "Tell Mamma we are happy;" "Welcome to thee, our future Emperor;" "Welcome, our future Father and King," and the like.* A state banquet was given by the Governor in honour of the Prince's birthday. It was here that his Royal Highness said, in returning thanks for his health, which was proposed by the Governor, "It has long been my wish—the dream of my life—to visit India; and now that my desire has been gratified, I can only say, Sir Philip Wodehouse, how much pleased I am to have spent my thirty-fourth birthday under your roof in Bombay. I shall remember with satisfaction the hospitable reception I have had from the Governor and all here as long as I live, and I believe that I may regard what I have experienced in Bombay as a guarantee of my progress through this great empire, which forms so important a part of the dominions of the Queen."

These words were prophetic and true to a degree which few had dared to anticipate. A reception, attended by many of the native chiefs, in addition to the *élite* of the European community, followed the banquet, and the festivities were not brought to a close till a late hour. The Prince, as is his wont, was affable with all, and state ceremony not being now required, he had conversations with not a few of the princes.

The Governor-General took leave of the Prince on the 10th, in the evening going on an official tour, and not expecting to see his Royal Highness again until he should receive him as his guest in Government House at Calcutta. The "act of respect" having been performed, and the Prince having been duly welcomed, Lord Northbrook directed his attention to his immediate and more ordinary duties, and, with his staff, went to visit the chiefs of Rajputana; but he deferred his departure till after the levee, although he saw little of the Prince after this early morning.

* Dr. Russell.

Breakfast over, another series of receptions began. The Prince again took his place before the chair of state, and inferior or smaller chiefs were this time to be his visitors. First came chiefs of Kattiawar of the second class. The distinctive title of such a chief is "Thakur Sahib." Each thakur was led by one of the staff to the threshold of the audience chamber, and was then conducted by Major Henderson or Major Sartorius into the Prince's presence. The thakur made obeisance, the Prince bowed, and the chief was pointed out his chair on the right of his Royal Highness. A few kindly remarks were made to each, and then they retired, salaaming low. The first who came was the Thakur Sahib of Morvee; after him the Thakur of Wankaneer, and many others whom it is unnecessary to name. In raiment and countenance and general figure these men were various—some were laden with jewels, while others were plainly clad; but as each sat sword in hand he looked a gentleman. Their behaviour was admirable; no staring or pushing, no curious gestures or expressions of surprise, but perfect self-possession and repose.

A levee was held at the Secretariat, an enormous pile of buildings. The route along which his Royal Highness had to drive was lined with spectators, and the presentations were very numerous. The Prince, however, had time for recognition by bows only, and the bows he made were several thousand within the hour. The time appointed having expired, the doors were peremptorily shut, and many were excluded. The affair was especially brilliant. The princes were remarkable for the richness of their dresses, and for the startling effects of colour which these exhibited. At the close the Viceroy bade the Prince a cordial farewell.

The Prince immediately proceeded to the native school children's fête. More than 7,000 of all castes were feasted on this occasion, and the Prince was greatly pleased with the enthusiasm manifested by the youthful assembly. Some Parsi girls placed wreaths of flowers round his neck; and a translation of the hymn, "God bless the Prince of Wales," into the native dialect was sung by the children.

The evening had been fixed for the return visits to the chiefs and princes at their own residences. There the restraint and silence which had formerly been so remarkable utterly vanished. The Prince spoke unreservedly to the chiefs, and the effect was magical. The first visit was to the Maharajah of Kolhapur, four of whose principal officers escorted the Prince from the esplanade near the Secretariat. The chief's residence, hired for the

occasion, was at some distance. There were crowds of natives lining the streets, these augmenting in intensity as the procession reached the place, where guards of honour, artillery, triumphal arches, illuminated gardens, and a bungalow of great size, as light as day, indicated that the Prince was expected. The Sirdars of Kolhapur, surrounding their Rajah, were arranged outside the house. The hall was full of retainers, and the staircases were lined by warriors and servitors armed to the teeth. The state apartment was very richly decorated. The Prince and the Rajah, hand in hand, advanced between the lines of seats arranged at each side of the room, and sat down in chairs at the end. The sirdars sat on the left, the English on the right. The Prince expressed the pleasure he had in meeting a chief with whom it was possible for him to converse. There was brief conversation, the usual courtesies, and the Maharajah conducted the Prince to his carriage. The next visit was to the Maharana of Udaipur, a young chief of distinguished lineage and considerable promise; and the next, and last for the day, to the Gaikwar, who met the Prince at the door and conducted him up-stairs to a seat in a long room brilliantly lighted. When the durbar was set the effect was very fine, the court of Baroda being still magnificent. It was no doubt difficult for his Royal Highness to find small-talk for a little boy like the Gaikwar, but the Prince interested him by speaking of illuminations and horsemanship. The Gaikwar is very fond of riding, and his Royal Highness encouraged him to persist in the exercise. As he was in the carriage which came immediately behind that of the Prince, he could see the illuminations to perfection, and he expressed his pleasure with childish freedom; but he did not seem quite so cheerful when the Prince alluded to his studies, said he would watch over his career with interest, and hoped he would pay especial attention to English, which he would find very useful. Before leaving, the Prince had an interview with Jumnabaae, who may be called the "Queen-Mother," and then drove off, followed by the Baroda sirdars, back to Parell, having performed what would have been a hard day's work in any climate, but one which was especially so in the heat which now oppressed Bombay.

Next day the return visits were continued, and in the programme were included the Maharajahs of Idar and Mysore, the Rao of Katch, Meer Ali Morad Khan of Khairpur, the Nawabs of Junaghur and Radhanpur, the Jam of Nawanagar, the Thakur of Bhaunagar, the Rajah of Drangdra, the Rajah of Rajpipla, the Dewan of Palumpur, and Sir Salar Jung, at

their own residences, besides attending other native chiefs at home at the Secretariat. The Prince then visited an enormous marquee erected on the esplanade, where more than 2,000 sailors, marines, and soldiers were entertained at a banquet given in honour of his visit. His Royal Highness quite confirmed himself in the good graces of the men by moving among them, drinking their healths, and making a speech. He afterwards laid the foundation-stone of the new wet docks amidst a large gathering of Freemasons. According to the correspondent of the *Daily News*,* "the Prince is winning all hearts by his rare consideration and his graceful urbanity and dignity. The native princes are profuse in their expressions of appreciation of his manner and his geniality. He is devoting every hour of the day to public duties of all kinds with surprising energy and unflagging zeal." After these visits there were another dinner and another reception at Parell, and so the day was closed.

But the bow cannot be always bent. Recreation is needful and healthy. On the morning of the day whose engagements have been chronicled, and just after breakfast, there might have been seen approaching Parell a train of ragged fellows, some leading asses and others carrying bags. "These were followed by seven or eight ungainly elderly women in bright drapery, with musical instruments in their hands. They squatted apart—conjurers, ape-leaders, singing women—under the shade of the trees in front of the tents. Presently the Prince sauntered down from Government House and took a seat in front of Lord Charles Beresford, and the charmers and conjurers prepared for their exhibition; but the natives had no idea of the rank of the person before them." The Prince was to see a new phase of Indian life. "The camp-followers and soldiers from the tents near at hand gathered round, till one of the suite, remembering what had occurred on a similar occasion in India, cleared them away. The juggler and the snake-charmer first showed off all the orthodox tricks of their confraternity. They were only two—a withered vivacious juggler and a ragged snake-charming confederate—shabby old fellows, whose skin hung on their bones as if it were cracked brown paper. They did clever 'passes,' swallowed and spat out fire, exhibited an inexhaustible water-vessel, and walked on wooden pattens, held on by the feet's making a vacuum with the sole. The juggler suddenly produced two cobras out of one of the baskets, which had been turned over, inside out. A thrill went

* Nov. 14th, 1875.

through the spectators as the reptiles, hissing fiercely, raised their flaming eyes and hooded crests, and reared on end as if to strike the garrulous charmer. It was not the drumming or playing of his friend on the dry gourd which drew the reptiles out of cover. The snakes danced to the music of a gourd-drum, but it was with rage and fear, not with pleasure. Dr. Fayrer opened the jaws of the larger with a stick while the man held it, and showed the Prince where the fangs were *not*. Meantime a mango seed, which had been seen placed in the earth, was growing rapidly, and the old fellow in an interval of snake-charming exposed a bright green tree, some eighteen inches high in the ground, where he had apparently only put in a seed, covered with a dirty cloth. Then another of the famous legendary feats of the Indian juggler was executed. A shallow basket, about eighteen inches high and three feet long, with a cover, was placed before the Prince. It was plain 'there was no deceit.' It was a basket, and neither more nor less, and it was put on the bare earth to all appearance. A lad of twelve or so, slight of figure and pleasant of face, with not an article of dress on him save his loin-cloth and turban, came out from the group of natives near at hand. Him the jugglers, chattering the while, bound up hand and foot, *à la* 'Brothers Anyone,' with strong twine. Then the old fellow slipped a sack of strong netting over the lad, and squeezed him down on his haunches so that he could tie the cords securely over the captive's head. He then lifted him from the ground to show how securely the sack was fastened. He put the boy into the basket with great force, as it seemed, and appeared to have difficulty in fitting the lid on the top. When that was done the older juggler began to talk to the basket. Presently the lid was agitated, the cord and net were jerked out on the ground. The juggler ran at the basket, jumped on the top, stamped on it in a fury, crushed in the lid, took a stick and drove it through the wicker-work. He lifted up the lid. The basket was empty! Then came a voice as of the lad who had been inside it, and lo! up in the branches of one of the trees near us was just such a youth! It was certainly a very clever trick, and done with the most simple adjuncts. The mango-tree, when it was next uncovered, appeared hung with tiny fruit. The ape-men showed off their favourites, which had been trained apparently to turn the British soldier into derision, and went through the manual and platoon exercise in a shockingly reckless manner, winding up with a general quarrel. Finally, the singing women began a ditty;

but a few staves were quite sufficient to prove that the taste for native music must be acquired." *

On the next day his Royal Highness inspected the Baroda gold and silver guns at Parell, and expressed his admiration of them. Other native chiefs were continually arriving at Government House, and all were delighted with the gracious reception which they received. Cholera, unhappily, had broken out in the Nilghiri districts. There was more than the average amount of sickness even in the fleet, and a death from cholera on board the *Serapis* was reported. In the evening the Governor of Bombay gave a grand party in honour of the Prince in the Caves of Elephanta, near Bombay. There was a numerous and distinguished assemblage, and, the caves being illuminated, the scene was picturesque and fairy-like in the extreme.

This was not the first time that these caves, of which Heber, Dr. Wilson, Forbes, and many others of a long list of travellers, British and foreign, have given descriptions, have been made the scene of a Christian festivity. But the Brahmins told the Hindus of Bombay that the Prince of Wales and other Europeans on this occasion went to Elephanta to worship the Deity there, and to do *juttra* to Shiva.

Two steamers conveyed the Prince and the favoured guests of the Governor from the bay across to the island, where they were landed at the pier, not without difficulty, for the water was shallow. The sun had set, and the disembarkation was effected by torchlight carried by men wading up to their middle—sufficiently picturesque in themselves—and there were fires on the beach, and an illumination to guide the vessels. There is a steep, winding ascent to Garipuri—"the City of Caves"—for three-quarters of a mile, which was lighted up by lamps suspended from a continuous framework of bamboos. There are, it is said, one thousand and one steps to the top. When the visitor enters the excavations, passing through the double row of pillars, which look as though they were supporting the mountain, he sees an example of one of the most stupendous of human works, in connection with which is an element of mystery and awe-inspiring grandeur, which, however, is gradually passing away, for these idols of stone are crumbling to pieces, although it is believed they are not a thousand years old. Their stony eyes seemed to be glaring on the great army of tables covered with cloths and plates and dishes. The faces of extraordinary power and beauty, the gigantic forms cut with deci-

* Dr. Russell, pp. 158—160.

sion and boldness which challenge admiration and wonder, may seem to us to violate the rules of proportion and to indicate vicious taste; but it should be remembered that they are but the efforts of the sculptors to convey their impressions of beings of divine, not of human type. Mahadeva, the three-faced god; the goddess with a single breast, Paravati, the wife of Shiva; the sculptures around the shrine of Linga—all indicate struggles to express in stone the attributes of extraordinary beauty, power, strength, fecundity.

The Prince and the Governor and the principal guests sat at an elevated table, at right angles to which were ranged the tables of the general company; and when the feast was over, and the toasts of the Queen and the Prince had been given by Sir P. Wodehouse and received with acclamation, the party made an inspection of the chambers of the temple, admiring especially the massive columns with their beautiful carved capitals, and then proceeded to the open air, and descended the steps under the trellis archway of lamps towards the pile. But before they arrived at the beach the island suddenly seemed to become volcanic—the double mountain began to glow with fires. On the summit above the caves spurted up tongues of coloured flame, and then there were eruptions of rockets. When the Prince's launch pushed off from the shore it seemed as though Elephanta were resolving itself into red, blue, and green fires. And yet this was but a preparation for what followed, when the procession of boats, escorted by the steamers, approached the two squadrons of the fleet, and passed down an alley of ships discharging volleys, in which the *Osborne* and *Serapis* were conspicuous. This was perhaps the most impressive of all the many displays of the kind made for the Prince's honour, and for the delectation of those who sought to pay it to him. But "all that's bright must fade"—men must sleep; and so the Prince landed, and drove off to Parell, and that day was ended. His Royal Highness seemed exhausted—and little wonder. When he landed at Bombay he appeared to have a preoccupied air, and to be of a serious and sad aspect. The scene was new to him, and he was weighted with a heavy responsibility. Since then he had performed many exhausting duties, but he had always rallied. The heat had partly overpowered him; but, with the aid of vigorous youth and an indomitable will, he was found invariably in the morning to be refreshed and strong.*

A change was now to occur. Bombay's heart was not even yet content. But the

* *Bombay Gazette.*

Prince had not gone to India simply to visit Bombay. Certainly Bombay, by the enthusiasm of its people, the liberal vote of its municipality for decorations, illuminations, and such expenses, and the hospitality of Sir P. Wodehouse personally, deserved well. It is not cheap for man or multitude to entertain a Prince; but, grateful as he was, our Prince could not remain at Bombay.

Therefore on the 13th of November all the servants in camp were turned out to send off luggage to the train which started for Kirki at seven in the morning. Bad news had come in regarding the prevalence of cholera in the district intended to be visited; but in any case the roads which had been made up the hillsides for the Prince's accommodation were destroyed in a tremendous rain-storm. A special train to convey the Prince to Puna was at the station close to Parell at eleven o'clock. The distance to Puna is 119 miles. There was a guard of honour of European Volunteers, whom the Prince inspected, and to whom he expressed his satisfaction at their appearance, and his approbation of the movement which has now extended over India. This was the first occasion on which the Prince travelled by rail in India, and he had now an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the wonders of *bundabust*, which are supposed to be so remarkable there in all Government departments. To each carriage was attached a label with the names of those of the suite who were to occupy it; and in the same way the vehicles in which they were to be seated on their arrival were told off, generally with great exactness, all through the tour.

The country through which the train of the Prince went was mountainous and grand, and it was enjoyed all the more because, as in the ascent of the Bhore Ghat, the scenery became more and more picturesque, and the temperature gradually cooler.

Kirki, the scene of the battle which determined the fate of the Maratha Empire, was reached in due time. It is just fifty-eight years ago since by this roadside there was fought that action of momentous consequences to British rule, for the results were the fall of the power of the Peshwa and the establishment of that of the Company in the Deccan. There was not much to be seen by the royal party at Kirki, however, which is simply a plain, and is sufficiently dry-looking. There are rows of bungalows, it is true, and lines of trees by the roadside. On the occasion of the Prince's visit a British battery fired a salute. There was a crowd of soldiers' wives and children—European and Eurasian—outside

the railings, and the officials and the guard on the platform, which was decorated with flowers and flags. By-and-by the Prince stepped out on the platform, and was greeted by all the British officers, civil and military, from miles around. Sir Charles Staveley and his staff, and Lord Mark Kerr and his staff, and every one who could get there, were waiting to receive the royal visitor, who drove in state through the cantonments and the outlying suburbs, which were in a condition very creditable to those who are responsible for them. The procession suddenly pulled up in the sun, between the lines of soldiers, who formed a bright border to the variegated flower-bed-looking crowd of natives behind. This was an address, of course. The elders of Puna, headed by a venerable-looking man with a noble beard, were on the platform, beyond which was a triumphal arch. The address was enshrined in a fine silver casket. The Prince made a gracious reply to it and passed on. There were many ladies, mostly Europeans, by the roadside, who gave the Prince a hearty welcome. And then on and on through miles of road and street lined with soldiers, British and native, and crowded with people, mostly Marathas.

It was five o'clock ere the Prince reached Puna, and then there was a long drive to the Government House of Gunnesh (or Ganesh) Khind. The palace and buildings here cost £175,000. But India is a very dear place for some descriptions of work. The Prince was received in state worthy of him, and his standard flew out from the tower as he set foot within the threshold of the palace. The generals and officers, military and civil, attended, and were duly presented. After a stroll through the grounds of the palace, the party in waiting on the Prince broke up, and sought out their lodgings. Some were quartered in the palace, and others were provided with accommodation in houses in adjacent compounds. This dispersion at Gunnesh Khind was inevitable, because that stately residence, with all its grandeur, does not possess the merits of extensive sleeping accommodation; but there were carriages provided to take the guests to and fro.

There were a state dinner and a dance, which latter was suggested by the Prince as an enlivening process. Mr. Kanné, who had hitherto done much in the way of making arrangements, started next morning with letters for the Princess of Wales and the Queen. At six o'clock on the morning after, the Prince went to visit the famous Temple of Parbuttee. The ascent to the temple, which is effected by a long flight of stone steps, exceedingly steep and in some places rugged, was

made upon elephants, and the Prince now had his first experience of a mode of carriage with which he had become perfectly familiar before he left the country. *Chota-hazree* (small breakfast) was served at the base of the ascent to the lofty hill on which towers the fortress-like temple. There was a gathering of devotees, fakirs, and beggars to welcome the visitors; but due precautions were taken to prevent intrusiveness or mobbing. The Prince inspected the interior of the great pile, was shown the shrine of Shiva, looked at the idols, and had a conversation with one of the priests—a very astute Brahmin, who, having learned all that he could of English dialectics, and possibly the rudiments of Christianity, had reverted with increase of subtlety to the practices of his faith. He was an exceedingly good specimen of the cultivated Brahmin *à l'Anglais*, a master of logic, of a philosophical humour coupled with a mocking spirit, which perhaps would have developed into an exhibition of some stronger feeling if he had dared to indulge in it. He was, however, made happy in the way he most valued by a gift to the temple from the royal hand.

While the Prince was at Parbuttee the Duke of Sutherland and Lord A. Paget, under the guidance of Colonel Fife, visited the great artificial lake which serves as the head-water of a vast scheme of irrigation connected with the Mutah, and the renowned stronghold called Singhur, *i.e.* the lion fortress, eleven miles from Puna, and which was captured so wonderfully by Sivajee. It is built on the summit of a block of basalt so steep and high that the only means of reaching the fortress is by a laborious climb on one's own legs, or by the use of those belonging to porters bearing a palanquin. From the temple one can see the ruins of Torna, the first fort which Sivajee captured, as well as Rajguhr, the first which he founded in the Deccan, and a vast extent of rolling country scarred with water-courses and streaked by mountain ridges, which are broken here and there into detached truncated blocks, frequently crowned by ruined fortalices.

When the Prince returned from the temple to Gunnesh Khind there was a discussion respecting his future progress. In regard to cholera the reports differed. Finally it was resolved to ask Ceylon when she would be ready to receive his Royal Highness, and meantime he resolved, if possible, to visit the city of the Gaikwar. A review of the Puna division was ordered at six in the evening. There was not a very large force to show, nor were the native regiments good specimens. The Prince returned to Gunnesh Khind by the city and cantonments, which were illu-

minated with great brilliancy. There was a farewell dinner, and then at midnight his Royal Highness and his company drove to the special train at Kirki, where the servants had arranged luxurious beds in the caiques, and in half an hour more they were scouring away from the former capital of the Peshwa on their return to Bombay, and sleeping as securely as if they were in their own beds at home.

The wild ghats presented a grand appearance in the early morning. The train arrived at Parell at half-past seven, and the Prince at once drove to Government House, where he felt himself at home. The visit of the Prince to the Gaikwar of Baroda was a question which had much discussion, but he finally determined upon going. He thus saw a place rarely touched by the foot of a stranger, and had a reception which, if it were wanting in the glare, enthusiasm, cheers, and infinite variety of forms, ceremonies, and entertainments which welcomed him at Bombay, was entirely Oriental—the source of much enjoyment to himself and of great benefit, it is believed, to the State. Here colours were presented by the Prince to the Marine Battalion, and the ceremony attracted an enormous mass of people. The old colours were accepted by the Prince, to be carried home to grace the walls of Sandringham.

After another *burra khana* at Parell, there was a grand ball, at which the nawabs and rajahs had an opportunity of seeing how European ladies and gentlemen dance to amuse themselves instead of looking at others to do it for them. When one sees dancing rajahs and waltzing nawabs in India, he may be sure that British work is far advanced; but on this occasion the native gentlemen were especially modest, and avoided the beautifully dressed ladies who graced the ball-room.

And now the Prince is to leave Bombay. The presents, upwards of four hundred in number, which he had received from the Bombay rajahs and chiefs, included every variety of Indian workmanship—tissues, brocade, cloths, arms of all kinds, jewellery, gold, silver, and metal. The Rajah of Kolhapur, in addition to an ancient sword and dagger, estimated to be worth Rs. 6,000, assigned £20,000 for the founding of a hospital to be called after the Prince of Wales. The presents of the Nizam, rich in swords, fire-arms, gold cloth, and the like, were especially interesting. The Gaikwar of Baroda offered a tea service of silver, of native workmanship and design, made at Madras under European superintendence; shields of layers of silk closely pressed together, which resist a sword-cut or thrust of

a lance from the strongest arm; a pearl necklace from the Maharanee—a very beautiful ornament which had graced the necks of ladies of the Gaikwar's family, the pearls of excellent colour and size, with an emerald and diamond pendant, for the acceptance of the Princess of Wales, who was not forgotten. A diamond brooch with pearl pendants was also presented to her Royal Highness by the Maharanee. The Rao of Katch sent an exquisite collection of the famous work of his state, which has a well-merited reputation in India. Upwards of thirty pieces of silver and gold—flower vases, tea services, and various articles for the table—formed a very sufficient illustration of the excellence of the workmanship and of the taste of the workmen.

The Prince had many to remember at Parell, and there was a little levee in the hall when he was about to take his place in his carriage. But inasmuch as the hour of his departure was not generally known, there was no great gathering of people along the roadsides. His Royal Highness was delighted once more to behold the sea. The bay shone like a mirror, and there was not a breath of wind. In the evening Sir Philip Wodehouse, his staff and suite, and others, went off to dinner, and there was a very pleasant evening. The ships were again illuminated. After a night of intense heat the native servants who had gone on board with their masters from Parell were all activity from half-past six till noon, at which time the steamer with the shore luggage was alongside. At one o'clock the Prince, with the Duke of Sutherland, went on board the *Undaunted* to lunch with Admiral Macdonald. At half-past eight the royal party landed at the Apollo Bunder. There were some hundreds of Indians, Europeans, and Parsis at the landing-place, and several hundreds more were collected along the route to the railway. There was a large assemblage both outside and inside the station, the Parsis being most conspicuous. They are no great element of strength, but they highly value the advantage of living under British protection. Generally speaking, they are rich, commercial, active, and civilised. They are attached to a rule which protects them and enables them to make money.

The railway to Baroda traverses the island on which Bombay is built, and is carried by a series of bridges and embankments over the estuaries and rivers which mingle their waters in the low-lying district close to the sea, across Salsette, and on northwards by the small Portuguese settlement of Damann. Early in the morning there was a loud knocking at the windows of the carriages, accompanied by the call, "Get up! get up! We shall be at

Baroda in twenty minutes." And so it was. The Gaikwar, with Sir Madhava Rao at his side, and groups of resplendent sirdars behind him; Mr. Melvill, the agent of the Governor-General; and the officers of the British Government, civil and military, in full uniform, stood on the platform at Baroda, which was finely decorated with green wreaths and festoons, and decked in flags and flowers, to welcome the Prince. There were triumphal arches outside, and a vast sea of dark faces was visible—a mighty gathering which might be counted by tens of thousands, spreading itself along the roadside as far as the eye could reach, all eyes fixed on the same object—the son of the Empress, the Shahzadah of Hindustan. The Prince exchanged greetings with the Gaikwar and Sir Madhava and the British officers, and then took the little Maharajah by the hand, and sat down and spoke with him for some time. He then passed outside to the steps leading from the entrance of the station, before which was an elephant of immense size, on whose back was a howdah which shone like burnished gold in the morning sun. It was covered with a golden canopy. This great carriage is said to have cost four lakhs of rupees. The ornamentation of the animal was gorgeous in the extreme, and the mahout was attired in a costume befitting so precious a charge. Attendants stood by with state umbrellas, fans of peacocks' feathers, yaks' tails, and streamers of scarlet and cloth of gold, which they waved before the Prince, while others held the silver ladder for him to ascend to the howdah. After a short pause to survey the scene, the Prince and the Gaikwar descended the steps from the station. The beast, in a series of convulsive heaves and jerks, dropped down upon its knees. The ladder was placed against the howdah, and the Prince, carefully assisted, stepped up. The Gaikwar followed, and sat by his side. Sir Madhava also took his place and accompanied them. At the word to rise, the mountainous creature swayed to and fro, and the Prince held on vigorously to the rail in front while the animal was establishing itself on its fore-legs. The next elephant was even larger, but not so quiet. His howdah was of burnished silver. Many others followed. As the Prince passed on, a number of these sagacious brutes lining the road, knelt down, rising after he had gone by, and then joining in the procession.

There was great interest taken by the populace in the Prince's movements. The procession went in single file to the residency, which is about three miles distant. The whole of the way was bordered by a light trellis-work of bamboos and palm strips, hung

with lamps and festooned with bright green leaves and flowers, and at intervals there were grander arches and clusters of banners. There was very short notice of the visit, and it was astonishing to see how much had been done in so little time.

The procession arrived at the residency in an hour. There was then a durbar, at which the sirdars were presented, and the suite were introduced to the Gaikwar. When the leave-taking came, the Prince led the Gaikwar to the entrance. The elephants, with gold and silver howdahs, and the whole of the brilliant equipage, were waiting there, with the guard of honour and the Gaikwar's own escort. He mounted to his seat, and amidst royal salutes returned to his palace. Close to the house the Prince discovered some use for his gun for an hour or two, finding there at liberty several birds which he had previously known only in cages at home. At half-past three he went to pay his return visit to the Maharajah. The city is curious. The houses generally consist of two stories. The ground-floor, raised above the level of the pathway, open to the front, is frequently used as a shop or store. The first floor has a veranda and a balcony of carved wood, which is painted in some bright colour—red, yellow, or sea-green—so that the effect is very brilliant. The Hindu temples are small and unobtrusive. A party-coloured crowd, two or three deep, sat or stood—keen-eyed, curious, and quiet—along the streets through which the *cortège* had to pass. There were respectful salaams, and occasionally some Parsis cheered. Few women were visible, but there was an abundance of children.

When the Prince arrived he found the little Gaikwar with all his jewels on—Sir Madhava Rao being in studied plainness of attire—and a background of sirdars and shrewd-looking Parsis waiting to receive him at the portico. The Maharajah led the Prince up-stairs, and they sat side by side talking pleasantly through Sir Madhava Rao's interpretation. Presentations were made to his Royal Highness, and the usual courtesies shown. A wreath was placed over the Prince's neck by the Maharajah. The Prince was then led by his host to the door of the Maharanee's apartment. Jumnabaa is, it appears, an exceedingly engaging and graceful lady, not yet thirty years of age. She was unveiled, but from time to time she drew, as if instinctively, her tissue shawl over her head. Her little daughter she held by her knee, and remarked that "she would have been Gaikwar if she had been a boy." The child's governess, an English lady, sat a little behind.

Shortly before five o'clock the Prince and his suite started for the Agga, or the arena

for wild-beast combats. The Agga is an enclosure of 180 yards long by 60 yards broad, with walls 20 feet high. These walls are pierced by low archways, into which the men engaged may retreat in the event of their being attacked by the animals. There was here shown a considerable variety of conflicts between beasts and beasts, and beasts and men. After witnessing a number of them, in which he seemed to take but little interest—to his credit be it recorded—the Prince rose, thanking the Gaikwar and Sir Madhava Rao, and returned to the residency. The consumption of oil in illuminations at Bombay, Puna, and Baroda must have been prodigious. After an interval devoted to business, the Prince and suite drove over to the lines of the 9th native infantry, where he was received with due honour by Colonel Thompson and his officers, and dined with them. It was the first occasion on which a native corps had ever entertained an heir apparent, and the soldiers highly appreciated the honour which was conferred upon them.

Next morning at an early hour the Prince and his party went on a shooting excursion. They proceeded some short distance by train. The line runs through a country of exceeding richness, perfectly level, and richly wooded and crop-laden. When they had reached their destination they found five or six cheetahs surrounded by attendants, standing upright on cars drawn by oxen, their eyes hooded, lashing their lank sides with their tails, hissing and purring by turns like monster tabbies. There were also ugly, fierce-looking dogs of the Persian type—half greyhound, half deerhound—in leashes, and eight falconers with splendid peregrines and several short-winged falcons on their wrists. The Prince inspected the cheetahs with interest. One of them was taken from his cart for closer investigation, at which he hissed savagely till he was stroked into good-humour by his keepers. The Prince then mounted an ox-cart with the Duke of Sutherland, and the rest of the suite followed on similar vehicles. This mode of conveyance was intended to permit the sportsmen to approach the black buck, which are accustomed to see long trains of hackeries or bullock-waggons traversing the fields. The carts on the present occasion, however, were too highly ornamented, and the *cortège* was much too large, so that the animals were frightened. At last a cheetah was slipped from the cart at a herd some fifty yards distant, and singled out a buck, which bounded with amazing springs across the plain. The cheetah, being distanced, gave up the chase after a dash of about five hundred yards, which is said to be

the ordinary length of run they make, the animal usually giving up after the failure of his first rush. The hunters now divided and beat in different directions, and many herds of deer were again seen, but they were very wild and shy. At length, after much manoeuvring, a cheetah was brought sufficiently close, and was unhooded. It sprang from the cart at a herd, and pulled down a buck which was engaged fighting with another, catching it fast by the throat. When the cheetah seizes buck or doe, the agony is short, for the shikaree runs up, and after the usual ejaculation, “May it be lawful!” puts an end with keen blade to the victim’s struggles. The sportsmen mounted the carts again, and in half an hour got near another herd. This time two cheetahs were slipped, and each pulled down its victim.

The cheetahs were now sent back, and the Prince tried stalking; but it was with difficulty the hunters could get within a long shot. The usual course is to drive till deer are seen, and then get out and walk alongside the cart, which is directed towards the herd. But the herds were especially timid and wary. His Royal Highness had only one chance, and that a very poor one, before ten o’clock in the morning. The heat then became oppressive, and the sportsmen were compelled to rest till three in the afternoon. At half-past five the Prince returned with a fine buck which he had killed at two hundred yards, and Colonel Ellis with a doe. At six o’clock the Prince drove back to Baroda. Sowars and police patrols were posted at intervals along the road, and a cavalry escort guarded the carriages. His Royal Highness arrived at the residency at seven, and dined with the colonel and officers of the 22nd native infantry in the cantonment, the mess-room being very prettily decorated. At one end of the table were some fine skins of tigers shot by Colonel Nuttall, and the Prince of Wales’s plume on the wall behind his Royal Highness. The health of the Queen, and then that of the Prince, was proposed by the colonel. The Prince expressed his pleasure at meeting with the officers, and gave the health of the regiment. Colonel Nuttall, in returning thanks, said the memory of that night would live in the annals of the regiment for generation after generation. The night was cool, but the excitement of the day prevented sleep, and with jackals, parrots, minars, crows, and the frequent challenges of sentinels, there was no great amount of quietness. The “Hookumdarr” of the sepoy, and the “Who comes there?” of the British soldier, pierced the canvas of the tents during all the hours. Next day was Sunday, and

the Prince and suite attended divine service in the large reception-room.

At seven in the evening the Gaikwar's carriages were at the residency, and half an hour later the Prince, with Sir Richard Meade, Mr. Melvill, Sir Bartle Frere, and other members of the suite, drove to the palace of the Mohtee Bagh. Perhaps his Royal Highness saw nothing more curious in India than he witnessed on the way. Outside the cantonments there was a bridge spanned by triumphal arches most brilliantly illuminated. Men holding blazing torches stood along the parapets. But at the corners, and perched on stages and towers along the battlements, there were placed most grotesque and hideous figures such as one sees only in dreams. They looked like plaster statues. From beneath glistening tiaras or bonnets, wigs of snaky hair flowed over opaque white faces, which were set on tinselled bodies decked with wings of scarlet, picked out with gold and silver, which projected from the shoulders. Dresses resembling Elizabethan sacques of brocade and tinsel concealed all shape or form. In the inanimate hands were stiffly held bouquets; but glaring living eyes looked out upon the passers-by. The sight was horrible. It seems that on great occasions young people of the lowest castes dress themselves up thus at the expense of the native court, and keep their finery as perquisites of right. Every road was marked out by lamps. The very trees of the adjacent groves were hung with lamps. Lamps seemed to be strewed broadcast even over the fields. There were ornamental towers and triumphal arches blazing with lamps. Innumerable Chinese lanterns swayed wherever they could be hung. And behind these lights stood a silent, solemn, brown-faced crowd. It is worthy of remark that although the Prince passed within the reach of an outstretched arm of those multitudes, not a word of offence or gesture of disrespect caught any one's eye or struck on any one's ear.

Again it was the privilege of the royal party to see the Baroda highlanders, the Baroda horse, the gold and silver guns, and the beautiful carriages of the Maharanee Jumnabae, drawn by magnificent oxen, with gilt and silvered horns, covered with trappings of gold and silver tissue. The Gaikwar's band played "God save the Queen," his artillery fired a salute, and his troops presented arms. The Gaikwar, Sir Madhava Rao, Shab-odeen, and the ministers received the Prince on alighting. Unreservedly, trustingly, his Royal Highness, followed by his handful of friends, passed

into the palace among the masses of swarthy retainers of the court, all armed to the teeth, with the hand of the Gaikwar in his own. Before dinner the company were invited to inspect the crown jewels, and they were well worthy of admiration. The late Gaikwar was fond of jewels, it seems, and one day there came a merchant with certain precious stones which he valued at £90,000. The Gaikwar wanted money. So, said he, "I will buy the jewels; and if you give me £30,000 down, I will give you an order for £120,000 on the treasury." The jeweller agreed, gave the money, and handed over the jewels.

When dinner was announced the Prince led Mrs. Melvill down-stairs to a long narrow pavilion in the garden. The dinner was in the European fashion. Towards the end of it Sir Madhava Rao appeared leading in the Gaikwar. The Prince rose and made room for him by his side, Sir Madhava standing at the back of his chair. After a short conversation, Sir Madhava, in the name of the Maharajah and Maharanee, proposed, in English, the health of the Queen, which was drunk with all honours, and next gave that of the Prince of Wales. The Prince, in returning thanks, expressed the pleasure he felt at being in Baroda, and his gratification at the cordiality of his reception. He thanked the Maharajah and the Maharanee for their kindness, and assured them he should never forget his visit. The Maharajah was yet very young, but he had a great career before him. He predicted that the Maharajah, inspired by the able counsels of Sir Madhava Rao, would devote himself to promoting the welfare of his people, and would exert himself to develop the resources of the country he was called on to govern, so as to insure the continuance of friendly relations between the two Governments. He gave the health of the Maharajah and the Maharanee. Sir Madhava, in reply, said the Maharajah and the Maharanee requested him to return their most grateful thanks for the manner in which their health had been proposed and responded to. They certainly regarded that as the happiest moment of their lives. Long had they been gazing on photographs of English royalty. It was now their felicity to see that Prince who was heir to a sceptre whose beneficent power and influence were felt in every quarter of the globe; which dispelled darkness, diffused light, paralyzed the tyrant's hand, shivered the manacles of the slave, extended the bounds of freedom, and accelerated the happiness and elevated the dignity of the human race. They were grateful that the Prince had come from his distant northern

home, traversing seas and oceans, as the gracious messenger of a gracious queen. He had come to inspect an empire founded by the heroism and sustained by the statesmanship of England; to witness the spectacle of indigenous principalities relying more securely on British justice than could mighty nations on their embattled hosts. He would be greeted everywhere with enthusiastic loyalty and fervent devotion on account of his illustrious mother, and on account of his own exalted position, as well as of the motives which prompted the visit, and of his own right royal affability and graciousness. His visit to Baroda could never be forgotten, never could fade from their memory. The occasion would be commemorated by history, and would ever be associated with renovating strength and stability to the state. He had only to add a fervent prayer that their royal guest would complete his progress to his satisfaction, and that he might have reason to regard with peculiar favour the weighty interests of the princes and peoples of India; that he might carry back to his Empress mother, and to the British nation in general, most gratifying messages of loyalty to and attachment on the part of divers nations, professing different creeds, differing even in colour and costume, but united in gratitude for the benefits of British rule and influence.

The reader will observe that Sir Madhava's speech was conceived in the manner of an accomplished courtier. It was, moreover, expressed in perfect English.

After dinner the Prince, Gaikwar, ladies, and company returned to the palace, where a clever performer played on cups of different sizes filled partially with water, to an accompaniment of zithers. Two girls afterwards sang characteristic music. This was followed by a performance of dancers. Coffee was served, and there was a display of fireworks. At half-past ten the Prince paid a visit to the Maharanee, and expressed his pleasure at the interview. The Maharanee was evidently greatly pleased at this, and went out with the Gaikwar and bade him good-bye at the steps of the palace. At 11.25 P.M. the Prince drove to the station, where a special train was waiting to convey him to the shooting-ground south of Mehmoodabad. The Duke of Sutherland and Mr. Grey went by special train to Ahmadabad, and much enjoyed their trip to that ancient city and to its monuments and temples. Just as the sun rose the Prince and those who were with him got out of the train prepared for immediate action. There were elephants, camels, ponies, and tongas, or country carts, waiting for the sportsmen, together with a large number of beaters, and

a wide stretch of country such as quails prefer, there being also jute, bagrie, and other game. Now and then there were partridges and hares. The bags of the party were soon full. At about ten A.M. the Prince and his companions rode to an old temple, beautifully situated over the river, for it was not meant that the whole time should be devoted to field sports. There they breakfasted, and at half-past one the Prince arrived again at the residency.

After his Royal Highness had received the native commissioned officers and complimented them on their appearance, he started for Dubka, eighteen miles off, where he slept. The expedition was for pig-sticking. The party drove in open carriages. The road was carefully guarded and patrolled, and the bungalows in which the sportsmen slept protected against intrusion during the night. At six o'clock in the morning they went out with nearly a thousand beaters. Great preparations had been made by the Gaikwar's Government. A military cordon was established round the hunting-ground. There were three drives, but the boars broke away or escaped in the high cover. The Prince, however, succeeded in killing one pig. He reached Baroda at six. A new road from Dubka, made expressly for the occasion, was hung with lamps the whole way, and patrolled by cavalry. People's tastes differ, and therefore, while some of the party were pig-sticking, others took a drive through Baroda. The streets were filled with bullock carts and foot-passengers. They visited the potters' quarters, where the manufacturers were working their primitive wheels, turning out earthenware chatties at one pie each. The visitors were told by one man that he could make 120 in the day, but out of that he would have to pay for fire for baking and for clay. His drawings, off which he had to take that expense, would amount to about 3s. The party then drove to a magnificent tank 500 yards square, where elephants were bathing, people washing and drawing water, the surface covered with green scum, broken by the gambols of fish and water-serpents. It is 12 feet deep. The priest of a Hindu temple near came out and invited the strangers to enter, which they did. The inner idol was not shown, but in the outer shrine they could see the image of a cow or ox covered with gold tissue. There were many Brahmins inside, and although some had frowns on their brows they were civil. One elderly priest informed them that there were a sermon and service open to all every Monday; and he pointed out a lad of eighteen as the best of the preachers. This civil guide showed at the end that he was as

well up to asking a fee as any British verger that ever was born.

The party next passed through the quarter of well-to-do citizens, where there were strong police stations and guards, as well as mounted men on duty at various places. These people seemed to regard the strangers with less friendly eyes than the poorer classes. Some of them were absolutely scowling.

The hunting party returned in the afternoon, and the Prince received deputations and addresses—never, apparently, weary—from Ahmadabad and Surat. The departure from Baroda for Bombay was not so imposing as the entry, but it was nevertheless made an affair of State, and the Gaikwar and his court attended the Prince to the Baroda station. There were illuminations, bands, and escorts, but the platform at the station was by some mishap insufficiently lighted, and Sir Madhava Rao was in some fear lest advantage might be taken to do mischief to the Prince or to the young Gaikwar in the confusion; but all went safely and well, and the special train arrived at Bombay at 8.40 A.M. The Governor and his staff, and a large party, were awaiting the arrival of his Royal Highness, and a procession was formed to the Dockyard, where steam launches were in readiness to convey him and his suite to the *Serapis*. It was not considered expedient to return to Parell, or remain on shore, on account of the prevalence of sickness. The Prince was received at the Dockyard by Lieutenant-General Staveley, the Chief Justice of Bombay, the members of the Council, the judges, commissioners, and other distinguished officers. His Royal Highness warmly shook hands with many of them, and spoke of the extreme enjoyment and gratification afforded him by his visit to Bombay. Many native princes and chiefs were also present. The Prince embarked on board the *Serapis* at five P.M. amid the firing of salutes from the other vessels of the squadron and the shore batteries.

There were renewed consultations respecting the arrangements for the tour after leaving Bombay, and it was settled that after visiting Goa the *Serapis* should call at Baipur *en route* for Colombo and Ceylon, at both of which places large preparations were being made for receiving him. He was cordially welcomed at Goa by the Governor, and conducted to the palace. The reception over, he then steamed on to old Goa, a city full of decaying and deserted splendour. He inspected the noble mouldering cathedral, the ruinous churches, convents, and palaces, and the beautiful silver tomb of Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Church of Rome in the East. On returning to Goa the Prince had

lunch with the Governor, who afterwards accompanied him on board the *Serapis* to dinner.

The *Serapis* lay at anchor all night, guarded by the *Raleigh*. But as the sun, heralded by the peculiar Indian haze, rose behind the line of the purple ghats and flung its rays into the blue sky, yet rejoicing in its myriad stars, the crew warmed into life in the hard and practical manner of men who go down to the sea in ships, and whose business is upon the waters. Pumps were rigged and hose laid out to wash the decks. At 5.30 A.M. the *Serapis* weighed anchor, and ran along the shore for Baipur. The coast was, however, 10 miles off. This coast used to be infested with pirates, but now a Hindu pirate seems to be an anomalous personage.

It was Sunday, and the Rev. Canon Duckworth and Mr. York, the chaplain of the *Serapis*, officiated at eleven o'clock. There was an excellent harmonium on board, on which one of the band played. Next morning by half-past nine the squadron anchored a couple of miles from the bar at Baipur, and just within view of the railway station. At a quarter-past ten a little steamer crawled up alongside, carrying medical men and others. Their reports were very conclusive—cholera existed all along the routes which the Prince would have to take. The gentlemen did not give any advice, but they manifestly felt their great responsibility. They were also aware of the chagrin which a change of route would cause to many. The shooting camps had been formed with great labour and expense. Bangalore had provided everything that luxury could suggest or wealth procure for the occasion. The Mysore Government had spent many thousands of pounds on preparations for the Prince's reception. Ootacamund was on the tiptoe of expectation, and the people of the station had laid out money in the most lavish manner. The Rajah of Travancore had been living in the hope that he would have the honour, for which he had made magnificent outlay, of being the host of the Prince. For hundreds of miles the whole population was stirred with the same expectancy. All this was true, but it was also true that there was cholera among them. Dr. Houston was of opinion that there was no reason to prevent any one from visiting the shooting district. There was cholera certainly, but then there is always cholera, more or less, about these parts. One place alone was yet free—Trevandrum. Let the Prince go to Trevandrum, then—the Rajah of Travancore is there. But there is nothing to shoot at Trevandrum, while the Annamally and Michael's Valley were swarming with bison and deer.

Deer may be killed elsewhere, but the last chance of bison is lost when this part of Southern India is abandoned. But the Prince himself bore all this very quietly, and set out in the launch, which towed a dingy, in order that by that means he might break the monotony. On the left bank of the river, close to the water's edge, there are a few houses which constitute the town of Baipur. The river is not more than 200 or 250 yards wide above the town, and palm-trees clothe its sides as far as the eye can reach.

It was not deemed advisable by those who knew the country that the Prince should land. The Moplas are not to be trusted. A Mopla is ready to sacrifice his life at any moment in order to take that of a heretic. Armed with bill-hooks, the Moplas have more than once received volleys of musketry and bayonet charges from European troops without flinching. They fight till they fall to a man.

Otters began to be seen, and the Prince could not be restrained. He got into the dingy, and was rowed gently up the creek. Several of the creatures fell under his weapon, but were lost, sinking in the water. Gaily dressed Christian ladies, floating down the stream to have a look at the European stranger, were not aware at the time that the sahib in the small boat was the Shahzadah.

On an eminence crested with trees could be seen the ruins of one of Tippu's forts. "Do the people remember Tippu?" "Oh dear, yes! He gave them good reason to remember him and his doings." His is the immortality of those who vex their kind. But it was now getting dark, and it was time to return. The Prince's absence had created some little uneasiness on board the *Serapis*; but in an hour more the great ship, escorted by the *Osborne* and the *Raleigh*, had weighed anchor and steered for Colombo. At noon the squadron was off Quilon. The fort of Tangacheri came into view, with its flagstaff surmounted by the British ensign. And then appeared the first of the remarkable churches built on the very verge of the beach, at intervals of two or three miles apart, as far as Comorin, which attest the existence of considerable Christian communities many centuries ago, but which have all now ceased to be. The uniform elevation of these ancient churches, their snow-white frontages, and their apparently complete preservation, render them singularly conspicuous and interesting objects from the sea.

The track of whales became obvious. They spouted. "To arms!" was the call on the main-deck, and several rifle shots were fired, but none of the whales seemed to mind. At three o'clock in the afternoon Trevandrum and

an observatory belonging to the Rajah were in sight. The Rajah rules a fair domain. It is said to be one of the few states which have always been under Hindu rule and governed by Hindu laws; but these latter, which dated from 1490, were modified in 1811. The succession is in the female line; that is, the Rajah is succeeded by the son of his daughter, not by his son. At five P.M. Cape Comorin was distinctly visible—"the end of India." The cape is flat and sharp, and the cocoa-nut palm occupies to the verge of the ocean. Behind the trees rise the ghats, their summits covered with mist. The villagers could be seen pointing out to each other the strange flotilla, and gazing westwards in the track of the setting sun. The night was squally; nevertheless there were festivities on board, over which the Prince presided.

On the 1st of December the lights of Colombo were in sight before daybreak. As the morning dawned the look-out was not cheerful. There was not a patch of blue in the sky. There was nothing bright or lively to meet the eye, except the white surf which broke on the low coast-line and washed the base of the apparently interminable array of cocoa-trees which guarded it. The mountain ranges were hidden in vapours and rain-banks, against which were seen seagulls of snowy whiteness. The Cingalese outriggers, many miles from land, provided with long wooden arms, projecting at right angles to the side to sustain the log of wood which balances the craft against the pressure of the sail in the heaviest seas, and prevents the long narrow hull from capsizing, with crews out on the log, buried now and then to the waists in the curling waves, threaded their way through the muddy-looking waters, while other catamarans, canoes, ballams, and doneys were engaged in fishing nearer the shore. The number of these latter was so great as to suggest the idea of large flocks of ducks. No matter what their size, these boats are made with pegs of wood instead of iron, and the planks are sewn together by fine cocoa-nut fibre rope or cord. The gunwales are sometimes surmounted by a course of wicker-work or compost, to keep out the lap of the water. In Homer's day the Greeks used bulwarks of osiers to exclude the waves. Similar contrivances may be seen in the Nile boats, and even on board the less advanced condition of Thames billyboys. The probability is that the Cingalese boats remain as they were in the earliest days. As the *Serapis* went past them, the crews—wiry, light-figured men, all but naked, their dark skins shining in the spray—stared for awhile in deep wonder, and then resumed their labours.

The approach to the coast of the great island was regarded with much interest. Every eye was fixed on the fast-developing outlines of the landscape, and the wealth of greenness which renders Ceylon "an Emerald Isle" indeed, displayed itself from the beach up to the swelling hills, the summits of which were lost in curling clouds. The Prince went up on the bridge. The "spicy breezes" did not, however, come out to sea to give warning of the nearness of the land where so many flowers impregnate the air with their odours.

The waving ensigns and tall masts of the men-of-war, dressed in many colours, were first to welcome his Royal Highness. Then by degrees the modest elevations of Christian steeples began to appear, as well as the semaphore, the Dutch fortifications, the white-walled, red-tiled bungalows along the beach, and the houses set in the invariable frame of green cocoa-nut palms. Amid this green there was a fluttering of many colours, and the play of innumerable flags and streamers. The *Serapis* having found her way to the anchorage, the admirals and senior officers went on board, according to custom, to pay their respects. There was a swell on, but the pilot assured the Prince that the jetty and platform where he would land were protected from it. Officers presented themselves to take orders, and await the royal pleasure as to the disembarkation. While they were explaining the programme of addresses, receptions, and the like, there was much to interest those of the party who had not been in Ceylon before—the native boats, with stores of strange merchandise and fruit, and Cingalese bumboatmen, fruiterers, officials, telegraph clerks, and post-office employés in the native costume, their lower man being swathed in petticoats. At one o'clock the *Serapis* made signal to the fleet, and soon afterwards a royal salute was fired from ships and forts, and a *feu de joie* on shore celebrated the anniversary of the Prince of Wales's birthday. The Governor was waiting to be summoned on board; and after a time he was signalled for, and, attended by the higher officers of the Government, went off in his galley, towed by a steam-*barge*. They were not sorry to reach the deck of the *Serapis*. It seemed as if they could not get on board without a drenching; but they managed, and after a short welcome and greeting to the Prince, the Governor and authorities returned to shore, where the royal party was anxiously expected by a great crowd of ladies and gentlemen from all parts of the island, some of whom had been in their places since six o'clock in the morning. It was nearly four P.M. before the Prince left the *Serapis*. He was in the uniform, adapted to

Indian latitudes, of Field-Marshal. When his launch's bows appeared round the Point a salute was fired by the fleet, and tremendous cheering came from the shore. The landing-place was enclosed by a gay pavilion, which was reached by a flight of steps, covered with scarlet cloth, leading under an archway, which was decorated very tastefully with flags and wreaths. Everywhere there were flags, fruit, cocoa-nuts, flowers and palm-leaves, and triumphal arches. On the landing platform stood all the state of Ceylon—the members of the Legislative Council and of the Municipal Corporation. There was a kind of throne placed for the Prince. When the Prince appeared a few minutes after the landing of the first boat-load, there arose a shout which could not be mistaken. It was a very hearty outburst, and it was afterwards repeated. Then came the presentation of addresses and the answers.

This ceremony ended, the Prince and Governor led the way up the avenue, lined by the 57th and the Cingalese police, to the large Government building. The Prince was, as a lady said, "so close to each and all, that they could nearly touch him, and he smiled so pleasantly as he walked along, that we saw nobody else." Outside the seats which were reserved for special ticket-holders the general public were wild with joy. They were not much oppressed with clothing, but they were in high animal spirits. They ran, shoved each other, and leaped up even to get a view of the waving plume and white helmet. Passing through the halls, which were, for the most part, filled with Europeans, the Prince got into the grateful open air, to meet, if possible, a greater ovation. There was then a triumphal drive through the town and along by the sea-wall, to enable the Prince to see and be seen, and everywhere there was an extraordinary expenditure of vegetable wealth in piles of fruit, arches, wreaths, festoons, and garlands, with much variety of fancy in decoration, inscription, device, and grotesque representation of the elephant, which creature typifies the island. In this way the Prince, with the Governor by his side, drove for many miles, surrounded by cocoa-nut trees, the villas in the suburbs being shaded by cinnamon groves, and well-nigh concealed by other forms of tropical vegetation. As evening set in the carriages returned to the landing, and his Royal Highness went off to the *Serapis*. The Governor was entertained on board at a State banquet, and there were present as many naval and military officers and others as the ship could accommodate. Colombo was illuminated, and the fleet was also lighted up. On shore the planters re-

joined in their own fashion. Ceylon had never seen such festivities before. It may be that there have been greater displays of wealth and splendour, but there was always uncertainty in regard to property and life; now all was security and peace.

Next day the Prince went on a run to Kandy, and the day was fine. Outside Colombo the railway crosses the river, and then passes through a country which at certain seasons is intensely green with growing rice. In the offshoots of the river there are usually many natives bathing. Along the road, which is close to the railway, there are always to be seen many two-wheeled waggons, pretty little hump-backed cattle, pack bullocks, and pedestrians. Now and again there are glimpses of Buddhist temples, many of them picturesquely situated on the tops of hills, or half hidden among the trees. The Prince and the Duke of Sutherland chose to enjoy this charming scenery from the engine.

Since the decisive capture of Kandy in 1815 there have been several rebellions; but the last, in 1848, was effectually stamped out by Lord Torrington. The railway station, outside Kandy a few miles, was decorated in a peculiar manner. Over and above the ordinary floral embellishments, there were birds, monkeys, and white crows. Immense crowds of people were there, many of them with flowers in their hair and nosegays in their hands. In a deep ravine, or, more properly speaking, at one side of a broad valley surrounded by hills, and near where the town is situated, the Mahawelli Ganga River thunders over its rocky bed. There is a small lake, by the side of which part of the city is built. There is but little appearance of a town. It is all suburb—verandaed pavilions and bungalows stretching away in lines which bear the names of streets. Here and there, it is true, the native houses are packed more closely together; but the place as a whole is much diffused and scattered.

Kandy was once a stronghold of kings, and it became the capital about the end of the sixteenth century. There are no public buildings properly so called. There are various orders of chiefs, and their diversities of dress are most ridiculous. The number of chiefs and Buddhist priests at the station, on the occasion of the visit of the Prince, showed the importance which was attached to the fact of his coming among them. There was, of course, an address from the Municipal Council of Kandy delivered at the railway station, and there were deputations from all the country for many miles around. When the royal party reached the "pavilion," having passed through many decorations, they

felt a comfortable sense of relief. But everything has its drawbacks. The shady groves were more than pleasant. "But," says Dr. Russell, "a sharp prick above the ankle directed my attention downwards, and I saw a small black body, not much thicker than a pin, which gave decided signs of life, contracting and expanding itself vigorously just above the shoe. I caught hold of the little black thread in my hand, and pulled it away. Where it had been a spot of blood appeared. In a second the leech fastened upon my finger. The place was swarming with the wretches! I had inadvertently walked on the greensward, populous with the blood-suckers. I instantly fled, and resolved to wear shoes no more in these latitudes."

The Governor entertained the Prince and the notabilities of Ceylon at a great dinner. There were lamps and lanterns, and streamers and music, and immediately after the banquet there was a remarkable procession. There were many elephants, with priests representing the deities, makers of heaven and earth, and their inferior heavenly potentates came after. The Cingalese deny that the images of the gods in their temples are more than symbols, and say that they are not actually worshipped. In connection with this procession there was a considerable number of "devil dancers" in masks and painted faces. They were hideous. The elephants, plodding along in single file, carried magnificent howdahs, occupied by priests, and were covered with cloth of gold and silver, and with plates of metal which shone in the light of the torches. Most of these animals, no doubt prompted by their riders, salaamed to the Prince, and some knelt down and made obeisance before him. There is no part of the world where there is such an extraordinary variety and exuberance of vegetable growth. Nor is that all. There are strange forms of animal life as well. Among these latter are flying foxes, which come to Ceylon at certain seasons of the year in enormous multitudes. The Prince wanted a specimen. A gun was sent for, and down came one of these remarkable creatures. He shot several.

The leeches greatly interfered with separate personal locomotion. If one went into the long grass, another would be sure to hear in a few seconds such an exclamation as, "Will you take this off my neck, if you please?" or, "Hang it! there's one on the calf of my leg!" They must smell one's blood. The Governor and one or two others were knighted, and then the Prince went to see the sacred tooth of Gotama Buddha. The holy relic is housed in a *wihara*, or sacred chamber, in a tower adjoining the Malagawa

Temple. The "Dalada," as it is called, is a piece of bone or ivory, nearly 2 inches long and 1 inch round. It is of irregular cylindrical shape. The thing is no doubt fabulous, for if this so-called tooth had a complete set to match it, Buddha must have had a wonderful jaw. The story of the tooth has been told many times. When Gotama Buddha's body was burned at Kusinara, 2,419 years ago, his left canine tooth was carried to Duntapura, the capital of Kalinga, where it reposed for 500 years, till the King sent it to Ceylon. There the Dalada, called Dahta Dhatu, lay till the early part of the twelfth century, when a Tamil Prince of Madura, who invaded the island, carried it off to India, where the sacred tooth remained till the King of Kandy, as the gratifying result of a personal crusade and expedition for the purpose, obtained possession of it. But the Dalada's peaceful days were over. Less happy than its former owner, now absorbed in eternal rest, the tooth was the object of constant inquisition, and it was carried about for safety from one hiding-place to another during the incessant wars which distracted the island. Sir Emerson Tennent has given a full account, translated from the Portuguese of Diego de Couto, of the capture of the Dalada by Don Constantine of Braganza at Jaffna in 1560. Diego calls it the tooth of an ape, which it certainly is not, and gives the details of its destruction by the archbishop at Goa, in presence of the Viceroy and his officers, and of the prelates, inquisitors, vicars-general, and pious Jesuits, in April, 1561. It was these good people who counselled the needy pidalgos, captains, and other temporal persons to reject the 400,000 cruzadoes offered by the envoys of the King of Pegu for its possession. The Archbishop, having received the relic from the treasurer, "placed it in a mortar, and with his own hand reducing it to powder before them all, cast the pieces into a brazier, which stood ready for the purpose, after which the ashes and the charcoal together were cast into the river in the sight of all those crowding to the verandas and windows which looked upon the water." Many, we are told, protested against the measure, on the ground that there was nothing to prevent the Buddhists from making another tooth, and that the money would have repaired the pressing necessities of the state. They were quite right. The Buddhists were not to be beaten. The Dalada which they exhibit to-day is, they say, "the real and only one;" that which Don Constantine took at Jaffna was a sham made *ad hoc*. When the King of Pegu, three years after the tooth had been reduced to powder,

sent to the King of Kandy to ask his daughter in marriage, the crafty chamberlain of the latter, who pretended to be a Christian, but who was a Buddhist at heart, told the ambassadors that he had hidden the real tooth, and took them to see a fac-simile, which he had constructed out of stag's horn, in his house. He was prevailed upon, for a consideration, to yield this tooth up to the King of Pegu, who was in a great delight with his treasure for some time, till he was told that the lady he had married as the daughter of a king was as great a sham as the tooth which had been sent to him. But even then he preferred keeping both the impostures to admitting that he had been deceived, and he informed the King of Kandy, who maintained that he was the possessor of the only genuine relic, that he was quite content with what he had. The King of Kandy doubtless caused the present article to be made at the time. The *wihara*, or small shrine, in which the Dalada is kept, is approached from the temple by a narrow door and staircase; the apartment itself, which is hung with curtains embroidered with curious devices, is redolent of sickening perfume, which, combined with the heat of the lamps held by the priests, makes the atmosphere almost stifling. The *carandua*, a bell-shaped golden casket enclosing the tooth, stands on a silver table. The case glitters with emeralds, diamonds, pearls of great price, and bears a large stone on the cusp at its summit, which is of enormous value. It is hung round with chains, of which the links are diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and pearls, apparently of very great worth, and is elaborately chased and worked in an intricate pattern, of which a photograph alone could give an idea. At one side of the table, surrounded by as many as could crowd in after him, the Prince took his place. One priest produced a bundle of keys, which was taken, not without trouble and delay, out of some secret receptacle, and then proceeded to unshrine the relic. Even when the keys were brought, it would seem as if those who were the guardians of the shrine were not very familiar with its intricacies. It was not at the first or the second trial that they found the right key; but at last a sliding spring was touched, and the outer case opening, revealed inside another of gold, also jewelled. This in its turn was opened. Again came in view a new casket like unto its fellow, and so on the operation was repeated for five times, until at last,

"Fold after fold to the fainting air,
The soul of its beauty and love lay bare"—

Buddha's tooth was to be seen reposing on a

golden lotus-leaf! No hand might touch this holy of holies. There was an expression of awe on the faces of the priests, which could not have been feigned; the eldest, a venerable man in spectacles, who quivered with emotion, taking up the gold lotus-leaf in one hand, was supplied by another of the priests with a small piece of cambric, or of some white textile stuff. Placing this carefully between his fingers, and not allowing his hand to come in contact even with the golden lotus, he took up the tooth and held it for the Prince's gaze. There was, of course, not much to see in the tooth, and, without faith, nothing to admire; and so the Prince, having duly looked at it, departed, and was followed with pleasure by all whose duty it was not to remain inside. But it was very curious to think that so many millions of people, some of them, no doubt, wise and good, spread all over the East, constituting the population of great empires, not destitute of culture, should hold such an object in veneration. The shrines in which it is encased have been made by various Kings of Kandy, and some go so far as to say that the most recent, the exterior, dates from the year 1464, and that the inside case was made before that date.

The priests presented to the Prince a set of holy books, which, as they asserted, were "the most ancient MSS. in the world." The entire pageant was much interfered with by down-pouring rain, but the people took it patiently.

Horses are rare in Ceylon, but the Governor had collected as many as were required, and the Prince and his suite proceeded to Ruanwella, about forty miles from Colombo, where it was reported that there were two herds of elephants in the forest, and the local sportsmen were employed in watching them. All along the way the royal traveller received a most hearty welcome from all classes. The country at certain points was, however, so hilly that the Prince was obliged to get out and walk. This did not incommode him, although it still continued to rain, as it knows how to do in India when once it begins. Worse than this, the party overtook some of the servants who had been sent on the day before, and found the Prince's gun-cases, &c., lying on the path. The coolies had refused to go farther, and when an attempt had been made to compel them they had quietly retired into the woods, and left the Europeans to their own devices. The party was able to get forward without the coolies, though.

There was a long halt at the rest-house at a place called Kalugala, and where there are exquisite views of the river and the secluded valley. The renegade coolies came dropping

in slowly towards nightfall with various articles which it had been necessary to leave behind. Of course what was not immediately wanted came in first. The Prince, the Governor, and one or two others were accommodated in an old Dutch house—the only one in the place. The others were quartered in huts close by. The rest of the baggage arrived during the night, but by no means sound. There were strange birds in large numbers—parakeets, kingcrows, unknown pigeons, and others. The Prince seemed to be always on the alert. He went out very early in the morning to obtain specimens to stuff, and he brought in a bagful. The poor servants had much to do to keep themselves free of torment. When sent on any ordinary errand, they would return with the exclamation, "Look, sahib! Plenty leech about!" and they had actually anklets of leeches. They hung by scores on their legs.

In another morning or so the rain somewhat abated, and his Royal Highness appeared at an early hour in a broad-brimmed solar topee, sable-lined jacket, and arrayed in knickerbockers and "leech gaiters." These last mentioned are stocking-shaped bags of linen, which are pulled over the feet and fastened at the knee, before the shoes are put on. They baffle the efforts of the denizens of the Ceylon forests to suck the blood of the traveller.

The jungle in which the elephants were said to be was about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Ruanwella, and horses had been sent on to await the Prince on the roadside. Several members of the suite had gone on before. Early hours are the order of the day in India. At nine A.M. the Prince dismounted at the hunting-ground. The beaters had been busy for several hours. But eleven o'clock, twelve o'clock, one o'clock, came and went, and there was still no shot. At half-past one there was a tremendous commotion. The herd was coming down the stockade. Every eye was strained to pierce the depths of the forest, where bamboos and trees cracked like the shots of pistols beneath the trampling of the hoofs of elephants. The Prince three times caught a glimpse of a ridge like the top of a loaf of brown bread, but it was only for a moment; and suddenly the cries of the beaters ceased, and the sound of the trampling receded. "The herd has gone back again." "The tusker has charged and broken through." And it was the same over and over again. In the jungle there were two herds; one of these, being led by an old tusker, charged, with the death of four European sportsmen and of many cattle. He proved to be a leader whose courage and coolness were only equalled by his sagacity and strategical skill. He not only refused to be

driven, but, charging at the head of his column, he broke through the beaters again and again, driving them up trees for shelter, and compelling them in various ways to protect their lives.

At about two P.M., however, it was resolved to apply the ordeal which elephants so much dread, and dried timber was piled up in the jungle and set on fire. Presently branches cracked and trees shook violently. A couple of shots were heard, and an elephant rushed down the hillside. The Prince fired and hit the beast in the head, but it went on and was lost in the forest. In a few minutes one of the attendants of his Royal Highness ran up, and hastily said, "If you will come with me, sir, I think I can get you a shot. I have wounded an elephant; I know where he is, and you can kill him." The jungle was very dense. Hats were lost and clothes were torn, and the heat was great, but the wounded brute was reached and fired upon, and apparently killed; still, after a little, he began to move and to kick, and finally got on his legs. Meantime the Prince and his companions were advancing in the jungle towards the place where the principal herd was supposed to be. There was a crashing noise in the forest ahead. The beaters got up into the trees, and a halt was called. Elephants were close at hand, but they could not yet be seen. At any moment an elephant might rush out. Evasion and escape were hopeless, for in such a jungle no man could do more than slowly creep, while the elephant could go through the brushwood as a ship cleaves the water. Suddenly an elephant appeared not ten yards off, in the very act of charging. The Prince fired, but the great beast vanished in the jungle. In a few minutes more there appeared another. The Prince took deliberate aim and fired, and it toppled over into the stream, where it dammed up the waters. The Prince descended the bank, but his companions called to him to take care. The creature, however, did not move. It was "dead sure enough." Then the Prince, assisted by the hunters, got into the stream and climbed upon the inert mountain of flesh. Europeans and Cingalese dashed into the water and cheered again and again. The Prince, according to custom, cut off the tail; and, as soon as his back was turned, the Cingalese took pieces from the ears as trophies of the day. The Prince was streaming with perspiration—his clothes were wet and torn to shreds. Moreover, it was now growing dark, and more than time to get out of the jungle. The party, therefore, mounted their horses and returned to the road. Carriages were waiting to take them to Hanwele, where

Governor Gregory and others, having gone down the river by boat from Avisawella, were waiting to receive his Royal Highness. But just before reaching the water the carriage, at the corner of a small bridge, went right over into a ditch. No harm, however, was done to life or limb. The Prince acts on the principle of the late Duke of Wellington, "not to be afraid of a danger when it is over," and the first thing he did was to inquire after "his elephant's tail." When the Prince had reached his quarters it was long after dark; and, although he must have been much fatigued, he gave a full account to the Governor of his adventures in the jungle, and of his upset, laughing heartily at the latter incident. The Prince slept at the rest-house at Avisawella.

Next morning at seven the royal party, notwithstanding the fatigues of the previous day, started and drove nineteen miles to Colombo. The Prince, on his arrival, held a levee, which was attended not only by the Europeans and Cingalese authorities, officials, planters, and gentry, but by deputations from all parts of the island—some of them with presents and addresses—and by a large number of yellow-robed priests. The presentations were very numerous. There was next a visit to the Exhibition at the Agri-Horticultural Enclosure, where there were shown many interesting specimens of the productions and manufactures of the island.

From the Exhibition the Prince drove to see elephant arches and trophies, returning to a state banquet in the Queen's House, to which Sir W. H. Gregory had invited all the foreign consuls and other persons of note. The like of this meeting has never been seen in any time of Cingalese kings, or of Indian, Portuguese, Dutch, or English. A ball followed at ten P.M. at the Colombo Club. Next morning the lassitude was rather extreme. Even princes must do "their spiriting gently."

His Royal Highness visited several factories next day, and on his way called to pay his respects to an enormous tortoise, said to have belonged to the last Dutch Governor, and to be more than a hundred years old. The tortoise was not apparently sensible of the honour which was conferred upon him. The visits to the cocoa and coffee factories were particularly interesting. In the coffee-picking rooms there were several hundreds of Tamil women and girls, who had come over from the mainland with their families. They were adorned with an astonishing quantity of silver bangles, necklaces, gold earrings, bracelets, and rings; but their behaviour was all that could be desired—they neither stared nor giggled, which is saying a great deal. The

curious and characteristic jewellery attracted the attention of some of the visitors, and the English superintendent was requested to buy what they wanted. Before he came on the scene several attempts at purchase had been made without success. When the superintendent appeared it is suspected that he ordered. The women, no doubt, received full value and more for their ornaments, but they showed no disposition to part with them. Beyond a doubt the ordinary Tamil silver-smith can make the articles, but in connection with some of these ornaments there may have been family recollections which were loath to part with such mementoes of those who had gone.

The Prince received in the afternoon deputations of Buddhists and other learned men, who presented well-expressed addresses and offerings. The foundation-stone of a new breakwater was laid by the Prince. There were a large assemblage of people, a guard of honour, and the crew of the *Serapis*. These last, with their bronzed faces, their broad chests, and fine stature, were most imposing in their aspect and bearing. There was much need for such a work as this. Colombo is naturally an open roadstead, requiring protection, and this breakwater will be a lasting memorial of the administration of Sir W. H. Gregory. Followed by a large crowd to the water's edge, the Prince left Colombo for the *Serapis* in the evening. There was a farewell dinner to the Governor and authorities on board. The town and country, the fleet and shipping, were all illuminated, and, with many acknowledgments of the pleasure he had derived from his visit, his Royal Highness bade the Governor and others good-bye.

In the middle watches of the night the *Serapis* left her moorings, and was soon right out to sea. At about half-past five in the morning she brought up five miles south of Tuticorin, but the Prince was evidently not expected. There was a strong sea on, but ere long the officials of the place came off, though not without difficulty. The Prince and his suite having landed, it was found that the preparations were very tasteful. The zemindars presented an address, and then the Prince walked to the railway station. The railway was new, and the quiet charms which claimed attention all along the line were manifold. The whole population seemed to have thronged to the line, and the tall, erect figures, square shoulders, broad chests, and straight limbs of the men struck the beholder almost as much as the graceful carriage and elegant forms of the women. It would be difficult indeed to find a finer race in any part of the world. Some of them expressed their feelings

by placing their clasped hands, as if in prayer, before their breasts; others held their fingers to their lips, as if to suppress their cries; but as the train passed one and all clapped their hands in welcome and joy.

The plains were green with sugar, rice, and cotton, extending to the very foot of the wooded hills. This part of India, which the missionaries call Tamil-land, is larger than Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, and the German dukedoms taken all together, and contains a population of about 16,000,000 people. The Nilghiris, rising to the height of 8,000 feet; the Pulnee, with peaks 7,000 feet high, and their eastern offshoots, diversify the surface; and the watersheds throw off supplies for the great rivers, which, however, for part of the year, become little more than beds of sand. Coffee is planted on the lower ranges; rice in great quantities is grown in the plains; and the cultivation of sugar is extending. Indigo and different kinds of grain thrive in parts of the district—if so it may be called, for it is a country—and cotton is not only sufficiently abundant for the wants of the cotton manufacturers, but a considerable quantity is exported. Iron ore is found, and is smelted. The salt-tax monopoly is still in full force here, the French at Pondicherry receiving £40,000 a year for prohibiting the manufacture within their settlements. The revenue of the Tamil district from this objectionable source amounts to about Rs. 2,000,000 per annum.

Unhappily the Government has introduced the system of selling the right to make palm-tree toddy to the highest bidder, and drunkenness, which was once thought a great disgrace among Hindus, is consequently increasing.

Eighteen miles from Tuticorin, at Maniachy, a deputation of about 6,000 native Christians, including a large body of clergy and catechists, and 1,000 boys and girls receiving education in Church-of-England schools, awaited the arrival of the Prince. The Rev. Dr. Caldwell and the Rev. Dr. Sargeant headed the deputation. Those gentlemen belong to different societies, but their object is one, and their fraternisation was here shown to be complete. Dr. Caldwell read an address of welcome from the Christian congregations at Tinnevely. It appears that of such congregations 600 have been formed in as many towns, villages, and hamlets. The total number of native Christians in the district was stated to be 60,000, who are under the care of 54 native clergy and 590 catechists and teachers of various grades. The number of actual communicants is 10,378. The schools are attended by 13,000 boys and girls. The Christians in Tinnevely contributed during

the year which preceded the Prince's visit Rs. 32,483 for the support of their own congregations—a sum which is equivalent, in the sacrifice which it represents, to eight or ten times the amount in England. At the conclusion of the address a handsomely bound Bible and Prayer-book in the Tamil language and offerings of embroidery and exquisitely fine lace, the handiwork of girls attending the Tinnevely schools, were presented to his Royal Highness.

The Prince having appropriately replied to the address, the children sang a "Tamil lyric" composed in the Prince's honour, of which the following is a translation. It was sung to a native air:—

"Through the grace of the blessed Lord of heaven, O son of our victorious Queen, mayest thou ever enjoy all prosperity!

"It is our peculiar happiness to be subject to a sceptre under which the leopard and the deer continually drink at the same stream.

"Crossing seas and crossing mountains, thou hast visited this southernmost region, and granted to those who live under the shadow of thy royal umbrella a sight of thy benign countenance.

"May thy realm, on which sun and moon never set, become from generation to generation more and more illustrious!

"May the lion-flag of the British nation wave gloriously far and wide, and wherever it waves may the Cross-banner of our Lord Jesus fly with it harmoniously!

"God preserve thee and regard thee with an eye of grace, and grant thee long life and victory, and bless thee for evermore!

"Obeisance to thee! Obeisance to thee, O wise King that art to be! Safely mayest thou reach again the capital of thy realm, O thou whom all men justly praise!"

After this song his Royal Highness handed to representatives from each of the schools mango and other seedlings, to be planted in the school compounds in memory of his visit; and no doubt in many a hamlet of Tinnevely the "Prince's Tree" will live for many generations. At 12.20 P.M. the train stopped at Kovilpatty, which is 36 miles from Tuticorin. Here a small but luxurious camp had been prepared near the station. The tents belonged to the minor zemindar of Ettiapuram, who, with his friends and tenants, was there to greet the Prince. Vast masses of people were congregated. They had generally fine forms, pleasant manners, and a picturesque appearance. The Prince accepted from the zemindar some presents, more valuable for their associations than their intrinsic worth, as mementoes of his visit, and between four and five o'clock proceeded on his journey. This readiness on the part of his Royal Highness to stay on his route here and there, in order to be civil and courteous and friendly, contributed immensely to his popularity in India.

Madura, the next stopping-place, is one of the most likable towns in Southern India. The streets are not paved, as are those of European cities; but they are broad, ornamented with palm-trees, and clean. Whatever it was in former times—and there is no small amount of fable about that—its present public buildings and temples attest the prosperity and wealth of its more recent native rulers. It is said that the place is called Madura from a Sanscrit root which signifies "sweetness," and the repose of its tanks and groves, and the placid air of its population, bespeak for it long freedom from tumult and disturbance. It is a great centre of missionary enterprise, and the salt of gospel truth is the great preservative of nations. The American societies especially labour in this quarter, and they report 139 congregations, with 7,000 members. In the whole of Tamil-land there are said to be 120,000 professing Christians.

When the English had succeeded the Dutch, who had driven out the Portuguese in Southern India, the ecclesiastical authorities and the missionaries for some time lived in peace under the guardianship of the Bishop of Antioch; but after some time there was a split among them—one portion adhering to the Anglicans, and another retaining their adhesion to Antioch. The Roman Catholic Church has still large establishments over the land; and as there are varieties of missionaries belonging to different sections of Protestants—Americans, Germans, Danes, and English—the natives are sometimes a little confused, and real progress is retarded. At the same time Sir Bartle Frere and other high authorities believe that the progress of gospel truth in this part of India may reasonably be anticipated.

The Prince had beautiful quarters assigned to him at Madura; but it was necessary to disperse his suite—some to considerable distances. Before dinner the principal personages were received, there being many native chiefs. His Excellency Rajah Ramachundra Tondiman Bahadoor, of Puttukottai, is a small yet stout man of about forty-six. He speaks English and a little French, as well as Telugu, Tamil, Hindustani, and Maratha; is Sudra by caste, of the tribe of the Kallar. His state, with the administration of which he has little or nothing to do, covers more than 1,380 square miles, and there is a population of 320,000. In the state there are 3,000 tanks, and some of them are very large. This state has no treaty with the British Government, is exempt from tribute, and has independent courts of justice. Yet the Rajah has no power, for he is under

British suzerainty, and is controlled, even to his expenditure of pocket-money, by the Political Agent, who can "remonstrate" when he is so disposed. His subjects can be tried in British territory for offences therein committed; but this little state is a kind of Alsatia for refugees from the surrounding British districts; and his "army" of 21 horse and 126 foot is at times suspected of being unmilitary in its sense of honour. As a punishment for running into debt, the Rajah has been deprived of some of his titles, and has lost his guns. But he is very proud and vain, and resplendent with jewels. Those ornaments, however, are said to be not always in his possession.

There was a force of 500 native policemen collected from all parts of the country to keep order and to watch over the royal quarters. Trimal Naik must have been a great king. He reigned at Madura from 1620 to 1657, and he built many palaces and ninety-six temples, and constructed tanks on a scale of great magnificence. His choultrie—"Mandapan"—or lodging-place for the idol, which is taken from the temple for ten days in each year, is a great edifice, measuring 333 feet by 105 feet. It is of iron-grey granite of exceeding hardness. It took twenty-two years to build it, and it was finished at a cost of a million sterling. In the front of the choultrie there is a gate-tower which Trimal Naik did not live to finish. The door-posts are single blocks of granite 60 feet high, covered with most beautifully sculptured foliage, there being not one square inch without a trace of patient labour. The interior presents a display of four rows of sculptured columns 25 feet high. The figures are elaborated with extraordinary richness and exuberant fancy. The façade is covered with monsters with lions' heads and bodies trampling on elephants, and with figures on horseback engaged in killing men and tigers, the horses' feet resting on shields which are borne by soldiers. Fergusson says that, "as works of art, exhibiting the results of difficulties overcome by patient labour, they are unrivalled." In the great pillared hall there are statues of the Rajah and his six wives. On the figure of one of those women the side exhibits a deep gash. It is said that when he had finished his palace the Rajah took his wife, a princess of the house of Tanjore, to witness the great work which he had accomplished. He asked her in his pride "whether her father," of whose greatness she had often told him, "had any building in his dominions at all like this." "Like this!" she replied; "why, the sheds in which he keeps his cattle

are finer!" Whereupon, knowing this to be an egregious falsehood, he threw his dagger at her, and it remained where it struck.

There is an entrance to the palace which is called Westminster Hall, and the Prince was there received by the trustees of the temple and a large body of zemindars. There was a silver-like chair resembling a throne; but his Royal Highness stood while an address was being presented to him, which was in excellent English, and was read, as no doubt it had been composed, by S. Subramania Tyen, Bachelor of Law, and B.A., Vakeel of the High Court of Madras, a Principal Commissioner, and one of the trustees of the temple. The Prince, having replied, was conducted round this wonderful structure, and in one of the apartments had an interview with the widowed representative of the chiefs of Shiva-gunga. She was an interesting old lady, who had entreated this favour so earnestly that she could not be denied. She had had a long legal conflict with the Indian Government, and, on appeal to the Privy Council, had gained her cause. This she believed to be the personal act of the Queen. "It was the Empress who had done her justice, and she wanted to thank her son;" and she brought all the treasures of her house, and her son and heir, "to express what she felt, and to offer everything she had to the 'Shahzadah.'" The Prince accepted only souvenirs of his visit, and cordially shook the youth as well as his mother by the hand, the gratification of both mother and son being extreme.

The Prince went thence to see the main edifice, for Trimal Naik's palace is nothing more than a portico. The shrine of Linga Sunadara—"the beautiful Linga"—is said to have been founded by Rajah Kala Shekaya Pandaya, between the fifth and sixth centuries. The towers, however, seem to be far more recent, and probably were built by the last of the Pandayan kings between A.D. 1450 and 1500.

At the entrance to the Temple of Minakshee—the temple of the "fish-eyed" goddess Pervati, who was the wife of Shiva—his Royal Highness was received by many priests, who presented an address. As he, preceded by the guardians and a band of dancing-girls of the temple, passed under the gopura, showers of what looked like gold dust were let fall upon him by invisible hands. He was covered with a state shawl. The nautch girls scattered flowers before him, fillets of gold and silver tinsel were placed on his brow and arms, richly scented garlands were brought in baskets and passed over his shoulders, and the suite was decorated in a corresponding manner.

The temple is rectangular, being 730 feet wide and 830 feet long, and covers 20 acres of ground. There is a hall of 985 sculptured columns surrounded by arcades. There are imposing gateways, porticos, and shrines; mysterious passages; and monster idols, some of which are hideous.

The shrine, which is surrounded by pillars, cost £70,000, and on these are carved the gods and goddesses of the Hindu mythology. This is covered with a stone canopy, from the corners of which there are chains carved out of the solid rock, and hanging from the stone of which they once formed a part. The dome over the shrine has already cost £7,500, and before it is finished will cost £2,500 more. It is of copper gilt.

The Tank of the Golden Lotus, the Golden Dome, and other parts were all carefully inspected by the Prince. Large quantities of manufactured stuffs, for which Madura is still famous, were laid out in one of the chapels.

Having minutely examined the temple, his Royal Highness, at ten in the morning, began a new journey. He was driven to the railway station, at which breakfast was laid for him. The Tondiman Rajah and others offered him presents, which in courtesy he was obliged to accept. These consisted of elephants' tusks, arms, and a variety of other articles. The inhabitants of Madura presented models of the great temple, and of articles used in the worship of their gods. There was given him by the people a gold casket of very fine workmanship, together with specimens of the manufactures of the place in brass and in various woven fabrics. The Rane of Shivagunga was not to be put off. She insisted on the Prince's accepting of some presents. She must be a hearty soul. Her gifts consisted of boomerangs of steel inlaid with silver, and with gold mountings; stone images; ivory carvings; betel-nut crackers; an ingenious puzzle padlock in a case, with a dagger inside it; and a sword so finely tempered that it could be worn as a belt, and which had a history well worthy of being known. It had belonged to the Poligar Catabomna Naik, who completely defeated the British forces before his fort at Pangalan Kurichi, in Tinnevely, in 1801. To their discredit the English forces took a malicious revenge. The fort was razed to the ground. The town was similarly treated. The sites of both were ploughed up and sown with salt, and the chief, who was taken fighting in the fort, was hanged! How little magnanimous sometimes are those who profess to be civilised, and who call themselves Christians!

When the Prince entered the carriage on the railway, the natives, by a peculiar clapping of hands and shrillness of joyous cries, applauded him. Dindigal—the name of which is frequently mentioned in the history of Tippu's wars—a town of 13,000 inhabitants, was the next place at which his Royal Highness stopped. The station was tastefully and profusely decorated, and the Prince alighted and went along the platform to enjoy the sight. The fine old fort, which figures so prominently in history, could be discerned on its commanding site outside the town—a site which made it so important.

Trichinopoly, which is 82 miles from Madura and 198 from Madras, is the chief and military station of Southern India. This latter was reached at half-past two in the afternoon. Ready for the reception of the Prince there were an address, pandals, flowers, triumphal arches, guards of honour, officials in uniform, and the streets were decorated with extraordinary richness and taste. There were, of course, official presentations, after which the Prince drove to Mr. Webster's, where a pandal, decorated in the native fashion, which cost nearly £1,000, had been erected for lunch and dinner. After lunch the Prince, accompanied by his suite and the local authorities, drove through the principal streets, and crossed the Caverry by a fine bridge, to visit the famous Temple of Seringham, which is built on an island formed by two arms of that river. He was there received by the priests, guardians, and attendants, and was conducted into the interior. The natives outside sat on housetops, walls, in trees, and on the ground as closely as they could pack.

The great temple itself is an immense and somewhat bewildering mass of gate-towers, enclosures, courts, terraces, and halls, which the eye cannot take in from any one point, and which it is therefore necessary to examine in detail, so that the general effect is spoiled. One of the halls which the Prince examined—450 feet long by 130 feet broad—contains no fewer than 1,000 columns of granite. But these halls, except at one particular point, are very low in the ceiling, so that the impression produced by them is greatly diminished. At the same time, it ought to be observed that if there is not one effect there is another. Each of these halls consists of one block, carved most elaborately with images of deities and the like from top to bottom.

The gateways, which surmount them to a great height, and which are called *gopuras*, lead into a labyrinth of courts, the whole of those courts being surrounded by a wall—the

length of the surrounding being 2,900 feet by 2,500 feet in breadth. Some of the gateways have jambs of granite slabs 40 feet high; and the slabs which form the roof of the gateway to the north are 24 feet long. The view of the numerous gateways from the terraced roofs is very striking. The whole of this temple dates only from the eighteenth century.

Trichinopoly was the central point of the struggle between the French and English for the sovereignty of Southern India; but, long before that, its position made it an object of vast importance to all the great chiefs who were contending for the supremacy. In the old times of Mohammadan rule the Governor of Arcot was accustomed to send round to the tributary states a slipper which was supposed to belong to the Great Mogul, which the vassal was expected to meet at the border of his territory, in order that it might be escorted in state to his capital. But Ranga Kismi, Rajah of Trichinopoly, disliking such an admission of inferiority, and at the same time fearing to resist compliance with the custom, resorted to excuses and delays, and inveigled the carriers of the sacred slipper stage after stage from the borders of his dominions to his palace gate. When they had arrived there the King required them to throw the slipper on the floor, and they did so. The King then thrust his foot into it, and demanded, "Does your master think that I have only one leg? Go back and bring me the other slipper." They came back, but not until the King had died, and they came back as conquerors.

When it became dark the illuminations were brilliant. There were circular boats on the tank, miniature *Popoffkas* discharged rockets and water-serpents, with all which the sides of the tank blazed with coloured fires, and the lines of the houses were decorated with strips of flame. These lighted up faces and colours to be seen nowhere else. Then, as the vast rock began to glow with many pyrotechnic devices, out sailed the moon.

There was a sort of grand stand for the Prince and a few others, that they might observe the fireworks. The scene was very animated. There were great multitudes of people. The large tank with boats below, Clive's house at the opposite side, and beyond all the vast pyramid—the Rock of Trichinopoly—crested with the Temple of Ganesa, whose festivals have long been annually attended by thousands of pilgrims. A few years since a panic occurred at one of those meetings, and before it could be allayed more than 500 persons were precipitated down the sheer precipice over the granite steps, or trampled to death.

The precautions which were taken for the safety of the Prince were here as everywhere quite extraordinary; but there was little outward sign of them. As one approached the royal standard, which indicated headquarters, there were sentries on duty, and perhaps a few native policemen at the corners of the avenues; but unostentatiously as even they did their work, there were thousands of others all along the way, who were never seen at all. There were 762 native policemen told off to guard the Prince's headquarters alone.

The next day being Sunday, there was divine service in the drawing-room of the headquarters, and then came crowds of workers in gold and silver, in brass and ebony, and in all things for which Trichinopoly is famous. There was much bargaining, for the natives can make a bargain. And on went the royal party.

Inasmuch as the Prince was journeying to Madras, of which the Duke of Buckingham is Governor, his Grace had prepared every comfort for his Royal Highness, even long before he should arrive at his destination. In order to distinguish the Prince from the members of his suite, the Duke had thoughtfully caused an umbrella to be suspended over him, and this gratified thousands of people. At other places there had been no such mark of distinction. "I am not sure if I have seen him after all," said a chief at Bombay, "and I have travelled 600 miles merely to get a look at the 'Shahzadah!'" And another chief said, "Think what a way I have come to see the Prince! Think what distances we have journeyed, and yet we are only permitted to gaze on his face for a moment!" "Very true," replied her Majesty's representative, to whom the remark was made, "but just think what a way the Prince has come to see you!"

The Wallahjah bridge presented a singular and interesting appearance. There were no less than 126 different schools and colleges represented there by a total of 12,500 students and boys and girls, ranged on both sides on elevated stands, each school with its distinctive banners, the pupils wearing their badges and dressed in their best. As the golden umbrella came in sight of the *Raleigh*, which had just anchored outside, she saluted. At nine A.M. Government House was reached, and the ladies of the Duke of Buckingham's family and the members of his staff and suite having been introduced to the Prince, breakfast was served in the fine saloon on the first floor, after which the Prince, having put on full uniform and orders, proceeded to the audience chamber to receive the private visits

of the chiefs, which visits were conducted in precisely the same manner as those at Bombay, which have already been described.

Madras had not many great rajahs to summon, but there was peculiar interest attached to some of them. For example, the Maharajah of Travancore is a man of forty-four years of age, who looks nearly sixty, and who in addition to Maratha, Tamil, Hindustani, and Telugu, writes and speaks English with fluency. He is a good Sanscrit scholar, and is accustomed to enter into deep discussion with pundits. He is fond of music, in which he himself excels. He is a thoroughly competent man of business, is fond of science, and firmly attached to his own religious faith. His manners are easy and agreeable, although occasionally he has a stammer in his speech. His person and aspect are dignified, becoming one whose ancestry dates from 600 A.D. His state covers an area of 6,653 square miles, and has a population of 2,310,000. As fixed by treaty, he pays as a subsidy to the British Government £81,000 per annum. The Prince gratified the Rajah by the special attention which he paid to him, and by the expression of his regret that he could not visit him at home at Trivandrum. The government of this state is a model to native states, and is under the administration of a prime minister of great intelligence and force of character.

A levee was held by the Prince in the grand banqueting hall, which was attended by every European and native who could obtain access to it. The throng was very great, and the doors had to be closed before all whose names had been received could find their way into the royal presence. A state banquet of fifty covers, to which the principal personages of the city and presidency of Madras were invited, was given by the Duke of Buckingham in Government House in honour of his Royal Highness. After a brief reception in the drawing-rooms the Prince retired, and drove out to Guindy Park, the country seat of the Governor, eight miles from the city, that he might spend the next day—the anniversary of his father's death—in seclusion. The park is beautifully wooded and full of game. On that day the Prince's privacy was not intruded upon, and there were very few of his suite with him. Those of the latter who remained at Madras visited several of the public institutions. The native choultries were exceedingly interesting. These are supposed to be places of rest and shelter for travellers or merchants, similar to the caravansaries or khans of Western Asia; but the name is also applied to poor-houses and places of refuge for aged and destitute per-

sons. There were "caste wards," and pariah or non-caste wards; refuges for friendless boys and girls; and a hospital for lepers, some of the wards being endowed by the Government, and others maintained by individual chiefs. So was it in many of the choultries. Thus one choultry belongs to the Rajah of Ventnagacherry; another is supported by subscriptions; and the charities of the Rajah of Vizianagram are conspicuous. This last-named prince, large as are his contributions for the relief of others, is enlightened enough to act on principles of a high order, and in such a manner as would put many Christians to the blush. He considers these contributions as his duty, and expects no return or consideration on account of them either here or hereafter. His religion, he says, teaches him to do such things, and there is no merit in doing his duty, but the neglect of it would be a great offence. However, if a man does not feel it to be his duty to give, he will not blame him for want of charity. After having seen the choultries the party visited the Museum, which seems to be much appreciated by the natives, and it was pleasing to observe groups, whole families, going round the rooms, and to hear them expatiating in great varieties of speech on what they saw. But what a Babel of tongues!—Uryu, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malial, Talu, and others. The Agri-Horticultural Gardens at Madras abound in forest and floral wonders.

Dr. Russell says, referring to the 15th of December—

"There were races at Guindy Park, and the Madras world was on the road before six A.M. I got up at five A.M., and had the satisfaction of seeing my friends start for the scene, under St. Thomas's Mount, where tradition has it that St. Thomas Aquinas suffered martyrdom, and of hearing from them all about the races when they came back. These are now as obsolete as last year's Derby; but the sporting world of Madras will long remember the struggle in the Sandringham steeple-chase, when Artaxerxes snatched the prize given by the Maharajah of Jeypoor from all the cracks, and when the jockeys ran under the approving eye of the Prince of Wales. The natives take very kindly to horse-racing, and rajahs gave the five or six cups which were run for. The scenes on the course were said to have been very amusing. Many of the native spectators were perched in trees; there were strange contrasts between the civilisation of European jockey-caps, jackets, breeches, boots and spurs, and the turn-out of native aspirants, or at least of one who rode a very losing race in a huge red turban, white petticoats, and party-coloured robes; between the bustle of very

small but fierce jockeys, who strode through the crowd of long-legged natives, and waved them aside as if they were so many rushes, and the calm of great chiefs, such as the Rajah of Cochin, the Prince of Arcot, the Rajah of Jodhpoor, who were there, attended by numerous familiars in all their bravery. The heat was strongly felt before the sports terminated. An hour before noon the Prince returned to Madras.

“At three P.M. the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows of the University, among the latter of whom were several native gentlemen, capped and robed, proceeded to Government House to present an address from the senate to the Prince. They were received at the entrance and conducted to the audience chamber. The Commander-in-chief, the Bishop of Madras, and other *ex-officio* members of the Senate were present. The address, printed in gold on vellum, was read by Mr. Innes. It gave a sketch of the progress and labours of the University since its foundation in 1857. There was rather a despairing admission that in the present circumstances of the country the senate could not foresee the period when learning would be pursued for its own sake, but they were satisfied that the other motives which induced students to attend would assist in advancing the objects of the university. The Prince in his reply alluded to the graduates who were filling some of the higher posts in the public service, and congratulated the senate on its attention to the scientific study of the ancient languages and literature of India, on its encouragement of pure science, and on the impetus it had given to general education. After the senate retired a deputation of the Freemasons of the presidency, the district Grand Master, officers, and members, presented an address, in which they expressed their satisfaction at welcoming so distinguished a member of the body at Madras, and gave assurance that the craft was flourishing. In reply the Prince said he would convey to the brethren in England the gratifying information that Freemasonry, and with it the practice of the charity and brotherly feeling which bound the fraternity throughout the world, was encouraged in Madras. The Mysore Commission, including Mr. Gopauliah, Head Sheristadar, and Mr. Ananda Rao, son of Sir Madhava Rao, were introduced, and presented an address expressing their regret that the Prince could not visit Mysore. The Prince, in reply, assured them that he felt very much his inability to see their country, or to go to Bangalore. A picturesque deputation from Coorg, headed by the Assistant Superintendent, and consisting of Mr. Gunputty, Subadar of Mercava, and two gentlemen

in their national costume, presented an address and offerings of Coorg knives and dresses, which were received, and the Prince entered into a short conversation with the members. A deputation from Coimbatore, headed by Mr. Wedderburn, the Collector, Colonel Wilkieson, R.E., Venkatachillum Pillay, &c., also presented an address, and a handsome volume of views of the places the Prince would have seen had he been able to visit their district as he had intended. The Prince, in reply, said that though he had been disappointed, he was glad to think that no risk of health or life had been incurred on his account by the inhabitants of the country.”

The Prince spent the afternoon in making return visits. The first of these was to the residence of the Rajah of Cochin, whither he was escorted by cavalry, and attended by members of his suite. The next was to the Prince of Arcot in a street in the native town. Among the presents made by the Prince of Arcot was a sword which had once belonged to the Nawab Wallahjah. The third and last chief who received a return visit from his Royal Highness at Madras was the Rajah of Travancore.

The question of return visits is regulated on principles better understood by European officers than by Asiatic nobles; but the Prince endeavoured to meet the wishes of native dignitaries as far as was possible. The Princess of Tanjore is a lady belonging to the family of the Sivajee, who is spoken of as a mere adventurer. It created irritation that her salute of guns was forgotten on the occasion of the visit which she made to the Prince; but the fault was that of her own master of the ceremonies, who had omitted to make a formal request for permission to visit his Royal Highness. When she did visit the Prince she departed from what is now the custom of Maratha ladies, namely, to receive and pay visits without such restrictions as have hitherto been considered necessary. She sat with the ladies of the Duke of Buckingham's family in a room, part of which was screened off, and it was into this apartment that the Prince was introduced. He could put out his hand to be shaken, but he could not see, or it was supposed he could not see, the Princess's face. She grasped the extended hand very warmly, and expressed her pleasure at the arrival of the Prince in Madras. Major Henderson, who acted as interpreter, knowing that the Princess could speak a little English, requested her to speak in that language, whereupon, with a little laugh, she said, “I am glad to see my royal brother.” And then her Highness asked after “the Queen, my royal sister,” in right regal fashion.

At half-past four in the afternoon the Prince laid the memorial foundation-stone of the new harbour works, which will inaugurate a great, and let it be hoped successful, struggle with nature, and be largely promotive of the trade and commerce of this important city. Difficulties have already (1878) been encountered in the construction of these great works, and the violence of the waves has even swept part of them away; but the engineers are confident of the success of their plans, and one's best wish for them is that those expectations may be realised. The Governor and the ladies of his family, the members of the Council, and the military and civil authorities assisted at the ceremony. Of course there were bands, and colours, and guard of honour, and troops lining the approaches. Beyond the benches on which the company were seated, the great army of waters might have been seen hurling its forces on the beach, a pregnant comment on the utility of the work to be accomplished. The scene was altogether an impressive one. The only persons who could have found fault with it, had they been able to understand the matter, were the catamaran and massoolah boatmen, who could be seen from the platform riding on the billows, and justifying the mistake of the ancient traveller, who declared that he beheld devils playing at single-stick on the coast.

It was now getting dark, and the *cortège* drove homewards; but on the way the Prince expressed a wish to see the famous old Fort St. George. To the authorities this visit was an agreeable surprise. Any one acquainted with its story could not find a spot in the wide domains of the Empress more full of topics for reflection. The keys of Pondicherry and of Carnatic fortresses, cannon and arms belonging to Tippu, famous chiefs and ancient polygars, are stored in the arsenal. Apropos of Pondicherry, M. Tillard, the Governor of the French Colonies in India, came to visit the Prince, and was present as a guest at the entertainments given in his honour by the Governor. The keys of Fort St. George and the possession of Madras were given back to England by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. There was another state banquet at Government House, which was followed by a reception, and by a very successful concert, at which the Chiefs of Travancore, Vizianagram, the Prince of Arcot, and other native gentlemen were present.

Next day there were several interesting forms and customs of East Indian life exhibited within and before Government House. It was properly deemed desirable that the Prince should carry away with him distinct and manifold impressions of the country through which

he was passing. Therefore, in addition to the usual sentries in front, and the customary gathering of scarlet-coated and turbaned servants within, there were two lads, with high head-dresses of tinsel and robes of bright red and gold, with bows and arrows in their hands. Their faces were "ornamented" with unusual caste markings, and they had painted or dyed moustaches. These boys belonged to a very ancient race called Uryas—a race which acquired much celebrity in former days. Being joined by others, these lads, in front of the Government House, performed for the amusement of the crowd part of the play of *Ramayanam*, by Valuniki, which gives the history of the war between Rama and Ravana, the Demon King. Rama, exiled by his father, is followed to his asylum in the woods by Sita, his wife, and Lechman, his brother. Ravana, King of Lanka (Ceylon), a land of demons, seizes Sita, and carries her off, but Rama and Lechman rescue her, and destroy the demons and their king. Sita, in the present exhibition, was represented by a figure of the size of life, carved with much skill from a single block of wood, and painted of a colour between that of a Cashmere woman and a European. Being offered to the Prince, he accepted it, and sent it home to England. Of course all such presents are expected to yield an equivalent, and those parties got it. This figure was placed between Rama and his brother, and on their right was the Demon King in a horrible mask. A reciter and musician stood behind the group. The performance began by a wailing song, to the music of which Rama and Lechman, moving round in small circles, kept time with their feet, while the Demon King nodded his wooden head in a very quaint fashion. The voices of these strange-looking boys were sweet, and their movements graceful. The climax having been reached, the performance of the play was stopped, much to the chagrin of the performers and the native audience.

There was next a display of jugglery. The Indian juggler has but little apparatus, he is next to naked, and his whole stock in trade consists of a stick and a few baskets. He can hide nothing, for he has no place to put anything in. The first juggler put down a small basket; he talked to it, and, lo! there was an egg on the floor. He then put the basket over the egg, spoke to the basket as before, turned it over, and there walked out a pretty pigeon. Next the man placed another egg under the basket, and, after incantations, out strutted the first pigeon, and another exactly like it. This performer did many other wonderful things. After him came another, whose walk seemed to be in a different line. He

converted himself into a chamber of horrors—took live scorpions out of his mouth; spat out stones as large as plums, and again swallowed them; and evolved from internal depths large and small nails and string, till there was quite a pile collected. A young woman came next. She began by taking up a handful of earth, which she piled into a little heap. Into this she stuck two strong needles. She then took the big toe of her right foot in her left hand, twisted her leg over her head, and repeated the feat with her left leg and her right hand. Boys in England sometimes try this trick, but they never acquire such dexterity as this, and when they get “their heel in their neck” often cannot take it out again without assistance. Next she stood with her heels to the heap, and bending backwards till she could put her hands on the ground, brought her face close to the needles, which in a moment were caught up by her eyelids. Syed Khadir and Momee, two peasants apparently, followed. Their implements consisted of two cocoa-nuts. Syed took one, threw it up into the air, and, as it fell, received it on the top of his skull—“hard-headed” man—whereupon the cocoa-nut flew in pieces, scattering the milk over the place. Momee did the same. Several nuts were thus shivered to fragments on these men’s skulls; but it was a comfort to know that they were not lost, for a little boy immediately gathered up the remains for home consumption. Then came several snake-charmers, and at one point seven cobras were set dancing within a few inches of the legs of the company. True, as has been observed on a former page, those snakes were deprived of their fangs; but of their malice and desire to kill there could be no doubt, for they struck again and again at their charmers, and for effect’s sake were encouraged in their vindictiveness.

The curries of Madras have a high reputation all over India, and in Madras the club has the honour of being considered the best place for curries. The committee intimated respectfully to the Prince that if he would be so kind as to accept an invitation to luncheon, they would do their utmost to entertain him and to sustain their own renown. He accepted, and went to tiffin. There were many curries and Indian dishes, and all who were competent judges declared that there were many triumphs of art, and that everything was worthy of the occasion.

There was a children’s fête in the People’s Park in the afternoon of the same day, and his Royal Highness had an opportunity of seeing in all their finery many thousands of young people who came to welcome him. An address was presented, and a band of children

sang “God save the Queen.” The sight was altogether a very striking one, and as the *cor-tége* drove slowly down the ranks, the clapping of hands, cries of joy, and cheers of the little folks in all the hilarity of childish happiness, evinced the pleasure they felt at the visit. The work which is being done by the devoted men who teach and superintend the teaching of such children as these is of incalculable importance to the future of India, and one is well disposed to wish them abundant success in their benevolent and sometimes arduous enterprise.

From the People’s Park the Prince drove to the island, and inspected and reviewed the troops. And here an amusing incident occurred which illustrates the difficulty of dealing with those who do not understand English military etiquette. The Rajah of Vizianagram came on the ground as the royal cavalcade was moving off, mounted on a beautiful and gaily caparisoned Arab, he himself being magnificently attired. He immediately dashed off at full speed, and joined the staff as the Prince turned to ride along the front line, but he had not been very long in its company before an intimation was conveyed to him that not being a military officer on duty, or not being specially invited, he had better retire. He rode back accordingly, and took his post near the Governor’s carriage with manifest mortification and anger.

“About ten at night his Royal Highness drove to the pier, where the Duke of Buckingham and a great concourse had been awaiting his arrival, that he might witness the illumination of the surf. Seats had been placed for the Prince, the Governor, and others, out of the reach of the spray. Neither pen nor pencil can give any idea of the scene.

“It was exciting, grand, weird, and beautiful. As if to render homage to the occasion, the wind rose in the course of the day, the surf was high, and enormous curling breakers ran between the base-pillars of the pier. The moonlight revealed now and then dark objects rising and falling on the billows, between the outer darkness of the horizon, against which the hulls and rigging of the *Serapis*, *Osborne*, and *Raleigh*, lighted up with lanterns, stood out in relief, and the breakers on the beach. There were masoolah boats and catamarans lying off in the rollers till the time came for setting fire to the lights, which were to burn in and to illuminate the water. The buildings, transparencies, and triumphal arches, above which rose steeples, domes, and columns brilliantly illuminated, formed the background along the beach. Southwards, where the rollers swept up to the roadway, rows of natives, facing seawards, with blue lights and

blazing torches, lighted up an ocean of white turbans. First there were fireworks. The *Osborne* and *Serapis*, emitting volumes of coloured flames, vied with each other in all kinds of pyrotechny. It seemed as if volcanoes were bursting up from the deep. In a grand discharge from the *Raleigh* there were 190 coloured rockets. Presently appeared from afar seawards many flames, dipping and rolling amid the waves, drifting landwards like fire-ships. These multiplied. Occasionally lights flashed right through the rollers from the other side. Suddenly the lines of black masoolah boats and catamarans from the beach dashed into the surf like a squadron of cavalry. With the wildest yells they charged the serried ranks of the foam-crested breakers. Amid a sea now black as ink, now like glistening jet, now creaming in surf, the catamaran men contended with waves which seemed to be mounds of flame. Sometimes they were swept off, and disappeared beneath the billows, or were seen swimming in the mad turmoil. There was an agonizing suspense till they regained their craft, or, striking out with strong arms, were borne in on the surf, and landed safe on the beach. The masoolah boats, swept from stem to stern by the breakers, forced their way out over the rollers to the smoother sea, only to return at full speed, and engage with wild emulation in still more animated contests. The hardy fellows, watching their opportunity, by tremendous efforts kept their boats on the top of the wave, and, covered with foam, were borne past the pier with wonderful velocity to the beach, yet always emerged safely from the tremendous surf."*

It being already long past eleven o'clock, the Prince next went to visit a native entertainment at the railway station at Roypooram. This had been turned into a temporary theatre, nearly 800 feet long and 250 wide, and was richly decorated. It was midnight when the Prince entered, but the entertainment had begun at ten o'clock. When his Royal Highness and the brilliant company who were with him had been seated on an elevated platform which had been prepared for them, a deputation of native gentlemen advanced and presented an address, in which was expressed the gratification of the native community at the great honour conferred on them by the Prince's presence at their entertainment. The deputation also begged his acceptance of a beautiful gold casket, on the top of which was a finely worked tiger.

The platform on which the Prince and his company had seats provided for them stood in the body of the improvised hall, and com-

manded a view of the whole place. From this platform there was a gangway to a stage, on which were seated the dancing girls and musicians. The former of these were dressed in the richest and heaviest robes of kinkob, and stuffs of the brightest colours descending from the throat to the ankles, and leaving exposed only the arms, which could not be said to be bare, inasmuch as from shoulder to finger-tip these persons wore armlets, bracelets, and rings; and, in addition, had their noses and ears sparkling with diamonds, yellow flowers and more diamonds being set in their jet-black hair, while even on their toes there were rings of precious stones. It is important to note these particulars in respect to dress, because there were parties at home who at the time strongly censured the Prince for giving countenance to such an entertainment at all.

Just below the droop of the crimson or yellow satin trousers worn by these young women might be seen the sparkling anklets and bangles, which kept time to their movements, and to the click of the castanets, with a sharp metallic tingle as they danced. Each of them wore a scarf or shawl, in which she muffled herself up as she sat on the ground till her turn came to dance, when it was applied to another use, and made to play an important part, being held over the head with extended arms, or thrown wide aside, or closely gathered round the figure, in unison with the sentiment meant to be conveyed by the dance.

The whole scene was brought out by an intense glare of lime lights, which had a singular effect on the vast sea of turbans and dark faces, as well as on the uniforms and paler features of the Europeans—for many of these latter were present; and then, over and above, there were the jewels of the rajahs and nawabs on the platform, which were made to dazzle one's eyes.

The Kolattam, which opened the entertainment—for the Prince had been waited for—was simply such a dance as may be seen at ordinary stage representations of maypole dances and merry-makings. The nautch girls advanced, each took one of the cords, and then they danced in and out and round the pole and each other till they had wound themselves into a nosegay-looking knot, when they unwound themselves, and went back to their former positions.

The great feature of the entertainment was the performance of a famous *danseuse*, Gnyana, who had been engaged at a high figure. The whole of the performers are understood to have been well paid. The little woman executed a very long piece with her feet to the

* "The Prince of Wales's Tour in India."

music of the native implements and the accompaniment of an intermittent chorus, aided by conch shells and solos, and at times illustrated by her own voice. This over, the Prince went to the supper-room for a few moments, from which he emerged to drive back to Government House. He had not been particularly charmed. It was, however, very probably such dancing that pleased Herod, and induced him to commit his atrocious crime of beheading John the Baptist.

The Prince was, of course, not in bed till two o'clock, but he was, nevertheless, up early and away to Guindy, to be present there at a meet of the Madras pack. His Royal Highness appears to have enjoyed the morning exceedingly. The party, after a run of nine miles, returned to Madras "as hungry as hawks." After lunch the native presents were laid out in a tent in the compound. It is only to be regretted that there could not be a similar exposition of the gifts made by the Prince in return.

Among many interesting offerings to the Prince at Madras must be specially mentioned an account of the Danish Protestant Mission, Tranquebar, by the Rev. C. E. Kennet, with an autograph letter of George I. (December 22, 1719—January 3, 1720) from St. James's, addressed to "Bartholomæo Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernest Groundler, missionaries, Tranquebar," offered by the Rev. I. Schwarz, of the Lutheran Mission, Tranquebar, for the acceptance of his Royal Highness. The Princess of Wales would, no doubt, be glad to learn that in this distant land her own countrymen could tell her husband that Denmark was the first Protestant country which (in the reign of Frederick IV., in 1705) sent out a mission for the evangelization of India. The Ziegenbalg who is named above visited England on his return from India in 1714, and the Prince and Princess of Wales of the day received him most courteously, and promised him every help.

There was now much to be done in a very short time for the Prince was leaving. The windows and the verandas of the houses and offices were filled—the roofs were covered thickly by people. The patient Asiatics congregated at various points along the route; but certainly there was not one-half the number of those who attended on the day of the entry. A well-bred native gentleman explained the fact. "There are," he said, "so many thousands sorry for the Prince's leaving that they cannot bear to see it, and so stay away." There was no cheering; except from Europeans; no clapping of hands, but an attitude of profound respect—"a silence which had in it something of

reverence, such as that which prevails in a place of worship." At the platform at the end of the pier tramway the native officers were presented to his Royal Highness. To those specially mentioned the Prince said a few gracious words. No one who glanced at the faces of these gentlemen—many of them grey-haired soldiers—could doubt that the Asiatic delights in a tangible, visible representation of royalty, and that veneration is one of the most pronounced characteristics of his nature. Their bearing was charged, so to speak, with devotedness. At the landing stairs many hundreds of Europeans, ladies and gentlemen, assembled, but the chiefs remained at the place whence the car started. There was a guard of honour, &c., of the 89th Regiment opposite the stairs. The masoolah boats were rising and falling more vivaciously than was pleasant at the foot of the steps. A flotilla of catamarans, each with a flagstaff and flag, lay beyond them.

The Prince remained a few moments on the landing stage, while the suite cast uneasy looks on the waves which ran between the uprights of the pier. He bade the members of the Governor's family and the ladies and gentlemen with whom he was acquainted farewell, going round and shaking hands with his personal friends. At last came the moment to leave, and, as the Prince stepped down the ladder to the masoolah boat, the whole company stood up. A great clamour of "sounds, like breakers in a dream," arose, blessing the Prince and his journey. Watching the rise and fall, he stepped on board the masoolah boat at the first attempt. The royal standard was hoisted in the bow, and, as the boatmen uttered the first notes of the chant with which they kept time to the beat of their paddles, the crowd cheered, and waved hats and handkerchiefs. There were four large masoolah boats for the Prince and his suite, and they formed line, heading towards the *Serapis*, which, with yards manned, was waiting for her illustrious passenger. A double line of catamaran men escorted the royal barge. These mermen have been often described; but no one who has not seen them can form the smallest idea of their skill and daring in a sea way. Familiarity has bred in them contempt for the dangers of the sea. They sit bolt upright on their heels, so that the thigh and the leg are one above the other, like the limbs of a parallel ruler. Thus seated, they are as firm in their places on the narrow plank of wood on which they float above and through the water as if they were nailed to the catamaran, and work the uncouth pieces of board which they use as paddles with the greatest freedom and security. It was feared,

however, that there would be some trouble in boarding. Captain Glyn ordered a spring to be put on the cable, so as to bring the ship across the run of the sea and make a fair lee, and the "chair," which was in readiness to hoist up the Prince, was not required. The moment his Royal Highness left the boat the standard at her bow was lowered, and in another instant the guns of the *Raleigh* were duly honouring the royal flag which floated from the main of the *Serapis*.

May it be said that the Prince was sorry to leave Madras? That certainly would be true; and although there had been no lack of courtesy and kindness to be spoken of in all this Eastern land, it would only be just to say that the welcome of the Duke of Buckingham and the reception given by Madras must remain for ever among the most pleasant memories of the Prince's tour. In Government House there was a combination of the charms of English family life with the state of an Oriental satrap; but the former so far predominated, thanks to the presence of the gracious ladies who did the honours of the Duke of Buckingham's house with such kindness, that one felt, in spite of strange surroundings, as though he were at home. Surely it would be advisable, as a means of breaking down the barriers of caste and custom, to appoint to high places in India those who have around them the gentler agencies which in every civilised country exercise such an influence on society. There are sacrifices, no doubt—there are too many instances of them—but it is a great work to be accomplished. The Prince expressed his sense of the Governor's efforts to render his visit to Madras agreeable and profitable in the warmest terms.

At 5.30 P.M. the *Serapis* got her anchor and proceeded northwards for the Hugli, the *Raleigh* and *Osborne* being astern, star-board and port respectively. The sun was fast sinking behind Fort St. George, but its rays still struck the coloured fronts and roofs of houses facing westwards, and the domes and steeples of the city; touched the salient points of the long façade, broken by colonnades and porticos, presented by the sea front; and cast a magic light on the landscape in the background, which melted away amid masses of wood into faint mountain outlines. Venice never looked more beautiful than Madras did, as the long line of buildings which rise above the surf, the fluttering flags, and the vast crowd on shore appeared to retire from the *Serapis*. The ever-changing hues of the flying spray threw a many-coloured veil over the barrier of human heads with faces still turned seawards. If the beach of Brighton, from Hove to the West Cliff, under

like conditions of sea, sun, and sky, were covered by white turbans and dark skins, there would be some resemblance to the sight that Madras presented; for there are no minarets, mosques, or Hindoo temples to detract from the European look of the place; and whether it be that the general impression of the situation and architecture of the pier recalls the Steyne and London-by-the-Sea, there is certainly a suggestion about Madras of a Brighton without east winds, or fogs, or wintry vapours.

And so his Royal Highness left Madras, in which he had received much honour, experienced great enjoyment, and learnt many lessons.

The reader must now follow the Prince on his way to Calcutta. The weather at sea was all that could be wished for. The heat was not by any means excessive, the wind was light and pleasant, and the squadron ran through a smooth sea at the rate of eleven knots an hour. It is Sunday, the 19th of December, and divine service is performed on the quarter-deck by the Rev. Canon Duckworth and the Rev. Mr. York. The *Serapis* is doing so well that the expectation of all on board is that she will be in before her time. But in the afternoon the wind became more decided, though still not boisterous. The great Bay of Bengal, so terrible in monsoons, and so much vexed with cyclones, was smooth as a Highland lake. There occurred a still further means of detention in addition to the rise in the wind, though the sea still remained calm—the spring of the cylinder gave way, and an hour and a quarter had to be spent in repairing the damage. On the 21st, which was Tuesday, the *Serapis* was alongside of the light-ship, and two trim-looking pilot brigs bore down on the great ship, whose officers, having gone on board, informed Captain Glyn that he could not cross the bar to go up to Saugor till next day. This was not pleasant intelligence, but there was no help for it. As the *Raleigh* drew too much water to go up the river at low tides, it was considered better to send her back, and she was accordingly ordered to go round to Bombay. Captain Tyron, in these circumstances, went round to the *Serapis* to pay his respects to the Prince, and to take leave. His Royal Highness presented the captain with fine portraits of the Princess of Wales and himself, and with other souvenirs. The two ships shortly afterwards parted company under the friendly fire of tremendous cheers from the crews. After a little council on the bridge, the Prince expressed his desire to proceed onwards towards Saugor Island. Captain Glyn gave the necessary orders. The *Serapis* weighed, and crept up with careful

leading, till "it was very dark above, and soft and clear below." It was, therefore, deemed expedient to anchor for the night, and a small steamer was dispatched ahead to take letters to post on shore. Having quietly spent the night, the great ship weighed anchor at about six in the morning, passing Saugor lighthouse at about nine, and anchoring off Mud Point at eleven. The prospect was very dreary. From the time the Sand Heads light was reached nearly two days were passed in these muddy waters and at one time there were only six inches of water between the keel of the *Serapis* and the mud. Just as it was becoming dark, Sir R. Temple, with two of his officers, and General S. Browne, went on board to ascertain the will of the Prince, and after an interview returned to their own floating mansion. No further progress could be made by the *Serapis* till the tide flowed. Next morning she lifted her anchors at about seven o'clock, and found some difficulty in turning in the narrow channel. But two gentlemen of the Harbour Department went on board, and the ship, by their aid, was enabled to proceed with the flood tide up the great river, which, but for the cocoa-nut palms, mangoes, and bamboos on the flat shores, would remind one of the Elbe, or the lower reaches of the Rhine; nay, even of the Thames where it is widest. There were crowds wherever there were villages, and discharges of arms and fireworks indicated the desire of the natives and of the local authorities to do honour to their illustrious visitor. After breakfast, his Royal Highness, to gratify the people, put on his uniform in order that he might be known, and went on the bridge, where he remained observing with keen interest the rapidly increasing tokens of the nearness of the great city. The larger villages, the detached bungalows, fishing and trading boats, merchantmen anchored in the stream, and passing steamers were filled with people. In an hour the masts of the vessels anchored below Garden Reach were sighted, and the ships-of-war were dressed in flags. At one o'clock the *Immortalité*, *Doris*, and *Newcastle* saluted. The sailors manning the yards of the men-of-war were dressed in blue, and signal was made for them to change to white. As the Prince was passing the gardens of the residence of the King of Oudh, the retainers of his ex-Majesty lined the bank, and stood in crowds on the tops of the houses and everywhere, but they did not make any sign of welcome. The *Serapis* passed by the great banks of shipping which lay below Fort William, three or four deep, the decks and rigging being crowded with people, who cheered heartily. The guns of Fort William

thundered, and the batteries on shore echoed the sound. Countless multitudes might be seen on the Maidan, and the lines of the troops drawn up from Fort William to the Government House were distinctly visible, as was also the galaxy of chiefs and ladies who awaited the arrival of the Prince.

When the *Serapis* anchored Colonel Dillon went off to take the Prince's pleasure as to when Lord Napier of Magdala should pay his respects. The Duke of Sutherland, the aide-de-camp of the Governor-General, Bubbur Jung, the son of Sir Jung Bahadur, attached to the Prince as aide-de-camp, in a uniform like that of an English officer, with the exception of the head-dress, and many others, boarded the *Serapis*. There was, indeed, a grand array of eminent persons, military and civil, and of the Indian hierarchy, all in full uniform, congregated on the decks, which presented an unusually brilliant appearance. The Prince received them very graciously, and not a few old friends met now after years of separation.

Due preparation having been made for his reception, the Viceroy put off from the shore to welcome his royal guest, and again the fleet, the forts, and the artillery shot forth their thunders. Lord Northbrook went in full state, with his whole suite and staff, and was ceremoniously conducted to the saloon. The Prince and the Viceroy met each other very cordially as old friends, and, after a pleasant conversation apart, and the usual presentations, the Governor-General and his suite returned to shore, and took their places in the grand reception hall, whither they were followed by the Prince at half-past four o'clock, his arrival having been awaited with much anxiety by a great multitude, although they knew that he would not land before the appointed hour.

The reception, differing but little from such as had elsewhere preceded it, was, nevertheless, most brilliant. The favoured multitude who awaited the coming of his Royal Highness were luxuriously seated in tiers ranged by the sides of two pavilions draped in scarlet, the roof being supported by white and gold pillars, wreathed with garlands, roses, and green chaplets. In the space between the pavilions or canopies there were many couches, fauteuils, and arm-chairs for the natives of distinction who had been invited to the reception. Flags, banners, and flowers decorated the walls, and were suspended from the sides and coverings of the pavilions, and beyond there was one very lofty and massive arch of triumph, with the word "Welcome." There was a scarlet carpet of great richness laid on the platform, and the landing stage was also

covered with red cloth, and much decorated. The whole of the *personnel* of the vast administration of the seat of empire was there, and the crowds of rajahs, chiefs, and authorities of all degrees were even larger than those who presented themselves at Bombay on the occasion of the Prince's first landing.

The procession to Government House brought out many thousands of people. The Prince seemed surprised at the grand appearance of Government House, and at the splendour of the viceregal state. The principal members of the suite were provided with quarters in the house, but on the open lawn in front of it a camp was pitched for the others, who were all accommodated, it is said, most comfortably.

A great banquet was given by Lord Northbrook in honour of the Prince, and so exuberant was his lordship's hospitality that all who had been invited could not be provided with seats. This fact brought out a likable feature in regard to the generosity of the people of Calcutta. Those who were "overflowed" were besieged by invitations to dinner by gentlemen of the city, and it is scarcely to be doubted that their enjoyment of domestic intercourse with those whose doors they entered was at least equal to that of those who had been able to gain admission to the more formal gathering. The lights in the houses, the hum of voices, and the stir in the streets showed how deeply Calcutta was moved by the event which had been so long anticipated.

The reception of the great chiefs by the Prince at Government House next day was called "private." Nevertheless it was a very stately ceremonial, and was conducted with no small amount of official pomp. The building or palace is in itself a most imposing structure. It occupies a good site, and has a very fine elevation and grand approaches. The portico is gained by a flight of upwards of thirty steps from the carriage drive; thence the vestibule leads into a magnificent hall, divided into centre and aisles by two rows each of twelve massive columns. The walls of the rooms and the pillars are covered with layers of the peculiar Indian cement called *chunam*, which, when well polished, is whiter than the finest marble. The ceilings are beautifully decorated, and the floors are of marble.

In front of the flight of steps at the portico, in the carriage sweep, was placed on this occasion a guard of honour, with the band and colours of the 109th Regiment. On the broad landing at the top of the steps the Viceroy's band was stationed in front of the portico; and there were mace-bearers, or *chobdars*, in scarlet-and-gold liveries, guarding the en-

trances. Between each pair of columns in the hall stood, sword in hand, a gigantic trooper of the Viceroy's body-guard in scarlet-and-gold tunic, cummerbund of the same, quaint zebra-striped turban, buckskin breeches, and jack-boots. Advancing between the columns up the centre of the hall, the visitor sees the throne in an inner room, running at right angles to the hall, and placed exactly opposite to the entrance. Mace-bearers and janitors, in the handsome liveries of the Governor-General, bearing chotas and silver maces, were stationed at the entrances of the rooms and inside the throne-room, which is adorned with several very good portraits. The Prince did not usually sit on the thrones provided for him, or avoided doing so as much as he could.

At half-past ten in the morning the approach of the Rajah of Puttiala was announced by the regulation salute. Puttiala is not one of the finest men, in every respect, among the chiefs. Physically he is well enough. But he is the son of a man who did England good service by keeping the road clear between Delhi and the Punjab at a time of some extremity. As he was led along the outer hall by Major Henderson, his eye rested on the empty throne with a puzzled expression; but he looked pleased when he saw the Prince, who had been hitherto hidden by the columns, waiting to receive him in the inner room. The Maharajah made a very low yet dignified salaam. The Prince took his hand and led him to a sofa. The conversation, which lasted eight or ten minutes, seemed to interest the Maharajah greatly, and he was delighted when his Royal Highness referred to the services of Puttiala in 1857. The Maharajah evidently was pleased with his reception.

Scarcely had the clatter of Puttiala's horse hoofs died away before the guns announced the Maharajah Holkar of Indor. His Highness is a very tall man, with *developments* such as were formerly attributed to aldermen of the City of London. Conducted by Major Henderson and the Political Agent, he went into the throne-room very proudly. The Prince was equal to the occasion, and received the great gentleman courteously, but with no abatement of dignity. It is said that Holkar has £5,000,000 sterling stored up for a rainy day. He received the gold medal which was bestowed by the Prince upon the great chiefs. The Maharajah of Jodhpur was next. He is a most picturesque-looking man, and was attended by a splendid *sirdaree*. He is proud beyond the proudest. It is related of him that at a *darbar*, when chairs were placed for himself, the Maharajah

of Udaipur, and another chief, he quietly remarked, "Let Udaipur take which seat he pleases—I shall sit above him." The wealth of gems which glittered all over the neck and breast of this prince was most extraordinary. The many-folded petticoats worn by the Maharajah descended nearly to his heels. The petticoats, if one may so call them, were looped up by a roll of cloth of gold, which formed a thick circular girdle. His bright yellow turban was bound round his brow by a band of cloth of gold, and displayed an aigrette of diamonds and rubies of great beauty. His sirdars were also magnificently attired; moderated, of course, but still extravagantly Oriental.

The Maharajah of Jaipur drove up in a fine carriage drawn by four white horses, covered with trappings of gold, at about eleven o'clock. This prince has the reputation of being the most enlightened of Indian potentates. The *cortège* of the Maharajah of Cashmere, however, caused the impression produced by the previous visits to fade away. It was preceded by two life-guardsmen, armed with enormous sabres, in brass helmets and red horsehair plumes, steel cuirasses, blue coats, yellow buckskin breeches, and long boots. Four more came behind his carriage, in addition to his escort. Then followed five carriages conveying the sirdars. The Maharajah is a handsome well-made man, and more quick in gait and manner than Asiatic chiefs generally are. He walked towards the Prince in a kind of eager, courteous, deprecating way. The attachment of Sindia to the British Raj nearly cost him his throne in 1858, and he certainly did not better his position among his own people by the discovery and surrender of a supposititious Nana Sahib—heir, in their eyes, of the Peshwa. Sindia delights in soldiering, and is himself a good officer. His is one of the cases which present formidable difficulties to the Government of India. Being a ruler of martial tendencies, he has but few openings for the exercise of his powers. He is rough in speech, but that his sentiments are noble may be inferred from his reply to the Bombay Government when they wished to buy the site for the palace at Gunneskhind. "A man," said he, "does not sell his patrimony; but he can give it to his friend," and he gave it.

At twelve o'clock noon there was a salute of nineteen guns fired, and a closed brougham drove up to the steps, to which the guard presented arms. The door was opened, and a shawl, supported on a pair of thin legs, appeared. On the top of the shawl there seemed to be a head, but visible face there was none, for over the head there was drawn

a silk hood, and from that depended some sort of screen—veil, ladies would say—which completely hid the features behind. This was the Sultana Jehan, Begum of Bhopal. With her came a daughter, draped and dressed in the same way. They walked very slowly up the steps. The sirdars were especially magnificent. The Begum, after entering, was very much at her ease with the Prince, and chatted pleasantly with him, while her daughter engaged in conversation with Sir Bartle Frere. The last chief was the Maharajah of Rewah, whose carriage and four, with two postillions in green and gold, top-boots, and breeches, did credit to the taste of the political officer in charge of his Highness. The Maharajah is a very dignified personage; but better than that, he is well spoken of by all who know him. His family claims very high rank in regard to antiquity.

When the receptions were finished a levee was held in the throne-room. The Prince stood before the throne for more than two hours, bowing to the stream passing before him. But the work of the day was not yet over. After a grand banquet at Government House, his Royal Highness went to an entertainment prepared for him by a committee of native gentlemen at Belgatchia, five miles off, from which the company did not get away till past midnight.

On the next day—Christmas Day—the Prince and the Viceroy attended divine service in the cathedral. After his return the Prince drove to Princess's Ghat, where thousands of natives and hundreds of Europeans, attracted by the *Serapis* dressed out with flags, had assembled. There were two lines of sailors and marines drawn up on the gangway, which was covered with scarlet cloth. There were also pontoons extending from the shore to the ship, and on these there were rows of men. Most of the blue-jackets had flowers in their button-holes. The deck was skilfully transformed into a winter scene by means of shrubs and branches covered with cotton wool to represent snow, which, with the aid of some glistening white powder, it did most effectually. Holly and ivy wreaths were suspended on the bunting walls alongside of inscriptions of "Welcome, merry Christmas!" "Happy New Year!" "God bless the Prince of Wales!" And there must have been Highlandmen among the sailors, for one of the inscriptions was *Cead mille failthe*—a thousand welcomes.

Across the fore-castle was the inscription, "We wish you a prosperous journey and a safe return to us." A table, tastefully decorated, was prepared for lunch on the main deck. "God save the Queen" having been played,

the health of the Prince was drunk with Highland honours, the cheers being echoed by the crowd outside. The Prince proposed the health of Captain Glyn and the officers of the *Serapis*, to whom he paid some graceful compliments, adding the name of Commander Durrant of the *Osborne*. Captain Glyn, in returning thanks, expressed a hope that Major-General Browne would keep time in his 5,000 miles land journey with the Prince as well as the *Serapis* had kept her date. As the Prince bade the vessel good-bye, the crew rushed up into the rigging, cheering vociferously. Wherever he went, and however well entertained, his Royal Highness in India seemed to feel that the *Serapis* was his own home, and all on board reciprocated the feeling, and regarded him as the head of their household.

In the afternoon the Prince, accompanied by Lord Northbrook, Miss Baring, and others, took a drive to the Viceregal Lodge at Barrackpore, and so closed that day. Next morning, after church, his Royal Highness made an excursion by water to Chandanagore. This settlement is very pretty, and the residents were delighted with the unexpected visit. It is French, and there being, of course, the inevitable address, that, which was short, was well read by an Irish girl. To this the Prince replied, and when his Royal Highness proposed the health of the President, one and another might have been heard remarking, "How well the Prince speaks French!"

Next day there was another reception. At five minutes to twelve, punctual to a moment, there was a salute of fifteen guns, and the officers of the King of Burmah drove up in handsome carriages and four, with outriders. The dresses of the King and his attendants were something to behold. But people who knew what particularly to look at were chiefly concerned about their feet. They wore patent-leather shoes or bottines, and entered the presence without taking them off. When Sir Douglas Forsyth went to visit the King he was required to take off his shoes, which he ultimately consented to do. Henceforth, however, the court of Burmah can scarcely expect any British envoy to forget the precedent set at Calcutta. There was much that was peculiar in this interview, but nothing could impress one more than the stolid features of the Burmese, with their closed mouths and sunken eyes.

The Maharajah of Punnah has only eleven guns for a salute. He was received next. He is a somewhat splendid person. The population of his territory is small, being less than 200,000, but he is rich in the possession of diamond fields close to his capital. His pedi-

gree carries him back to 350 years of royalty. There was next an embassy from the Nepalese Government, very brilliant in their personal adornments. But they were eclipsed by the next comer, Raghbeer Sing, the Rajah of Jheend, and his followers—not so much by any great wealth of jewels as by the noble bearing of the chief, and by the fine persons of some of his sirdars. The Rajah is only forty-two years old, but his full beard is already grey. He has very handsome features, his figure is tall, and his manner stately and dignified. He is an enthusiastic sportsman, considerably soldierly, rather a vigorous administrator, and has hereditary claims on the Imperial Government; for his father, Sarup Sing, was the first who marched against the Delhi mutineers, and remained in camp till the city fell. His ancestors, moreover, assisted Lord Lake at a critical season, and held fast by the British Government in the Sutlej campaign. He ranks only as an eleven-gun rajah, but his house has been rewarded by several grants of land. The dresses worn by his suite are peculiar—they had yellow turbans, pointed at the side, bound with fillets of gold cloth over the forehead, aigrettes of diamonds, flowing robes of brocade, and very tight pantaloons of white silk. Each man bore his sword by a belt from his side, instead of carrying it in his hand.

At one o'clock the Prince received a visit from the Maharajah of Benares. His Highness was escorted to and from Government House by cavalry, and a guard of honour and a band received him, while a detachment of artillery fired a salute of fifteen guns. He had four horses to his carriage, the leaders being ridden by postillions, and the wheelers driven by a coachman on the box. The effect was quite unusual, but did not seem to be offensive to the natives as showing disregard to their own customs. Indeed, they like disparity rather than uniformity. Dr. Russell was told of a rajah who was displeased because a new carriage out from London made no noise on the highway, and was satisfied only when the local authority, by a happy thought, ordered the screws and bolts of the springs to be loosened, and so gave room for the needful clatter and jingle. This maharajah is a Brahmin, with a 900 years' pedigree. He has a revenue of £80,000 a year, of which £30,000 is paid to the British Government. He is learned, encourages education, and is courteous and kindly in his manner. Being Rajah of the Sacred City, he has more consideration from the natives than he would otherwise receive, worthy as he is. He has done much to protect the holy monuments. He is greatly respected by his own people, as

well as by Europeans, to whom he shows a cordial hospitality. He was extremely anxious that the Prince should visit his shooting-grounds, but the programme would not admit of that, and his Royal Highness, expressing regret, could only promise him a short visit at his castle on the Ganges, as he was on his way to Lucknow.

The Maharajah of Nahun was received a quarter of an hour afterwards, for time was precious. The Rajah affects no finery, has an open and frank manner, and, for an Indian chief, has travelled much, and so widened his intelligence. By this time all parties were worn out with the routine of the reception, and it was brought to a close.

One act of courtesy demands another; therefore the early part of the next day was devoted by the Prince to return visits. The Maharajah of Cashmere, who received his Royal Highness at half-past eleven, had made extraordinary preparations. There was a tent of Cashmere shawls outside the house, the walls were draped with shawls of immense value, and even the floors of the rooms were carpeted with the finest shawls. One felt as if walking over charmed paintings. There was a dais shrouded in magnificent shawls at the end of the room, and there was a shawl canopy for the throne and chairs of state. But rich as they were, the Maharajah and his sirdars were richer still. They wore robes of stuff which seemed to be thickened and stiffened with fine jewels. The next visit of his Royal Highness was to the Maharajah of Johore, who made offerings of very characteristic work and fabrics from the Malay peninsula. The Rajah of Jaipur was then seen, and he was not only surrounded with splendour, but made the Prince some magnificent presents. After him Holkar was called upon. Next was the residence of the Maharajah of Jodhpur, and with him closed the list of return visits for the day.

Next morning the Prince drove to visit the Maharajah of Gwalior. Sindia had the good taste not to be too splendid in his ornaments, but he did the honours right royally. When the Prince took his seat he made a very low salaam with his hands clasped together before he sat down. The Begum of Bhopal, a very striking-looking lady, next received a visit; and after her Highness came the Chief of Rewah, whose armour-clad sirdars were the grandest his Royal Highness had yet seen. Jheend, Punnah, and others followed, and then the drive home for rest was welcome. After lunch the Prince went for a short time to the Calcutta races. There was an excursion by special train at midnight to Goalando, to have a couple of days' boar-hunting and snipe-shoot-

ing; but the Prince, having caught a cold, was advised not to leave Government House for the jungle. He kindly permitted those of his suite who chose to go, however, and several of them went.

The Prince invited the Viceroy, Miss Baring, and a small party to lunch with him on board the *Serapis*. This was what was called a "change;" and, although it was on board ship, there was somehow the idea of a picnic connected with the entertainment. And strange it was to remember that not nine-and-ninety years before, all that was English within many miles of this little gathering around the Queen's son on board one of her Majesty's great ships was represented by a handful of fugitives from the fort of Calcutta, ere it fell into the hands of Suraj-ad-Dowlah, embarked in a few small vessels off Fulta, awaiting anxiously the arrival of Clive from Madras to avenge the "Black Hole," and, as it turned out, to win Plassey and to found an empire. In the evening his Royal Highness honoured Sir A. and Lady Clarke with his company at dinner.

On the last day of the year there were tent-pegging and other feats of horsemanship by troopers of the Bengal cavalry at nine o'clock in the morning. Tent-pegging means riding full tilt at a tent-peg driven into the ground, and carrying it off on the point of the lance. The pegs are large and long, and are fixed at a considerable depth in the ground. Certainly the task of striking them and carrying them off is far from being easy. Then rupees were put on pegs to be knocked off by the Lancers. Handkerchiefs were laid on the ground, and one man managed to take three in succession in the same gallop. There were other exhibitions; and the Prince was so much pleased that he gave a hunting-knife to the best man. The recipient expressed a wish that he might be allowed to wear the gift when in uniform, and his desire was acceded to. Near the sides of the coverts in England there are delusions to the effect that none can ride like Englishmen, and Irish fox-hunters flatter themselves that there is no race in the world that can sit on the back of a horse and accomplish such feats there as the natives of the Green Isle can, but the swarthy gentlemen at Calcutta could give them a few lessons in equine performances.

Several hospitals were visited by the Prince during the day, and later on there were a garden party at Belvedere and a dinner and grand ball at Government House. The sporting party returned at seven o'clock, having had a pleasant day without any mishaps.

On New Year's Day, 1876, there was held a Chapter of the Star of India, and there were many investitures. But Dr. Russell, who

was a spectator, had better be left to describe the great spectacle in his own words:—

“The adjustment of the relative position of the Prince and of the Viceroy had caused considerable anxiety to good people at home before his Royal Highness set out on his journey. There were obvious objections to any person, however exalted, appearing to take precedence, in the eyes of the chiefs and people of India, of the representative of the Queen. The Viceroy would feel that he could not be the equal or the superior of the Prince. No ceremonial has such importance as a *darbar*. It is a court reception, in which each, according to his rank, is brought face to face with the representative of the sovereign. But no one could hold a *darbar* unless he were the representative of the Queen. Eventually it was suggested—I believe by Lord Northbrook—as a way of escape from these difficulties, that a Chapter of the Order of the Star of India, in which the Prince should act as High Commissioner, should be held at Calcutta on New Year’s Day.

“All fashionable Calcutta was early awake, those who were to be in attendance being summoned for 7.45 A.M. At the distance of a mile from Government House, canvas walls had been erected in a long parallelogram. Along this were ranged tents for the rajahs and other personages who were to take part in the ceremony, so that each could pass into his tent, and remain there till it was time for him to take his place in the pageant. Opposite the entrance, in a chapter tent which was carpeted with cloth of gold, with the royal arms emblazoned in the centre, was an elevated dais. Above the dais was a canopy covered with light blue satin, and supported upon silver pillars. Beneath the canopy were two chairs with silver arms, one with the Prince of Wales’s ‘plumes,’ the other with a ‘crown,’ embossed on the back. On each side of and behind these chairs were tiers of seats, those in front for members of the Order. Outside the tent were platforms for those fortunate enough to obtain tickets. Inside the enclosure were drawn up the marines and sailors of the *Serapis*, and a military band. On the left were infantry of the line; in front of the outer canopy was a tall flagstaff.

“At 9.10 A.M. the artillery fired a royal salute. A grand flourish of trumpets announced a very fine sight. First came native servitors in liveries of scarlet and gold, two and two, bearing silver maces, spears, and wands of office. Next the Grand Marshal of the camp, Mr. Henvey, and Mr. Secretary Aitchison; then the Companions of the Order, two and two, one-half natives, one-half Europeans. As the procession entered the chap-

ter tent, the servitors ranged themselves right and left at the entrance.

“Scarcely had the splendour of the stream of uniforms and costumes of the processions of the Companions toned down ere the procession of the Begum of Bhopal, the first Knight Grand Commander, entered, led by Colonel Osborne, the Political Officer, preceding eight sirdars. Next came an officer bearing quaint devices on a silken banner. Her Highness, veiled, and swathed in brocaded stuff of many colours, over which was the ample light blue satin robe, with white shoulder-knots, of the Order, was attended by two native pages in very handsome dresses and bare feet. Next came Mr. Trevor, the Political Agent, leading the procession of Sir Salar Jung. Eight sirdars, dressed with that taste in the arrangement of colour and fashion of apparel, the joy of artists and horror of martinets, which the West has tried to destroy by ‘uniform,’ followed. Sir Salar Jung wore a small white turban, and a plain caftan of dark green cloth. His train was borne by two pretty pages, dressed in green and gold. In contrast to his studied simplicity came next the Maharajah of Puttiala, who wore on his turban many fine diamonds, which were said to have once belonged to the Empress Eugénie, and the great Sancy diamond as a pendant. Lord Napier of Magdala came next. Well has the Colonel of Indian Engineers, who was summoned to Lucknow eighteen years ago by Colin Campbell, won his honours. He took his seat next Sir Salar Jung, and courteously saluted him, the Begum of Bhopal, and the Maharajah of Puttiala, who sat opposite to him.

“The procession of the excellent Maharajah of Travancore, who is very like Mr. Buckstone, if one could fancy him in Oriental garb, came next. His dewan and sirdars were in the costume of their country, which is not so fine as that of Central India.

“Next appeared Sir Bartle Frere, preceded by a banner with many an ancient quartering, his train held by two midshipmen. The Maharajah of Rewah followed. His procession, led by Major Bannerman, consisted of sirdars who would make a sensation in a London or Paris theatre. They were animated nuggets, ambulatory mines of jewels—one especially, who wore a suit of chain armour, arabesqued breast and back pieces, jewelled plume, casque of gold, and enamelled gauntlets. Rewah—reminding one of the great king of yore, on whose palace wall the dread fingers wrote the pregnant sentence—wore a golden crown, exquisitely worked, blazing with gems. The Maharajah of Jeypoor’s procession, headed by Colonel Benyon, included eight characteristic

thakoors and pages, whose doublets and trunk-hose of light blue satin contrasted admirably with their dark faces. Next came Political Maitland, who headed the Maharajah Holkar's procession. That burly gentleman looked like an Indian Henry VIII. His pages were in Vandyck brown and gold. Next came the procession of the Maharajah of Cashmere, Major Jenkins in front. Eight most resplendent warriors and courtiers, finely shawled and jewelled, two and two, were eclipsed by the magnificent Maharajah, whose train was carried by pages in green velvet tunics and pink turbans, and who each bore the ransom of a kingdom on his person. Last, Colonel Hutchinson appeared at the head of Maharajah Scindia's procession. Brilliant as was the gorgeous Chief of Gwalior, the Europeans, at least, were not inclined to bestow on him much attention, for the Prince was now advancing. His household and officers in two lines preceded him. The Prince wore white helmet and plume, and Field-Marshal's uniform, almost concealed beneath the folds of his sky-blue satin mantle. His train was carried by naval cadets, Messrs. Grimston and Walshe, 'blue boys,' in cavalier hats and wigs, blue satin cloaks, tunics, trunk-hose, and rosetted shoes; pretty to look at, but decidedly anachronous, for the Order cannot claim any cavalier associations—but pages must be pages. The Prince took his seat on the dais, the band playing 'God save the Queen,' all standing. The Viceroy ordered the secretary to read the roll of the Order. Mr. Aitchison did so. Each member stood up as his name was called, bowed, and sat down. The Chapter was then declared open; the secretary reported the business to be the investiture of the persons named in a warrant, directing the Prince to invest them, from the Queen, dated Balmoral, October 25th, 1875. The Viceroy and the members of the Order rose, bowed to the Prince, and sat down. The Prince then received from the secretary the grants of the several dignities, which were handed to a page. He directed 'the investiture to proceed.'

"First, the Maharajah of Jodhpoor was conducted from the tent in which he had been robed to the presence, the under-secretary bearing the insignia on a blue satin and velvet cushion. He was met at the entrance of the chapter tent by two junior knights, and led up to the footstool of the Prince by Mr. Aitchison, who held him firmly by the hand, and indicated when he was to bow, kneel, walk backwards, and sit down. After the Queen's grant had been read, the Maharajah, having been decorated with a knight's ribbon, badge, star, and robes, stood before the dais.

He made two obeisances, and knelt. The Prince then placed the collar of the Order round his neck, and admonished him in prescribed form. Seventeen guns were fired. The Maharajah then rose, and, instructed by Mr. Aitchison, was led backwards, bowing with his face to the dais, towards the seat reserved for him. There his banner was unfurled to a flourish of trumpets, all standing. The secretary proclaimed the titles of the newly made Knight Grand Commander, and all resumed their seats. The account of one investiture must do for all. The Rajah of Jheend was invested as G.C.S.I. The investiture of the Knights Commanders, Mr. Robinson, the Maharajah of Punna, Rajah Mahun Kasee (Holkar's brother), Major-General Ramsay, General Runodeep Sing (Nepalese), Gunput Rao, and Faiz Ali Khan, followed. Mr. Robinson and Major-General Ramsay were also knighted. Mr. Chapman, Mr. Bullen Smith, and Baboo Degumber Mitter received the badges of the Companionship, or third class of the Order. Then announcement was made by the secretary that no more business remained. The Prince desired the Chapter to be closed. As the Prince emerged from the comparative darkness of the durbar tent to the sound of a grand march, played by the military band, a royal salute was fired, and the guard of honour presented arms. The spectacle of the processions leaving was by far the most picturesque part of the pageant; the Viceroy, the Grand Crosses, and the Grand Knights Commanders and Companions following in reverse order of their entry. The pomp of elephants, the noisy cavalcade of Eastern ceremonial were wanting, and there was no token of the public interest such a grand spectacle would arouse on the part of the inhabitants in any European capital."

As the Prince was going back to Government House a native rushed towards his carriage. He might have easily been thrown under the wheels; but the attendants on his Royal Highness saw nothing alarming in the man's manner, and he was allowed to carry out his purpose without interference. He had a paper in his hands, which was a petition, and he presented it. There is a notion prevalent among the natives that if a statement of grievances can be put into the hands of royalty itself, redress will assuredly follow.

An equestrian statue of Lord Mayo was unveiled by the Prince in the afternoon, and his Royal Highness expressed his melancholy satisfaction at having the opportunity of performing such an act in memory "of one whom he had been proud to call his friend."

After this the Prince, in plain clothes, drove

to the racecourse with the Viceroy to witness a polo match between the Calcutta and Muni-puri players. The former were tall, strong men, mounted on good and well-kept ponies. The latter were small men, and their mount was very sorry indeed. Nevertheless the Munipuri men, by their greater skill, had the best of the day. There was then a display of fireworks on the racecourse. The spectacle of tens of thousands of faces lighted up by mortars, rockets, and coloured fires could not fail to be interesting. The royal party having left the ground, there was an extensive explosion among the fireworks. No one was hurt, however; on the contrary, it greatly pleased the people, who thought it part of the entertainment. At seven o'clock the Prince went to see the fleet illuminated, and more fireworks were discharged from the ships. He proceeded to the theatre after dinner; but not even the attractions of the royal presence and the acting of Mr. Charles Mathews could fill the house. The veteran comedian was, however, received with great applause by the English-speaking part of the audience, and at the end of the piece was sent for and congratulated by the Prince.

The Prince, Viceroy, and party next day went to church at Fort William. In the afternoon the Botanic Gardens were visited, and after dinner there was a concert of sacred music at Government House.

Next morning his Royal Highness, attended by a few gentlemen, went on horseback to see the 18th Bengal Cavalry show their skill in tent-pegging, feats of swordsmanship, and the like. In addition to tent-pegging, there was a polo match between five British champions and five Munipuri men. The latter scored five goals, to the astonishment of some of the spectators, who did not think it fair that an Englishman should be beaten at any sport by a native. Polo, however, is the national sport of the Munipuris. There was a regatta on the Hugli at two o'clock. The stream is awkward for a regatta; the tide, up or down, is always strong, and the waters themselves are not cleanly to look upon. The Prince created Mr. Stuart Hogg, the Chief Commissioner of Police, a Knight Bachelor, and he well merited the distinction. When Sir Stuart Hogg had been made and created, his Royal Highness prepared to receive an increase to his own honours, and was presented in due form at the University of Calcutta with the degree of Doctor, *honoris causâ*, with immense acclamation.

It was unusual, but the worthy Hindu of Bhawanipore, Mr. Mookerjee, had come to understand that the Prince would like to see a zenana. Accordingly his Royal Highness,

accompanied by Miss Baring, Lady Temple, Miss Milman, Lady Stuart Hogg, and others, went on this interesting errand. There were hundreds of children assembled to see the Prince arrive. Most of these little ladies held pretty bouquets, with which, out of loyal devotion, to pelt him. Whether Baboo Jagadanund Mookerjee will ever get over the wrath of his co-religionists for the doings of this day, time only can tell. But one fact was made plain, at all events—Hindu ladies do not consider strict seclusion as at all essential to their happiness. Some Hindu ladies do not dislike being seen—at any rate by a Prince of Wales.

The visit to Calcutta was now over. There was one more gathering of notables in the noble reception-rooms of Government House, in order that they might pay their respects to the Prince before his departure. Certainly no host could have done the honours of his house or shown its hospitality with greater taste and with more success than Lord Northbrook. The route from the Government House was lined with troops and crowds of people. The station, decorated for the occasion, was like a Christmas pantomime. There were pleasant and cordial words of parting between the Prince and the Viceroy. Many others came to bid their adieux, and there was an expression of regret on not a few countenances. The strains of the military band were rownded in cheers and "God speeds" as the train left the station. It may be as well to state here, and once for all, that at Bombay, Puna, Ceylon, Madras, and Calcutta the Prince's bounty was largely bestowed on the poor and needy, and on the charities which required aid. The demands on the royal purse—many of them from European institutions—were heavy and very various, and the donations made in the course of the journey already came to a large sum.

At the Bankipoor station, which was reached early in the morning, there was a short halt for breakfast and change of dress. Sir R. Temple, the officers, civil and military, of the district, and a vast concourse of people were there to receive his Royal Highness. There were, of course, salutes, guards of honour, and "God save the Queen." Sir Richard Temple had shown by his preparations what a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal could do. His court, if not equal in splendour to that of the Viceroy, was nevertheless such as satisfied the spectators that here was a representative of Britain of no ordinary magnitude and magnificence. Sir Richard seemed to look upon this event as a sort of crowning point in his life. He is still young, ambitious in a laudable way, and able enough to look for higher honours than those

to which he has yet attained. His career in the famine campaign did him much credit. And here he had assembled the generals, officers, and privates of the vast army which had been engaged as his instruments in that work of benevolence, in order that they might be presented to the Prince of Wales. It was surprising to see so large an assemblage of ladies waiting to welcome the Prince. The avenue to the durbar tent was lined by nearly four hundred elephants caparisoned with great richness, the howdahs being filled with people in gala dresses. The great multitude, Europeans and natives, was loyal and picturesque, the loyalty of the Europeans being expressed by cheers, waving of handkerchiefs, and discharges of cannon, while that of the natives showed itself in the gorgeous dresses of rajahs, nawabs, and persons of lower dignity. The durbar marquee was a very spacious and stately erection of canvas, hung with chandeliers. It is believed that there is in Patna a large amount of disaffection and of religious fanaticism, which are fomented and encouraged by certain Mohammadan teachers.

The Prince having taken his place on the elevated dais under the canopy, on which dais was placed a regal chair, the levee began. Sir Richard Temple showed the utmost anxiety to give information concerning the personages presented—and his personal knowledge seemed to be universal—but, in spite of this, the gracious bow was not always given to the owner of the name for whom it was intended. There were rajahs and zemindars of repute among the natives; but now and again people on the spot might be heard muttering, “The old rascal ought to have been hanged in ’58,” or “One of the most seditious fellows in Behar!” but generally those who were presented were well spoken of.

There was a *déjeuner* in a very fine and lofty *shamianah* after the levee. The wives and families of the planters and of the Europeans generally were invited, and had full opportunity to see the Prince, as he sat at a slightly elevated table at the end, with Sir R. Temple by his side. The health of the Queen was given, and then that of the Prince, both being received with great enthusiasm.

The Prince, after this toast, proceeded to look at a panther which had been offered to him as a present by the sergeants of the 109th Regiment. The three hundred and eighty elephants then passed in procession. Among the gifts was a pair of very beautiful little oxen, not so large as Shetland ponies, which drew a light carriage like an artillery limber. After having tried them, and they were not easy to drive, his Royal Highness returned to the station.

From Bankipoor to Benares the country is flat, but here and there are objects of interest. It is not pleasant to find that in eighteen years no change for the better has been made in the personal appearance of the people or in that of their dwellings. The officials about the railway say that these miserable-looking people are rich; but the observations of such persons are not always reliable. There is generally a story of wealth stored up in holes and corners, but there is reason to believe that it would be hard to find.

When the royal train reached Rajghat, the station of Benares, it was almost dark: still there was light enough to indicate—ideally, perhaps—the grandeur of those marvellous ghats which have furnished so many subjects for the pencil of the artist and the descriptive powers of the traveller. The *cortège* drove over the bridge of boats from the right bank of the Ganges, and so through streets and roadways, the sides of which were crowded with people, out to the camp of the Lieutenant-Governor. The camp was enclosed by walls of canvas, and there was a row of fourteen tents on the one side, faced by another row of the same number. The main street, 1,000 feet long and 230 broad, was bounded at the end by the durbar tents, on the left of which was a separate enclosure 200 feet square. This contained drawing-room, bedroom, dressing-room, equerry’s room, a room for Lord Suffield, another for Mr. Knollys, two for personal attendants, and a tent for the guard, each room being a large tent. They were all beautifully furnished and decorated, the floors being covered with rich carpets. A covered way led from the drawing-room to the tent of the Lieutenant-Governor, which was 70 feet long by 30 broad. Covered ways led from this saloon to a dinner tent. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Strachey, Lady Strachey, and family lodged in tents to the right of the dinner tent.

Each tent had a lamp in front, and the names and numbers were inscribed outside. Entering, one found a nicely carpeted quadrangle, divided into sitting and bed room, with a fireplace in which were blazing logs and glowing coals, lights, tables, chairs, and every comfort that could be desired—soft bed, large bath, and ample space for life. There were smaller tents for servants within call, a complete establishment of attendants—plans of the camp, so that one might know where to find another—directions as to postal and telegraphic arrangements—rules to be observed in case of fire—clothes all ready laid out for dinner, of which the camp bell and bugle gave warning. The lamps and lights gave one the idea of a busy street in high festivity, and

when the company were seated in the great tent it was brilliant like a London special entertainment.

The municipality of Benares presented an address at half-past twelve o'clock, in which they welcomed the Prince to the most sacred city of the Hindus, "justly regarded and famous as the seat of their religion, philosophy, and learning, and associated from time immemorial in their minds with all that was pure and holy in their faith." They, moreover, stated the fact that thousands of the devout annually assembled there, maintaining under British rule the fullest freedom for their rites and ceremonies. They recognised the Queen's qualities as great as those of the monarchs of Benares commemorated in the Hindu epic, the "Mahabharatam." They thanked her Majesty for the personal assurance she had given of her interest in India, conveyed by the Prince's presence, and they watched his progress with unflagging interest.

The Prince replied that it was a great pleasure to be thus received in the centre of all the nations and people of Hindu origin, and to hear, from those who knew them so well, the feelings of their countrymen in all parts of India that under the British administration they enjoyed in the fullest freedom rites of worship according to the usages of their faith, and that that privilege of perfect toleration was highly appreciated. He would convey to the Queen their expressions of loyalty and gratitude. He was convinced it would give her sincere pleasure to hear that they appreciated the peace, contentment, and prosperity which they enjoyed.

Before the Prince left the camp there was an incident which deserves special mention. From an early hour six natives—venerable in aspect, but not over-splendid in attire, though bearing themselves like men who were conscious that they were worthy of consideration—might have been observed in the vicinity of the royal quarters. They were presented by Mr. Carmichael, who said—

"The six gentlemen whom I present to your Royal Highness—Mirza Mahomed Sneed Bukht, alias Peary Sahib, Mozuffer Bukht, Nadir Bukht, Mouzoodeen Bukht, Rahemooddeen Bukht, Mahomed Mohsur Bukht—are lineal descendants of Mirza Jehandar Shah, heir apparent to Shah Alum, the last independent King of Delhi and of the Timour dynasty!

"Shah Alum was desirous that his second son (called, when he reigned, Akbar Shar Saiee) should succeed to the throne. Hence a bitter feud arose between Jehandar Shah, the eldest son, and his father, and the former had to take refuge first at the court of Lucknow, where a stipend was assigned to him for his maintenance by the Oudh Government, and later, in 1788, the British Government gave him and his family an asylum at Benares, making over to them for their residence the extensive range of buildings on the river face, called Shivala Ghat,

and which had been sequestered for the rebellion of Cheyt Singh. The Prince Jehandar Shah died in May of the same year, and his descendants have since lived on the bounty of the British Government. As they have increased in numbers, the stipends (which were many of them personal) have necessarily but ill sufficed for their maintenance. They are, therefore, in anything but comfortable circumstances, but still maintain their dignity, and are universally respected. They have ever been most loyal and grateful to the British Government for its protection and support."

The buildings occupied by these poor people—poor notwithstanding their high pedigree—are in a ruinous condition, and they have many dependants, who, as a matter of course, are poorer than themselves. Both Hindus and Mohammadans have in India made the serious mistake of giving grants of public property and of founding charities which keep large numbers of persons in useless idleness, and this case is an illustration. Better that people should have nothing, and so be compelled to do something for their living, than that they should thus rot on the heap of their supposed dignity.

The Prince having held a levee for the district, to which both Europeans and natives were admitted, he next proceeded to lay the foundation-stone of a new subscription hospital in Benares, on the way embracing the opportunity of hearing the native pupils of the college, under the care of the Church Mission, sing, which they did very prettily.

A visit was then made to the Rajah of Vizianagram, and to the Town-hall, which was erected by the Rajah in commemoration of the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh. Next the famous temples had to be seen. To these sacred edifices it was necessary to walk, the streets which lead to them being so narrow, and sometimes, even walking, it is with difficulty that one can make room for the sacred bulls, which may be met at any moment as they are out taking their constitutional. A little awkward this, inasmuch as the tempers of those gentlemen are in nowise more kindly than those of their bovine kindred in other parts of the world.

The Golden Temple and the Sacred Pool were duly inspected. These and the Great Temple of Ganesa are usually thronged with priests, fakirs, pilgrims, and devotees from all parts of India; but on this occasion, out of respect to the royal presence, there were only a few trusty Brahmins to exhibit the shrines, bulls, and holy places, under the guardianship of a strong body of police. There are shops in the vicinity where are sold great varieties of brass idols, and flowers which are offered to the deities. Along the passages even of the temples there were stalls for the sale of appropriate offerings to the gods. It is re-

markable that persons under the influence of such a faith as this should possess every virtue of domestic life. Their women are chaste, faithful, and fond of their children. Their spirit of forbearance and toleration is well shown by the fact that Christian missionaries are permitted without resentment or annoyance to lift up their voices against their idolatries under the very shadows of the temples.

The Prince drove next to the Dourga Khound, which is in the suburbs. Monkeys cluster all over the pinnacles and ornaments of the temple, which is painted with red ochre in imitation of the colour of blood. These are especially ugly monkeys, and their familiarity has bred in them contempt for men. They therefore menaced the strangers with chattering and threatening teeth. But when they saw that the priests were full of civility, and were preparing to feed them with parched grain and small parcels of sweetmeats, they went swarming to the ground, to the number of a hundred and fifty or two hundred, old and young, to partake of the offerings. So sacred is the monkey that at this present time—1878—four or five hundred of them have taken possession of a village in Bengal, and driven the inhabitants out of their dwellings. The people do not dare to touch them. Of course British sportsmen will ere long give short shrift to them.

Not long before sunset the Prince embarked in a handsome galley, which was towed by a steamer, to the old fort of Ramnagar, four miles up the Ganges, where the Maharajah of Benares received him on a canopied and garlanded landing stage. This was an especially grand and most characteristic reception. The river bank was blazing with the twittering of *feux de joie*. The air was lighted up by the discharges of artillery from the adjacent and ancient parapets, and the battlements of the fort were illuminated. Silver flambeaux and torches were held by people on parapets, walls, and river banks, which were as light as day. Mace-bearers, spearmen, and banners going before them, the Prince and the Maharajah were borne in gold and silver chairs on men's shoulders up the ascent from the river to the castle gate, the way being lined with matchlock-men and cavalry. Moreover, elephants, accompanied by weird music, solemnly marched on the left, and shootee sowars rode on the right. The massive gateway was flanked by men in chain armour, and the Maharajah's infantry there presented arms. In the courtyard there was a line of elephants bearing gold and silver howdahs. In another courtyard were assembled the retainers and the officials of the household, who received the royal visitor with profound salaams. The

Maharajah led the Prince up-stairs, where, after the usual presentations and a short conversation, a long file of servitors laid examples of gold brocade of the famed kinkob of Benares, Dacca muslin, and costly shawls at the Prince's feet; while the Maharajah sat, like a benevolent old magician in spectacles and white moustache, smiling in his hall, with his hands joined in a deprecating manner as each tray was laid on the ground, as though he would say, "Pardon that unworthy offering." The Maharajah then conducted the Prince to a room where other beautiful presents were laid out on tables. In a third room a rich banquet was served, but it was untouched. From the roof a marvellous scene was to be witnessed, and the Prince mounted that he might see it. The surface of the Ganges was covered with tiny lamps, and the current, laden with these, flows beneath the castle walls down towards Benares. It seemed as though a starry sky were passing between banks of gold. The display of coloured fires from the walls of the castle and the extraordinary effect of the many-coloured flames on the mass of armoured men, and on the upturned faces of the people, called forth repeated exclamations of delight from the spectators. The river was really covered with fire. Imagine two miles of terraces rising from the water to temple and shrine, lit with oil lamps as close as they could stand or hang. Every line of masonry, of minaret, mosque, and temple, was marked out in light. The blackness of myriads of figures, set against vivid sheets of flame from the Bengal lights, gave a most peculiar aspect to the crowd. The Prince and party floated down the river from Ramnagar, pursued by flights of balloons, to the landing ghat at Benares, where the carriages were waiting. They thence drove nearly six miles to the camp to dinner. The whole road was brilliantly illuminated.

There was a special train ready at a temporary station not far from the camp at eight o'clock in the morning. The Maharajah of Benares, the Rajah of Vizianagram, the chief justice and judges, the magistrates, the major-general commanding the division, and the aides-de-camp and staff were present. When the Prince was leaving the Maharajah tendered him the last best proof of regard—his own walking-stick, with a gold handle, and set full of precious stones. It was a stout stick, for it had much to contain, and, pressed, the Prince graciously accepted. There is a generosity in receiving as well as in giving, and the Prince understood that.

Next day was spent in great part in travelling to Lucknow. There is but little in the scenery to interest one going by the

Oudh and Rohileund Railway. The country is a dead level, and there are no great rivers. There are not even many minor streams to bridge. The Prince up to this time had visited regions which for many years had enjoyed peace. But now he entered upon the scenes of great troubles, in which the traditions of retribution inflicted on rebellion were but recent. Confiscation and deposition had left many bitter memories, and fanaticism engendered in holy cities and by famous shrines had kept alive religious antagonism.

At Faizabad, the ancient Awadh (Oudh), one of the most holy cities in India—which is much favoured by monkeys—where the train arrived at one P.M., Sir George Cowper, the Chief Commissioner, the staff, the magistrates and officials, and Major-General Maude, commanding the district of Oudh, and his staff, received the Prince, who made a short halt at the station, and then continued his journey to Lucknow. To look at, Oudh is less prosperous than it was in 1858. Major-General Chamberlain and the Lucknow officials received his Royal Highness at the Charbagh station at 4.40 P.M. The *cortège* set out for the royal head-quarters with an escort of the 13th Hussars, and to the people this was quite a sight on the way. There were crowds of natives.

Since the time of the mutiny Lucknow has very much changed, and changed for the better. Hundreds of acres once occupied by houses have been turned into market gardens. There are parks, rides, and drives where there were streets, bazaars, and even palaces.

On the next day after the Prince's arrival there was a native levee at eleven A.M. Next came a European levee. The Prince afterwards drove to Dilkoosha. The building greatly interested him. It was the scene of two reliefs of Lucknow. The Prince then drove to the Martinière. He went down to the vault in which lie the remains of Claude Martin, a native of Lyons, "a simple soldier who died a general," and who bequeathed an enormous fortune to charitable purposes in the land in which he gained it. He then mounted to the roof, commanding a view of the country through which Lord Clyde advanced to the relief of the residency. The great little man! On his way back his Royal Highness drove round by the walls of Secunderabagh, and past the Kaiserbagh, through the Wingfield Park.

In the afternoon he laid the foundation-stone of the memorial to the natives who fell in defence of the residency. At four P.M. various regiments which had fought in defence of the residency were formed into three sides of a square round the mound on which the memorial is to be placed. The survivors of

the native defenders, who had been collected from Oudh and other parts of India, were near at hand in their old uniforms. Among them were old Ungud, the famous spy, and Canoujee Lall, the companion of Kavanagh in his daring adventure, looking as young as he did in 1858.

Sir George Cowper, addressing the Prince, said they were assembled to honour the memory of the native officers and soldiers who fell in defence of the place, the ruins of which they saw around them. The behaviour of the sepoys of Lucknow was simply without parallel in the history of the world. Under Clive, at Arcot, sepoys underwent great privations for the sake of their European comrades; but their fidelity was not tested like that of the men who resisted the adjurations of their brethren, comrades, and caste men, not fifty yards off, calling them by name to desert the alien and infidel. If they had deserted Lucknow must have fallen, and thousands of trained soldiers would have been free to march on Delhi. Many difficulties might have resulted. Less distinguished services had been commemorated at the cost of the nation; but it was at his own expense that the illustrious nobleman, the Viceroy who represented the Prince's imperial mother in her Eastern dominions, had directed the erection of the monument. This humble memorial will be regarded with pride by Englishman and Asiatic alike when splendid pageants and stately ceremonies have been forgotten.

The ceremony being over, it occurred to the Prince that he would like to see the veterans. It was an unpremeditated thought; and the delight of the men when they were told of the honour in store for them showed that they also had had no expectation of anything of the kind. They were led by Major Cubitt, one of the officers under whom they had served. One man, nearly blind, and led by his sons, having suffered from a wound, exclaimed, "Let me see him!" The Prince, understanding what he meant, told the officers to permit him to approach. The veteran, with his hand to his turban at the salute, came quite close, peered into the Prince's face, drew a deep sigh, and said, "I thank Heaven I have lived to see this day and the Prince's face;" but when he felt that the Prince had taken his hand he burst into tears, and was led sobbing away. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." When the Prince left he had the satisfaction of knowing that he had rejoiced the hearts of the old soldiers by his kindness. He would not allow them to be hurried by. He spoke to each of them, however ragged or unclean he might happen to be.

The generation which was thrilled with anguish or pride at the names of Lucknow, Cawnpore, and Delhi is becoming old. The visitor may be inclined to dismiss the memories of those days from his mind, and to welcome the presence of the son of the Empress of Hindustan. But there are signs and tokens of that time all around him. They crop up in the most guarded addresses; memorial churches here and there appear; and gardens and clearings, where once there was a large population, tell what followed the outrages and crimes of that unhappy time.

The Prince dined at the Chief Commissioner's, and afterwards drove, accompanied by Sir G. Cowper, to a native entertainment given in the Kaiserbagh, which was once the palace of the Kings of Oudh. It is now the *chef-lieu* of the offices of the Government. It is a vast stretch of buildings, and covers more ground than the Louvre and Tuileries put together. He was welcomed by the talukdars in the throne-room with "their modest tribute of allegiance and gratitude, which they fondly hoped he would accept as a fit emblem of the fealty of the talukdars." It was a crown set with jewels. There was a great procession, and names were heard which brought back the memories of turbulent days—names of both friends and foes. Major Henderson, after a short time, appeared, and expressed the pleasure of his Royal Highness at meeting so many native gentlemen, and his regret that time would not permit of his making the acquaintance of each of them. There were fireworks outside, and these had a somewhat distinctive character. There were no spasmodic lights or intermittent outbursts of rockets, but continued activity. There were catherine-wheels, fountains of fire, revolving wheels, and balloons. The gateways, courts, and great quadrangles were all illuminated. There was a banquet laid, to which the Prince paid a short visit to please his hosts. The natives crowded in to see the Europeans at table, and soon after eleven o'clock his Royal Highness left amid native salaams and European cheers.

There was an excursion arranged for "pig-sticking"—a peculiar sort of enjoyment. The country was very rough. The Prince seems to have ridden hard, but his English horse had little chance with the boar, which turns like a hare. There were many falls, in which the horses suffered rather severely. Lord Carington got his left collar-bone broken in one of these attacks by the boars. Dr. Fayrer, however, was at hand, the bone was set, the patient was put in a comfortable *dooly*, and did well.

Lord Napier of Magdala also had a collar-

bone broken, though not in the same expedition. Dr. Fayrer's experience in surgery became thus somewhat extended. The Prince did not visit the native city. The main street of the place is too narrow to be traversed by carriages, and elephants are too high. The Duke of Sutherland and several others of the suite walked through the bazaars and the principal thoroughfares. Kite-making and kite-flying flourish as of yore. But Lucknow has fallen from its high estate. There are still a few of the artificers who were so numerous in the days of the native court, when Lucknow was like Paris under the Empire—workers in gold and silver, makers of curious jewellery, enamellers and pipe-stick embroiderers, workers of filigree ornaments, excelling in the inlaying of iron with silver—and these exhibited their wares every morning at the Commissioners', and found many purchasers. They admitted that they liked the good old days better than the present.

Next day his Royal Highness presented new colours to the 1st battalion of the 8th Foot—a regiment with grand traditions. He then drove to continue his progress to Delhi. At 2.15 in the afternoon the special train left for Cawnpore, and at 3.35 stopped near Onao to take up Lord Carington; but although he was somewhat pale, and had his arm in a sling, no great harm had been done.

There is a station at Cawnpore. The Prince came out and drove first to the Memorial Church. There is nothing now left of what existed there in 1858. There are now compound walls, bungalows, and large and beautiful parks. The ancient landmarks are gone. The Prince got out, and he and his party walked to the fatal well. There was profound silence as his Royal Highness read in a low voice the inscription, "To the memory of a great company of Christian people, principally women and children, who were cruelly slaughtered here." The name of the great criminal and the date of the massacre are cut round the base of the statue. The Prince then walked to the cemetery close by, examined the graves, and expressed his pleasure at the neatness of the ground. He gathered some leaves from a shrub by the grave of Woodford, a gallant soldier who fell in Windham's engagement with the Gwalior contingent, and left the scene of these sad events just before nightfall for the residence of Mr. Prinsep, where he was entertained at dinner. At nearly ten o'clock the Prince started for Delhi.

The arrival at Delhi and the entry of the Prince were attended with a pomp and circumstance well befitting the place and the

occasion. The morning was all that could be desired. The breeze was sufficient to dissipate the dust, and the temperature was quite agreeable after the coldness of the night air. Notwithstanding his recent accident, Lord Napier of Magdala was there—soldiers are soldiers—with the staff of the army, and a glittering crowd of authorities and officers of all arms, British and native. Lines of soldiery, extending five miles, kept the road to the camp. There was an immense multitude of people to welcome his Royal Highness. The Prince did not forget the regiments which, in the mutiny, had actually fought on the very ground which they now occupied. When he came to the 2nd Gurkhas, who were opposite Hindoo Rao's house, which they held during the siege, he stopped and expressed his pleasure at finding them in such an appropriate place.

The royal camp was of grand proportions. The main street of it was formed by tents of great size. There were shrubs and flowering plants lining the edges of the avenue from end to end, there being in front a parterre and a towering flagstaff. There was a lamp before each tent, and sward as level as an English cricket-ground, though perhaps not quite so green.

After a time the municipality of Delhi—all native gentlemen—were introduced to present their address. They said they esteemed it a privilege to be permitted to give expression to their feelings of profound loyalty and devotion to the person and rule of their gracious Queen, and, on behalf of the whole community, of whatever race or creed, offered to his Royal Highness a hearty welcome to their ancient city. Since the Viceroy announced the intended visit, they had been anxiously looking forward to the auspicious event. Delhi, though small when compared with great capitals such as Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, could claim attention for its antiquities and historic interest. "For more than a thousand years it has been the seat of dynasties which have risen, flourished, and passed away, leaving traces of splendour in the palace and the tomb, in mosque and temple, minaret and tower. Although no longer the seat of empire, it is flourishing. Three railways converge to it, developing trade and industry; and it is still the home of the language of Hindustan and the seat of learning." The gentlemen expressed their earnest wish that his Royal Highness might retain pleasing recollections of his visit, and that the remainder of his tour might be as full of interest as the commencement of it had been. The Prince thanked them for their welcome, and said that he had looked

forward with pleasure to his visit to their ancient capital, abounding as it did in the earliest monuments of Indian magnificence and recollections of the greatest historical interest. Furthermore, he observed that the natural position of the city in the centre of Hindustan, where so many great lines of railway converge, must ever render Delhi one of the most important points in the British possessions in India. He said he was glad to meet them, and would be much gratified in being able to convey to the Queen his assurance of the appearance of reviving prosperity in a city so famous and beautiful.

Delhi represents to an Englishman merely the centre of a railway system, which, from time to time, finds there its points of concentration. It was, however, only a short time ago the seat of power for an empire—the capital of a dynasty of great antiquity and pride. To us now its name is hallowed principally by the great exploits of the British army in connection with the taking of it at the time of the mutiny.

A levee, which was attended by many hundreds of officers of all grades and of civilians, followed the address, and at the close of it the native officers were presented. The Prince was entertained by Lord Napier of Magdala at his own camp. Next day there was a grand review of the troops. The appearance of the force was very fine. As the Prince came on the ground the royal standard was hoisted, and a royal salute given along the line. The great crowd uttered a shout of welcome, and the fluttering of white handkerchiefs from the dense line of carriages looked like a ripple of surf against the background of the dark multitude. The Prince rode across to the right of the first line, and down the front, receiving the usual honours, bands playing, colours lowered, and so on, passing from right to left, and left to right, till the inspection was complete.

When his Royal Highness had taken his place near the flagstaff, the march past commenced. His Royal Highness was in front, and could be seen by all. Lord Napier of Magdala, his arm still in a sling, was on his left; Sindia was at a little distance on his right; and somewhat in the rear were two or three chiefs. Of course the suite were in attendance. One of the unattached officers remarked, "That army is able to march from the Himalayas to Comorin—from Madras to Bombay—but on one condition: the natives must feed it, and be ready to assist in the transport."

When the march past was over, there was an advance of the whole force and a royal salute. The sight was grand in the extreme.

The great plain presented a most animated appearance; the camps were spread out for miles; there were towering elephants and hundreds of camels; and it so happened that there were herds of sheep and goats, and multitudes of people of a nation on the tramp—some great migration of a warrior horde.

Lord Napier and many officers of various ranks dined with his Royal Highness. Covers were laid for eighty, and not a few great men were there. At a later hour there was a ball.

On the following day his Royal Highness made an excursion of a very interesting character. This was to the Kootab Minar, on the way to which he visited the beautiful tomb of Suftur Jung. The road lies through a country of remarkably strange aspect. Delhi is surrounded by ruins, which extend from the south end of the present city to Toogluckabad—10 miles. The breadth at the north is 3 miles; that at the south is 4; from Kootab to Toogluckabad is 6, and the whole area is not less than 45 square miles, covered with ruins. One wonders who founded those cities and constructed those strong places which are now only dust and rubbish and heaps of brick. The Mohammadan invasion, which established Shah-ood-Deen in power nearly a hundred years after William had conquered England, found here a civilisation to which our ancestors had then no pretensions.

At the Kootab there was a small camp pitched for the occasion. There was a military band, and lunch was laid in a large marquee. Many ladies were invited from Delhi. His Royal Highness mounted to the summit of the Kootab, which is said to be the highest pillar in the world. It measures 238 feet in height. From that eminence he viewed the widespread ruins of forts, tombs, mosques, and cities. There is an iron pillar in which the natives still have strong faith, and the Prince inspected it. He also inspected the well of Mehrowlie, where he was amused by the divers, who leaped into a pool 80 feet below them. Each man, before he jumped, threw a pebble to mark the spot, covered with green scum, which he intended to strike. On his way back to the camp, his Royal Highness stopped at Hoomayoon's tomb, where the Delhi princes surrendered to Hodson and met their death.

In the great cemetery, around the magnificent mausoleum of Nizam-ood-Deen, there are several fine tombs. One of the best of these is that erected to the memory of the admirable Jehanara Begum, on which is inscribed the epitaph—

“Let no rich canopy cover my grave!
The grass is the best covering for the poor in spirit,
The humble, transitory Jehanara—the disciple of
the holy men of Cheest,
The daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan.”

But, for all her humble prayer, the lady reposes in a fine sarcophagus, which is surrounded by a screen of marble.

Delhi was illuminated, and the streets were crowded. On the following day there was what we should call in England a sham fight. This was well sustained, but the great attraction was the presence of the Prince.

The 16th of January was a Sunday. The cold at night was such as to make fires in the tents very welcome. At six in the morning the thermometer was at 34°. Dr. Russell says, “Waking before daybreak, I walked out of the bedroom division into the sitting-room of my tent to light a candle. The fire was burning in the hearth, and I saw three figures draped in white sitting motionless before it, their backs being turned towards me. I paused to consider what they might be; but ere the demand ‘Who are you?’ ended, the three forms arose, towering as it seemed to a tremendous height, and vanished. They were three of the servants, who usually slept under the eaves, but who, pinched by cold, thought they might creep in and sleep by the fire.” Such are the alternations of temperature between night and day in India.”

There were other military parades and sham fights, and the Delhi pageant came to an end. The special train to Lahor left the Delhi station before midnight. The Prince was escorted to the station by a great body of officers, headed by Lord Napier of Magdala, with whom he had dined. The roadway was illuminated, and soldiers, each with a torch in his hand, marked the lines of camps all the way. The train moved off from the metropolis of the old Moguls out into the night amid tremendous cheers, on its way to the capital of the short-lived dynasty of the Sikh.

Lahor looked its best in the bright light of early morning as the special train slid up to the red cloth where the Governor of the Punjab and the military and civil staff of the province, with a very large assemblage of Europeans, were waiting on the platform of the railway station, which, ornamented with turrets and battlements, looked as though it aimed at being mistaken for a fortification. The Prince's *cortège* made a sweep round the town, passing the encampments of the Rajahs of the Punjab. Before each encampment floated the banner of the rajah to whom it belonged. In front stood in line elephants and led horses in gold and silver saddle-cloths

and jewelled caparisons, the chiefs' armed retainers, regular and irregular, lining the roadway. The roll of drums, blare of trumpets, and clang and outburst of strange instruments saluted the Prince. Lance and sword, morion and cuirass, flashed, and all was light and beautiful. The very spirit of chivalry hovered over these martial faces and noble forms. The combination of colours forced the beholder to close his eyes for a moment, and ask if it were a dream. Fenced in by this extraordinary pageantry, stood or squatted, silent, motionless, what some time hence will be designated by native reformers "the majesty of the people." It was also on house-tops and on walls, and seemed much taken with the aspect of its princely brother, whom it was able to recognise by reason of the gold umbrella carried over his head in the Governor's carriage. The flat roofs and carved lattices give the city a strong resemblance to Cairo before the improvements nearly demolished the Orientalism of the most Oriental of cities. There is, however, an Orientalism which is not altogether Indian in the aspect of the town and people—a mixture of the Punjab and Krim Tartary, Jewish faces and Tartar dwellings.

There was so much to admire, that the way to Government House seemed to those who traversed it very short—but it is four miles. Being an eminently practical people, we have made the tomb of a cousin of Akbar into a residence for the Lieutenant-Governor, but it is said to have been occupied by a Sikh general before Sir J. Lawrence obtained possession. The living found it very comfortable. There was a guard of honour of the 92nd Highlanders, 100 strong, picked men, with pipers and colours, outside. As soon as the Prince had been introduced to the Lieutenant-Governor's family and staff, it was time to receive the address of the municipality. They were ushered up-stairs to the drawing-room, where the Prince stood in the midst of his staff, and were presented by Sir H. Davies. The address was read by a native gentleman. It would have astonished members of an English town council to have seen their brethren of Lahor, in turbans of the finest gold tissue, brocaded gowns and robes, coils of emeralds, rubies, and pearls, finer than any Lord Mayor's chain, round their necks.

A levee of European officers, officials, and private persons followed. When that stream ran out, another of a different character, far more sparkling and bright, if somewhat more erratic, was turned on—a levee of native chiefs.

The reception of these gentlemen was interesting, because they were a new type of

men, and, moreover, exceedingly picturesque and brilliant. First came the Rajah of Nabha, a Jat Sikh, escorted by cavalry, honoured with a salute of eleven guns, a guard of honour, and a band to play for him. He was met, on alighting from his carriage, by one of the Prince's aides-de-camp, and at the foot of the staircase by Major Sartorius, who conducted him up the stairs, all by programme. He takes a great interest in his troops, on whose air the Prince complimented him, to the Rajah's evident pleasure. Next came the Rajah of Kapurthala, whom many remember at Lord Clyde's camp in Oudh towards the close of the great rebellion, full of vigour, fond of sporting, and never better pleased than when he was entertaining officers at a grand *shikar*, but now so broken that he is scarcely able to take part in conversation, although he speaks English with fluency. At 1.30 p.m. the Rajah of Mundee appeared—an eleven-gun chief from the Hills, where he rules a state at one time much disturbed by questions of succession, till one John Lawrence turned his eye upon them. The result was that there wandered in indigent dignity about Simla an excellent gentleman, Meean Ruttun Sing, who must be recollected by visitors there in 1858, and above all by Lord William Hay, to whom he rendered efficient service in suppressing incipient trouble. Poor man! Some £300 a year represented the whole of his allowance. He wrote a letter from Benares, years ago, with an address, which, translated, read, "From the street of the Beggarman living over the gutter." The present chief is a Sanscrit scholar, and encourages the students and professors of that language.

The Rajah of Faridkot, eleven guns, received at 1.30 p.m. The Rajah of Chumba (eleven-gun man) put down for 1.28 p.m. The first is a Sikh, with a few good soldiers. The second is a lad who takes great interest in affairs, and who came down to Delhi last year to assist at the durbar. At 1.35 p.m. the Rajah of Sukkut (eleven guns), a Rajput of the purest descent, chief of a small state near Simla. At 1.50 p.m. the Sirdar of Kalsia; at 1.52 p.m. the Nawab of Pataudi; at 1.54 p.m. the Nawab of Loharu; at 1.56 p.m. the Nawab of Dujana; at 1.58 p.m. the Rajah Shamshar Sing of Golar, a Hill Rajput. None of these latter were entitled to guns, the first only being served to *uttur* and *pân* by the Prince, the rest receiving it from one of the officers of his suite, and being conducted no farther on their way than the foot of the staircase.

Later in the day the Prince went to see the gaol, a model establishment abounding in

ruffians. Among the latter must be reckoned a brace of Thugs, one of whom, aged seventy, made the pleasant statement that he had murdered more than 250 people; the other, who looked as if he might have equalled his great master if time had permitted it, said that he could only account for 35. The elder gentleman, by way of *experimentum in corpore nobili*, gave, by order, Dr. Fayrer's wrist a twist, the effect of which the latter felt next day.

The Prince next drove to the citadel, and saw the sun setting over the broad plains and placid river from the tower from which the Lion of Lahor was wont to watch its rise. In the armoury the Prince's attention was attracted by a tiny cannon mounted on a revolving frame, which he was told belonged to Dhuleep Sing when he was a little boy, unconscious of the coming of the calm joys of Kelvedon and of the glory of the grandest bags of the season. At the Prince's request the toy was sent down to Bombay to be conveyed to England.

Although the Sikh and Hill chiefs were in their persons, tents, equipages, and followings perhaps the most picturesque persons of the various ruling classes summoned to pay their respects to the Prince, an account of potentates of such limited influence would not be read with much interest. But there the chiefs are, and for each there is a programme as strict as if he were king or kaiser. Kalsia, Sukkut, Chumba, Faridkot, Mundee, Kapurthala, Nabha, Bhawalpur — names, mere names, yet the rulers of these little states exercise more moral control over the people than all our magistrates, except in so far as it is our Government which is paramount to their rulers. Their tents; their henchmen; their arrays of horse and foot; their elephants, camels, musicians—these were of different degrees of magnificence; but the *ensemble* was always striking, and their presents, if not of great value, offered a contrast to the uniformity of medals, arms, whips, books, &c., bestowed on them. In their durbar tents there were fine chairs beneath canopies of cloth of gold, upheld by silver poles, and lamps and chandeliers, and gaudy-coloured prints: the carpets were magnificent specimens of Cashmere and Persian work. When one thought of the money it must have cost to have got ready all that splendour, and to have carried it so far—from Mundee, for instance—and of the outlay on that mass of elephants, camels, and horsemen, and heard that the chief was “hard up” before he came, it became subject for consideration whether the attendance would not be a cause of embarrassment hereafter. The absence of a

chief, however, would have been an affront, as with each *noblesse oblige*. As their encampments formed two sides of a triangle, at the base of which was the mausoleum of Runjeet Sing, they might, if philosophically minded, have set off their perfect security, and their immunity from the chance of being devoured by some Lion of Lahor, against the expenditure on this peaceful display. The return visits to chiefs, and the opening of the Soldiers' Industrial Exhibition at Meean Meer, occupied the forenoon. By order of Sir G. Pollock, an immense quantity of Turcoman, Affghan, and Persian carpets, furs, pushmeena, puttoo, and various fabrics was brought down for inspection to head-quarters. The Prince bought many articles, others following his example, till none were left, and the merchants went away the second day rejoicing. There were also Hill men with the finest of falcons, hunting eagles, short-winged hawks, shaggy Tibetan mastiffs, and rugged deerhounds to tempt purchasers, who had, however, to contemplate the possibility of their conveying the bargains on board ship without buying the natives in attendance. Among the novelties of Lahor must not be forgotten a *char-à-banc* drawn by six dromedaries. How they were driven it is impossible to say, but the leaders had a knack of turning round now and then to see what those behind were about.

Lahor has not increased in magnitude or in prosperity since it came under our rule; but it was decaying before Runjeet Sing gave it importance as the seat of his newly established empire. Certainly, if Lalla Rookh were to visit it now, she could see nothing at all like what met her eye in the poet's dream, where “mausoleum and shrines, magnificent and numberless, affected her heart and imagination, and where death appeared to share equal honours with heaven.” The engines which scattered showers of confectionery among the people in the public squares are replaced by the locomotive, scattering hot ashes and pouring out steam at the station; the chariot of the artisan, adorned with tinsel and flying streamers to exhibit the badges of his trade, is now represented by a bullock hackery. As to the great antiquity claimed for the city some doubts are entertained; but it must have been founded between the first and seventh centuries of the Christian era. It was not till the reign of Akbar that it attained its highest position as the centre of municipal activity. Jehanghire was fond of it as a residence, and fixed his court there in 1662. He was, however, at Ajmir when he received Sir Thomas Roe, an emissary from King James I.

In the evening there was a fête in the Shalimar Gardens: it was very cold; but the illuminations of the gardens were exquisite—long broad ribbons of lamps illuminating lakes, cascades, and islands, whereon stood white marble kiosks and temples—and the entertainment gave great satisfaction.

The night was bitterly cold. There was a scuffle to get off, orders were given to start at eight A.M., and the servants, European and native, were torpid. A guard of honour of the 92nd, drawn up with their band and colours in front of the Lieutenant-Governor's house, looked very cold indeed, with blue noses and knees; and the officers went up and down stamping their feet. There is a narrow-gauge line from Lahor to Wazirabad (twenty-six miles), of which the most that can be said is that it is better than no rail at all. The special train managed to reach Wazirabad in little more than two hours. Thence there is an excellent road, along which the party drove at a rapid pace. The country is a dead level, with few trees and a scanty population, and the steeple of Sialkot Church is seen far off, rising like a lighthouse out of the sea. It is scarcely possible to believe that Sialkot is one of the very hottest stations in India, for there is a delusive appearance of coolness given to it by the Himalayan ranges crowned with snow in the distance, and by the broad roads shaded with overarching trees which lead to the cantonments. The Prince lunched with the 9th Lancers, and then continued the journey to Jummoo, twenty-seven miles from Wazirabad. On the way there is little to notice except the increasing dignity of the mountain chain in front. A splendid species of *Euphorbia* was common, and small forests of acacia and of the *Butea frondosa* dotted the plains along the roadside. It was four P.M. when the Prince, whose carriage was escorted by a troop of the 9th Lancers, entered the state of the Maharajah of Cashmere. An arch was thrown across the road, and at the other side a deputation of chiefs was waiting to receive the Prince. Seven miles from Jummoo, then quite visible on a low-lying spur of the snowy range—it is something like Aosta or Stirling as seen from the south—the Maharajah himself appeared with his principal sirdars and a magnificent sowaree, and welcomed the Prince to his dominions. The *cortège* went at a rapid rate, but it was dusk before he reached the Towee. On the near bank there were a vast number of elephants. The carriages halted at the top of a ridge, and he could look down on the broad river, covered with boats pulled by rowers in scarlet and yellow liveries, and dotted with men floating on skins

below. On the other side, up the steep ascent to the ancient walls and the city gate, were lines of cavalry in armour, and of infantry. The old hill fort on the opposite side of the gorge was thundering out a salute, and astonishing Himalayan wolves and jackals. When the Prince, mounted on an elephant with the Maharajah, led the procession across the river, joyous cries, ringing of bells, firing of guns, and the clang of music made an indescribable tumult. The way from the river-side up to the city, winding for two miles through roads and streets lighted up brightly, lined with the Maharajah's army, and filled with Hill people, Cashmerees, Lamas or priests from Leh and Ladak, Afghans, Sikhs, &c., presented the most original types and spectacle. On the summit of the ridge above Jummoo was a huge building—carpeted, and hung with shawls, pictures, and mirrors—built expressly for the reception at an enormous cost; it had been roofed only a few hours before. This pile was so frail withal, that the walls shook when the salutes were fired; and it was so damp that his Royal Highness preferred the tents erected on the elevated plateau, as a *pis-aller* close at hand, between the palace and the city.

It was dark by the time the Prince arrived at the palace. As the Prince's elephant was approaching the piazza before the palace, the band, which had been in front, wheeled round and commenced to play "God save the Queen;" but the sight of the great beast was too much for the horses, which dispersed, capering and plunging, in spite of their riders. After the usual *darbar* and ceremonies the Prince was conducted to a veranda outside the palace, and witnessed a fine display of fireworks representing a general action. Afterwards there was a monster banquet, to which all the Europeans in the enormous encampment were invited.

Rain fell next morning. A sporting party was arranged for the Prince, but it was not very successful. Although his Royal Highness killed some deer and pigs, the display of native sporting was a failure. A cheetah let loose at a deer ran after a dog. The dog turned, and the cheetah fled. A lynx was slipped at a fox; Reynard showed fight, and lynx and fox made up and were friends. Nor would the lynxes follow hares which were loosed for them; but Puss received scant mercy from the falcons, which invariably succeeded in killing them. Afterwards there was polo-playing by the Baltee Hill people, who have an evil reputation on this side of the Himalayan slope. The players, mounted upon ragged ponies and attired in bright-coloured silk, dividing into two parties, commenced

the game; the multitude yelled with delight; but certainly there was no ground for approbation. Pulwans, sinewy, active wrestlers, covered with oil, and very difficult to grasp, followed. Then spring-boards and two camels were brought out. The athletes, taking a short run, threw somersaults clean over the camels, one fellow leaping finally into the howdah of an elephant, which declined to have a repetition of the feat. The drawing of nets in the river revealed the fact that the fishers of Cashmere inherit the arts of Cleopatra, for fish were found all ready fastened to their meshes by the gills.

A procession was formed in the evening through the illuminated city to the old palace, where the Maharajah gave a dinner to the Prince and a small party of Europeans. Then there was a weird performance of a sacred dancing drama by the Lamas from Tibet, which rivalled the best shows of the royal tour. More fireworks ended the entertainment, which presented many novel and curious features.

Baggage was ready next morning at seven, and the Prince and suite were to leave at eight. And thereupon, long before dawn, there was great clamour in camp; for on all questions of transport, camels, elephants, and, above all, "natives," as they are called, express their feelings in very audible fashion—and frequently. It was very cold, and there was an eager nipping air. Sentries, dressed in long fur coats, above which peered bayonet and plumes, and beneath which slipper-like shoes beat tattoo on the ground, were inviting the earliest rays of the sun to thaw them into life. Yellow-trousered, blue-coated policemen came on the scene; for it was feared that the shawls on the tables, and the satin *resais*, or coverlets of the beds in the tents, might be "conveyed" away by persons to whom they did not belong; and a hint was given by the officers in charge to the Cashmere authorities. Wild Hill-men from Iskardo and Tibet; falconers carrying eagles, falcons, noble peregrines, and hawks; mountaineers with dogs covered with hair as thick and coarse as the coat of a bear, cheetahs, and Persian greyhounds; live deer, heads and horns of yak-deer and antelopes, brought from all parts of Cashmere for the Prince, were arrayed in front of the palace.

Soon after eight A.M. the Prince left Jum-moo in all the splendour of a state procession of elephants with magnificent trappings, and a grand sowaree. His escort was furnished by the Maharajah's Cuirassier Lancer regiment, before which was borne a green and gold standard. There were bands of music with kettle-drums, and trumpets six or seven

feet long. All the people turned out to look at the show, which certainly deserved the compliment. At the appointed seven miles' distance from the town the Maharajah took leave of the Prince, and expressed his deep sense of the obligation under which he was laid by the visit of the eldest son of the Queen. The ministers and nobles went on to the British frontier, where there was a triumphal arch inscribed, "This road is for our illustrious Prince." The return was pleasant, if dusty, there being a short halt at Sialkot on the way. The Prince was called upon to perform an agreeable duty on his arrival at Wazirabad. He opened the grand bridge over the Chenab, which he named "Alexandra," after the Princess of Wales, crossed it *pro formâ*, and returned to a lunch at the station, where a banquet was set forth in a fine hall handsomely decorated.

The journey from Wazirabad was continued at 3.40 P.M. by special train. It was quite dark (six P.M.) when he arrived at the Lahor station. The citadel, public buildings, and streets were illuminated. He drove to Government House. His Royal Highness dined with the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady Davies, and went to the native entertainment given at the College, in the hall of which—a very fine room—a dais, covered with a scarlet carpet loaded with gold embroidery, was erected at the end. On the right an excellent full-length portrait of the Princess of Wales, and on the left a portrait of the Prince, painted, as the inscription stated, by order of the Maharajah of Patiala, to commemorate the restoration of the Prince to health. Along the walls were coats of arms, banners, and the emblazoned shields of the Punjab chiefs, the inventive work of Mr. Kipling's pupils. Underneath each shield was a Punjabi, representing the district from which he came, armed to the teeth, standing on a pedestal. When the Prince was seated, the givers of the banquet were introduced—Rajputs, Pathans, Beluchis. Among the 120 chiefs were descendants of the Great Mogul, members of the royal families of Delhi and Afghanistan (one of whom, Shahzadah Shahpoor, had actually sat on the throne), descendants of Nanuk, the founder of the Sikh faith, and of Govind, who made the Sikhs a distinguished nation. Then a number of natives received one by one from the Prince's hands commemorative medals, ribbons, and rewards.

When the ceremony was over the Prince ascended to the roof to witness the fireworks. It was worth miles of travel. The fort, parapets, and battlements illuminated, towered above a tumultuous sea of heads, which seemed to roll against the fiery barriers. The

fireworks were heralded by fire balloons, which followed in a continuous stream, till the sky was loaded with novel constellations. People with naked swords, putting one in mind of Highland practices of a similar description, danced round great bonfires; but they were too far off to be as effective as they were meant to be. The wind somewhat marred the £1,500 worth of rockets, bombs, catherine wheels, and fixed pieces, hissing, bursting, and blazing together, and out in twenty minutes. Eight Punjabi girls in robes plated with precious metals and jewels were introduced, and, standing at some distance from the Prince on the roof, sang an ode composed in his honour in very doleful monotonous fashion. The Prince and the European ladies and gentlemen were led to the supper-room, which was laid out with six tables, at each of which were covers for ten. The chiefs retired as soon as the Prince was seated. The Prince was escorted by the native gentlemen to his carriage, and drove through immense crowds along the illuminated roads back to his head-quarters.

Next day being Sunday, Canon Duckworth celebrated divine service at Government House, and the difficulty as to the choice between Lahor and Meean Meer in the matter of churches was thus happily solved.

On the day following the Prince left the hospitable mansion of Sir Henry Davies for Agra at noon. The garrison of Meean Meer and the Lahor Volunteers furnished guards of honour and troops to line the streets. "The chiefs present in Lahor and the officers in charge," as the official programme called them, were present in places pointed out to them. At the railway station Sir Charles Reid showed his plan of loading an ordinary train with artillery; and in twenty minutes Captain Hawkins's battery, consisting of eighty-six men and ninety-four horses, were placed in seventeen ordinary waggons and six trucks attached to the Prince's train. When his Royal Highness reached Amritsar the horses and guns were run out, and opened as if for action, to the great astonishment of the natives.

The Prince alighted under a salute from the Govindghur Fort, and drove through the streets to the building prepared for his reception. The route was lined and arched with cypress-trees, gilded branches, and garlands, with the inscription, "God bless our future Shah in Shah!" and before every doorway were trays of rose-leaves. The municipality—Sikh, Mussulman, and Hindu—presented an address expressive of fervent loyalty. The church and the mission school were then visited by his Royal Highness, and he was

there received by Mr. Baring, chief of the mission. Moreover, there were several native clergymen present.

The great sight of Amritsar is the Golden Temple, in which is contained the Holy Book or Grunt of Nanuk. The temple is the place where all true Sikhs ought to be initiated. Multitudes assembled to see the Prince pass to the sacred place. Slippers were prepared for him, as the priests declared that he could not enter the sacred shrine without taking off his shoes. Several members of the suite visited the shrine before the Prince's arrival. But it was not considered expedient for the Prince to go into the interior, and he therefore contented himself with surveying the Golden Temple from the terrace, in sight of a vast crowd who salaamed respectfully. Presents were given to the guardians of the mausoleum at Lahor, and there was also a donation made to those of the shrine at Amritsar.

It was near midnight when the train stopped at the station of Rajpooorah, where the Maharajah of Patiala was waiting to receive his guest. The Maharajah was surrounded by his ministers and officers. There were carriages, guards of honour, and the Rajah's troops drawn up at the railway station. The place is very small—only an ordinary roadside platform—but it was decorated with garlands, lamps, transparencies, and scarlet cloth. There was quite a palace of canvas, hung with silk shawls and carpets, with mirrors, chandeliers, and engravings and paintings, there being room within room. The banquet was brought from Calcutta. After the health of the Queen the Maharajah proposed that of the Prince of Wales. Amid discharges of cannon and displays of fireworks, his Royal Highness bade good-bye to the delighted Maharajah and continued his journey.

On the 25th of January—next day—the red walls and towers of Agra were in sight by about four P.M. The entrance to the city is by means of a great bridge which spans the broad Jamna. The Commissioner, the major-general commanding the division, the brigadier, the magistrate, the station officers, and others were on the platform, and many troops were collected from all parts of the division. Along the road there were stands and platforms belonging to chiefs, communities, towns, or districts in the Lieutenant-Governor's jurisdiction—Hindu and Mohamadan—covered with tinsel, decked with streamers, and painted in the brightest hues in native fashion. Bands of musicians, as well as many spectators, were seated in those prepared places, the names of those who

had erected the stands and put inscriptions upon them bidding his Royal Highness welcome, and invoking the blessing of God upon him, being in Urdu, Persian, or English. The procession was grand in the extreme. The elephants were caparisoned with extraordinary richness, painted, and told off to their places according to a printed list, so that there might be no mistake. The elephant seemed to imagine itself an honoured beast when it salaamed and sank down to the ground to receive the Prince. The howdah was of the richest fashion, and, with fans and the umbrella, the identity of his Royal Highness was plainly marked. When the Prince had headed the procession, the members of the Government, the chiefs, and others fell in, so that there was an immense train going up from the Jamna towards the camp. The latter, pitched on the old ground on which the cavalry action was fought on the morning of Greathed's arrival with the relieving force from Delhi, was spacious and splendid. When the Prince's elephant arrived in front of the durbar tent it faced round, and the elephants of the suite, following, wore, tacked, and ranged themselves in a curved line on the right. The European authorities, civil and military, nawabs, rajahs, and sirdars, then passed in review and saluted his Royal Highness. From an early hour next morning there was no rest from tomtoming, the growling of camels, the neighing of horses, the trumpetings of elephants, and the vast variety of noises which vex dwellers in tents; and, as the light came fully in, there were trumpet flourishes, bugle calls, and drumming, declaring the presence of British troops, horse and foot. By ten o'clock the maidan—or plain outside the camp, access to which was guarded by sentries—was crowded, and Agra poured out its thousands. A levee was held which was somewhat peculiar, on account of the character and habits of the people; and after that there were fourteen chiefs received. At half-past eleven there were seventeen rounds for the Maharao Rajah of Bundi, whose *cortège* went up the main street with an escort of cavalry, three aides-de-camp, irregular horse, and many retainers on foot in remarkable costumes. The Maharao is a noted hunter, and a fine specimen of a native gentleman. The Prince greatly pleased him by remarking that he had heard that the Maharao had attended a durbar held by Lord William Bentinck, and had bewitched him by noble deeds of horsemanship. Men of all nations like to be recognised for what they excel in.

After him came the Rajah of Bikanir, who is a true lord of the desert. His capital is

separated from the nearest road by 200 miles of rolling sand, which he and his retinue had crossed on camels. This rajah does not invariably stay at home, but has been to Benares, Lucknow, and Delhi, and has seen railways and steamers. The next was the Maharajah of Kishenburgh, round whose capital now runs the Rajputana Railway, which must greatly change the character of the place. His army is well drilled, his state is efficiently administered, and he has a magnificent stud of fine horses, which would be a credit to any English gentleman. The Maharajah left with his face radiant, for the Prince promised to have a few hours' duck-shooting in his preserves, and this was accounted a very great honour.

The next who paid his respects was the Chief of Alwar, a mere lad. At the head of his state is a good administrator, Major Cadell, V.C., who is assisted by a council of regency. After him came the Nawab of Tonk, who rendered much service to England in the time of the mutiny. He is particularly hospitable to English travellers. He has a large library, and makes good use of it. The Rana of Dolpur followed. He is a bright-looking lad, and is being educated by Major Dennehey. The Maharajah of Oorcha was the next. He is a hunter and a sportsman, but not much of a ruler. The Nawab of Rampur presented himself. Unfortunately he is an invalid, but he is a most accomplished man. The Prince invested him with the insignia of G.C.S.I., which he would have received had he been able to attend the Chapter at Calcutta. The Rao Maharajah, who resides in a fine old fort, was presented; then the Maharajah of Chirkari, the son of the chief whom Lord Canning in durbar styled "Faithful among the faithless." And last were the Rajah of Tehree, the Maharajah of Shalpoora, and the Jagirdar of Alipoora.

In the afternoon the troops of the nawabs and rajahs passed before the Prince. It was a strange *mélange* of elephants, camels, horses, and bullocks, and men whom Alexander might have led into captivity, knights in armour, and artillery drawn by oxen. The procession at any point lasted for an hour and a half. In the evening the Prince, after a banquet at head-quarters, went to an evening party given by the Lieutenant-Governor in the fort, which has been restored.

On the day following he paid return visits to fourteen chiefs. When these were over he drove through the suburbs, and subsequently went to see the Taj illuminated. The Taj is said to be indescribable. It is a mosque and a mausoleum—"too pure and too holy to be the work of human hands!"

—“a poem in marble!”—“the sigh of a broken heart!”

Ascending the terrace, the Prince walked over to the shelter of the dark gateway of the mosque; and gradually there came out in its own fair proportions and beauty the “Queen of Sorrow.” There was music to welcome him; but whether silence would not have been more appropriate, taste only can say. Entering the tomb itself, after having received a general impression of the structure, this was found to be the culminating glory. The party stood and gazed, almost trembling with admiration. Suddenly there rose a clear and suspended note into the vaulted roof of the tomb, finding there its counterpart, and the two being commingled, swept upwards and soared away. Again and again was this repeated; and then came a few chords in harmony and unison from four or five singers. The effect in that place was marvellous. And then, after the sensation, the Holy Jamna, with its placid bosom gemmed with star-like lamps, might have been expected to offer but small attraction. It was still, however, pleasant to look down from the terrace, and watch the tiny boats of earthenware, bearing their cargoes of oil or cotton wick, on the calm waters, which multiplied their lights in the mirror of its stream. It was a sight not to be seen again to look across at the wide expanse of gardens and kiosks, minarets, cupolas, and domes, and then to let the eye turn slowly on the Taj. There were no fireworks. The moonlight was better, and near midnight his Royal Highness reluctantly quitted the place.

On the following day it had been arranged that there should be hunting, but although the Maharajah keeps a “sanctuary” of jungle, only eighty head were bagged. Plenty of boars were seen, but the party had not provided themselves with spears.

There was a grand ball in the evening at the fort. By this means the Prince was enabled to gratify many persons who could not otherwise have seen him or spoken to him. He was always frank and affable. The scene of the affair was very beautiful.

On the 29th of January there was an excursion to Fathipur Sikri, which is a wilderness of stone, “attesting the vigour of the imperial selfishness and the futility of human aspirations.” Fifty years did not elapse from the building of the city till its abandonment to owls and jackals.

Next day the Prince attended divine service at eleven o'clock. There was rather a numerous congregation—all, of course, being distinguished persons. Canon Duckworth officiated. Afterwards the Prince drove to

visit several Christian schools and other educational institutions, and Sir Dinkur Rao had a long interview with him.

On the last day of January his Royal Highness went to visit the Maharajah of Gwalior. There is no railway, and it was, therefore, necessary to prepare for a long journey by road. This was not a desirable variation. There were relays and changes of escort every six miles. At Dolpur, the capital of the native state, about thirty miles from Agra, the Prince was received by the youthful Maharajah in a palace which, although not yet completed, was built expressly for the occasion. The whole of the resources of the Maharajah were displayed—music and dancers, elephants, armed retainers, chiefs, and many beautiful horses. The Maharajah is but a boy, but he speaks English well, is very amiable, and the Prince greatly took to him. The royal party at the border of the state crossed the Chumbul into Sindia's dominions by a bridge of boats.

There was a cavalry escort drawn up seven miles from Gwalior, the fortress of which had long been in sight, and there Sindia received the Prince. The *cortège* then passed between lines of Maratha cavalry to the entrance of the *lushkar*, or camp, where infantry regiments were in line. The streets were thronged all the way to the new palace, in which Sindia received his Royal Highness with much and respectful state. This palace covers an area of 124,771 square feet, exclusively of the inner square, which is 321 by 321½ feet. The building is double-storied, and the wings and turrets are three and five storied. The entire length of it is 106 feet. The interior of the reception-room is 97 feet 8 inches long by 50 feet broad, and it is 41 feet high. The roof of it is arched with stone slabs 21 feet long. The interior and exterior of the palace form a combination of arcades and colonnades. There were more than 300,000 leaves of gold used in the decoration of the reception hall. The grand staircase-room is roofed with stone slabs 30 feet long, and the room opposite is roofed in the same way. The length of each of these rooms is 50 feet. They certainly do things in style in India. Where do they get the money? The common people, poor wretches! The grand drawing-room is one of the finest saloons in the world. It is hung with wonderful chandeliers, and decorated with enormous mirrors. The Prince's bedstead, washing service, and bath were of solid silver. The cost of the palace was more than Rs. 1,000,000. But the garden walls, iron railings, gardens, furniture, glass, grand staircase, chandeliers, &c., cost about Rs. 500,000 more. The area of

the garden is about a square mile. There are several waterfalls and a number of fountains in it, the fountains numbering not less than 106. A British dinner was given at the palace, and this was followed by a grand ball.

On the 1st of February there was a review of "the army of Gwalior." At seven in the morning a salute announced the arrival of the Prince of Wales. He and Sindia then rode down the line side by side, bands playing and colours lowered. Sindia rode at the head of a really brilliant staff. He wore a scarlet tunic, with gold facings, diamonds, and gems, and the ribbon of the Star of India, his cap blazing with jewels, and ornamented with an egret plume rising from a diamond socket. First, after the Prince's return to the saluting post, came the march past, which was headed by Sindia alone. As he passed the Prince he saluted with his sword. This was the first time he had ever made such an acknowledgment. It is not needful here to give details, but the display was especially magnificent, and a sham fight which followed was exceedingly well managed. The chiefs who were present were most luxuriantly attired. Several of their horses even had anklets of precious stones set in silver; and, as one of the Prince's suite observed, "the plundering of any one of these sirdars would set a man up for life."

In the afternoon the Prince visited the famous fortress, and gazed on the city and the plain where Sir Hugh Rose defeated Tantia Topi, and where the heroic Ranee of Jhansi, although a woman, had the death of a soldier. The fortress contains some much-venerated, though dilapidated, temples and shrines, some of them being used as places of confinement for political prisoners. The place overhangs Sindia's palace, very much as the castle does the city of Edinburgh. There was subsequently a state visit to Sindia, who held a *darbar* in the old palace. The most notable feature in this reception was the great number of Maratha chiefs and sirdars of importance who were present. Towards the close of the interview, Sindia, addressing the Prince, said, "I can command no language to express my gratitude for the honour the Prince of Wales has conferred upon me in thus visiting Gwalior. What can I say? On the Sindias who have preceded me many honours have fallen, but on none has there been honour like this. This day will never be forgotten in Gwalior. I have nothing to show worthy of his Royal Highness. My palace, my troops, what are they to him? His attendance at my parade this morning in the heat and dust, the interest the Prince took in it, were out of consideration for me.

I am an ignorant man, almost without education. What I did this morning with the troops is an instance of what can be done by observation and labour—nothing more. Again and again I desire to express gratefully my appreciation of the favour the Prince has shown me; and when he sees the Queen, let him tell her from me that I am, with hands clasped, her faithful servant for ever." These words were spoken by Sindia with strong emotion. After a short pause he turned to Sir H. Daly, and said, "One thing I would add. When the time comes for the Prince to ascend the throne, I hope he will remember Sindia."

In the evening there was a grand banquet at the new palace. At the beginning of the dessert, Sindia, with ten of his nobles, entered, and was handed by Sir H. Daly to a seat on the right hand of the Prince. The Maharajah shortly afterwards proposed the health of the Queen, and then the health of the Prince of Wales. His own silver cup was brought to him, and he drank the toasts in champagne. When the Prince's replies were translated to him by Sir H. Daly they seemed to give Sindia very great pleasure.

Next morning Sindia went to the palace at nine o'clock to sit for his portrait to Mr. Hall, by desire of the Prince. At half-past ten all was ready for the return to Agra, and the Maharajah, taking his Royal Highness by the hand, conducted him to the door of the carriage. On taking leave Sindia said, "It has been much to see your face. It is a grief to me that your visit is so short, and that you go away. I can hardly hope to see you again; but be this as it may, sometimes in England turn a kind thought to me. My state and everything I have are yours." The Prince replied "that he should never forget Gwalior and the magnificence of his reception, and that he knew he had a friend in Sindia." The party arrived at Sir John Staveley's camp as it was becoming dark.

The next day was a season of repose for all but a few sportsmen, who, never weary, went twenty-five miles from Agra, to ground where wild boars were numerous. The Prince dined in the evening with the officers of the 10th Hussars, and in the course of the entertainment news was brought him that Prince Louis of Battenberg had been thrown while in full charge at a pig, and had been found in a state of unconsciousness, and with a collar-bone broken. Prince Louis was a favourite with all, and every one deeply regretted the accident which had befallen him. Dr. Fayrer at once left to attend to the patient. Pig-sticking is rather a precarious business. Lord Carington had a collar-bone broken at it;

Lord Charles Beresford had his teeth broken; Lord Suffield was injured by his own spear; and there were many falls and other casualties besides.

Next morning a special train of the Rajputana State Railway left for Jaipur at a quarter before nine. The Maharajah and his court had been waiting at Bhartpur for an hour. The guns of the old fortress thundered out their salutes of welcome. The road to the moat, above which tower the crumbling walls which saw the English troops twice repulsed, was lined with soldiers clad in sepoy uniforms. The repulses of the British are conspicuous in many celebrated paintings in the town. Crossing the broad ditch and passing the outer wall, one comes to a very thick gateway and wall, inside of which lies the city. The streets are broad and clean. There were many triumphal arches, and everywhere footpath, window, and roof were filled with spectators. The shops were all shut. There was dead silence till the carriage of the Prince had passed, and then followed a buzz of conversation and comment. The route to the palace was lined with a framework of bamboos 7 feet high, and covered with pink calico. The staircase, corridors, and floors of the palace were covered with the finest kinkob and gold brocades, the walls being hung with the same. There were portraits of the Duke of Wellington, Napoleon, the Prince Consort, and the Queen in the room in which his Royal Highness was entertained at lunch. The Maharajah conducted the Prince to the station, and thanked him cordially for the high honour which he had conferred on Bhartpur by his visit.

Leaving Bhartpur, the railway traverses a plain, which in general is extremely level, but in the neighbourhood of rivers the rains have cut many deep ravines. At every half-mile of the road there were pickets of armed horsemen, and at every village there were many Rajputs armed with sword and shield. Close by the city of Jaipur there are conical hills which form continuous chains, on which are perched battlemented walls, the fortresses of feudal chiefs. The welcome was hearty, and from many unexpected places there came puffs of smoke and reports of cannon. It was approaching dusk when the train stopped at the station. As the Prince stepped out of the carriage the Maharajah of Jaipur advanced to meet him, he being accompanied by his court. There was also the usual attendance of official and non-official Europeans on the platform. A procession was then formed from the station through a vast multitude of people. The line of the proces-

sion was double, and consisted of natives and Europeans mounted on elephants. The gateway having been passed, there lay the city of Jaipur under the rapt gaze of the royal party. It is a place full of marvels, whether seen from a distance or more minutely inspected. The Maharajah Jey Sing, who founded "the City of Victory" in 1728, was a great astronomer. He reformed the calendar, and constructed the remarkable observatories at Benares, Jaipur, and elsewhere. His capital, Jaipur, was laid down, we are told, "between the gates of the sun and moon"—that is, east and west; and so runs the main street, which is 2 miles long and 111 feet wide. Between the north and south gates is another street $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, and of the same breadth as the other. These streets are cut at right angles by others 55 feet broad, and the rectangular blocks so formed are divided by streets $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. The town is surrounded by a crenellated wall of masonry 20 feet high and 9 feet thick, covered with rose-coloured plaster, pierced by seven gateways, each with two kiosks, and machicolations and screen walls; and there are bastions and towers, with embrasures for guns at intervals. The streets have clean, broad pavements, and stone causeways for carriages.

This is said to be the handsomest and best-built town in Hindustan; and many of its streets and squares, both as regards width and architectural effect, would bear a favourable comparison with those of most of the cities of Asia, or even of Europe. The houses are generally of stone, three or four stories high, and covered with a fine stucco. In many instances the façades are embellished with fresco paintings, and numerous marble porticos and sculptures are to be found on all sides. The projecting stone balconies with which the houses in general are furnished have a remarkably agreeable effect. The palace is especially magnificent, and there are temples finer and of larger dimensions than any others that are to be found in Upper Hindustan, and these are all built in the purest Hindu style. The Prince was accommodated in the residency, where there were the usual festivities and ceremonies.

The environs are not by any means destitute of tigers, and some of the Rajput chiefs have a tenderness for the brutes, and keep tiger preserves. Tigers rampant, couchant, and passant figure largely on the walls of the houses and temples. Of course, in spite of this, they are sometimes killed, and there is a short and safe method with the beasts when the chiefs desire to kill them. There are certain houses or lodges erected in the valleys

which the animals frequent. A calf is killed, probably, or some such bait is put in the beast's way. The sportsman takes up his position in one of the shooting-boxes, and beaters are sent out to drive the valley. The gentleman who is intended to be treated as game breaks away, and gives a chance to the rifle as he passes.

On the morning after the Prince's arrival there was news of a "kill" not far from the residency, and the Prince with much enthusiasm set out to try his hand, the Maharajah having made all necessary arrangements. It had been the intention of the Maharajah to station the Prince in the ravine; but the tiger having changed his quarters, his Royal Highness was placed in the upper story of a shooting-box, from which there was a clear view all round. Nearly two hours had to be spent in waiting before the beaters came on the lair; and then the tiger was seen creeping cat-like towards the house. It approached to within thirty yards. The Prince fired, and the tiger, having been hit, started off down the ravine at a trot. Again his Royal Highness fired—the animal rolled over, but recovered itself, and staggered into a hollow amid thick brushwood. The Prince wanted to follow the trail on foot, but was dissuaded. He then mounted Dr. Fayrer's elephant, and went in the direction which the creature had taken. The beaters threw stones into the ravine, and by-and-by the tiger emerged and walked slowly up the bank. The Prince fired twice. Still the beast went on, badly wounded though it was, and, stumbling, rolled out of sight over a boulder. A beater, standing above, said, "It lies there." The party closed around, and there lay—tremendous still in death—a full-grown female $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. This was the Prince's first tiger. Lunch was served in a little kiosk in the valley. The Maharajah, who lunched in the same room, but of course apart, congratulated his Royal Highness on his success, and requested his acceptance of a very large-bored tiger rifle. There were grand illuminations at night all over the city on account of the Prince's visit. The palace constitutes one-sixth part of the metropolis, and it shone with myriads of lights. The gardens and tanks were lighted, the trees bore fiery fruit, fire rained from the citadel and the great range of fort-crowned precipices overhanging the city, and all devices known to Indian illuminators were lavished, to the great delight of the people, who had come from every part of the state to witness the sight.

Divine service was performed next day, being Sunday, at the residency. The next

excursion was to Amber, a short distance off—five miles, namely. It is the ancient capital of the Jaipur territories. The approach to it is by a road which winds below a grand range of cliffs, and skirting a lake bordered with ruined castles. The city occupies a great gorge, on one side of which tower the battlements of a series of temples that begin in the waters at the base, where sacred crocodiles swim in and out among the ruins of half-submerged colonnades and porticos. Amber is a city of the dead. There are now more monkeys than men about it. They are respectable monkeys, however, and are much respected by their human relatives accordingly. Several of the dilapidated ruins are of picturesque beauty. The remains of the old palace are of extraordinary grandeur.

On the morning of the 7th the Maharajah appeared early in the inner court of the residency, walking up and down in front of the veranda, waiting till he could pay his respects to the Prince, being followed by an immense train of courtiers. His Royal Highness accepted a sword in an enamelled sheath most richly jewelled. Jaipur is advancing rapidly on the road of civilisation, and its schools, both of general education and of art, would be a credit to any country. Take, for example, the Jaipur enamel. The best workmen in London, Paris, Vienna, and Rome freely admit that they cannot match this wonderful work.

When the train was ready the Prince walked with the Maharajah to the station, which was a few hundred yards distant. One thing much affected the Maharajah—would he ever see the Prince again? If not, might he venture to write to him directly now and then, to make inquiries after his health? The run to Agra was rapid and smooth, and at six o'clock the party arrived in camp. When the Prince turned his face towards the Himalayas there was a sensation of relief enjoyed by the whole party. Repose was much required by all, and uniforms, cocked-hats, and laced coats were carefully stowed away and sent down country, to be ready when his Royal Highness and companions emerged from the Terai. But the killing of that tiger at Jaipur had whetted the appetite, and a repetition of similar sport was strongly desired. The party, however, got considerably broken up. The Duke of Sutherland and Mr. Grey were homeward bound, and Sir B. Frere and Canon Duckworth were bent on a tour in the far north-west, while the Prince should be away on his sporting excursion. Captain Glyn and Commander Durrant proceeded to Calcutta to take the *Serapis* and the *Osborne* round to Bombay to be ready for the homeward journey of his Royal

Highness. Before he left the Prince paid one more visit to the Taj. This was on a beautiful moonlight night—not too direct and strong, but glinting with lovely effect on the grand scene. The Prince bade his kind hosts farewell, and at midnight the special train started for Moradabad, the farthest point towards the Terai to which the rail extends.

The party, not improbably dreaming of the Taj, or of the pleasant camp and the hospitalities of Sir John and Lady Strachey at Agra, were borne onward at a rapid rate during the night towards Rohilkhand. Shortly after daybreak there were a report of guns and a crash of music. The train was at Moradabad. Brigadier Payn, the military and civilian staff of the district, a guard of honour, and the band and colours of the 18th Royal Irish were waiting on the platform. Outside there were detachments of the 28th Native Infantry and the 3rd Gurkhas, and a squadron of the 16th Bengal Cavalry to act as an escort. Breakfast was served at this place. The C battery, 19th brigade, had laid six-mile relays for the twenty-six miles to the shooting camp at Bahrinia, and the horses were ridden by artillerymen at a tremendous pace over a very good road. The morning was fresh, and the air delightful. There lay before the strangers the great level plains of Rohilkhand, green with the new crops and island-like clumps or topes of trees, which form a distinct feature of the landscape. These are the result of the work of the old rulers, who planted them in the neighbourhoods of the highways, and generally close to tanks and water-courses. The Ramgunga, meandering through the plains, recalled a time when its banks were lined by hostile Rohillas, and the country was in the hands of a mortal enemy. It now looks peaceful and prosperous. As far as the eye can reach there are hedgeless fields, vast herds of cattle, villages in the far distance, and, beyond, white streaks in the sky indicated the snow peaks of the Himalayas. The party halted at the roadside, where there was a small camp, with commissariat, grass-cutters, and comfortable tents. The scene, except for the surroundings of nature, was completely English—smart non-commissioned officers, coats, boots, breeches, bits, and buckles all like home. Stage after stage it was the same over again. The outline of the mountains became more and more prominent. And at last the shooting camp at Bahrinia was reached.

When the Prince's *cortège* became visible the 3rd Gurkha guard of honour and a detachment of the 13th Bengal Cavalry turned out. There were about two hundred elephants ranged on the side of the road, in order that

his Royal Highness might see what preparations had been made by "the King of Kumaoun," as General Ramsay is called, to give him sport. Up went the royal standard to the summit of the lofty flagstaff, and the band played "God save the Queen." This, then, was the border-land of Terai. The country, at the time of the year at which the Prince visited it, is as healthy as any part of Europe, but at other periods a deadly fever attacks Europeans and natives alike.

The camp was pitched by the roadside, close to a dense jungle. An undulating prairie, covered with high reeds and grass, stretched away to the foot of the mountains, where the snowy range was hidden by the outjutting shoots of the lower hills. It was arranged that only a certain number of his Royal Highness's suite should accompany him to Nynsee Tal to see "the snows"—a great expanse of ice and snow, in which Switzerland and all its mountains would be utterly lost. He fortunately reached the hill in time to behold the range of the Himalayas, lighted up by the setting sun, under the most favourable aspect, when the rose hue steals up from the darkening base over the pure white summits. As the day was yet young, those who were left behind naturally wished to make the best of it. Some of them were great hunters, and it was suggested that they should have the jungle beat, avoiding the district marked out for the Prince on the following day; and in half an hour they were crashing through a thick wood, which threatened every moment to throw them off their elephants' backs, or to tear them to pieces by its contending boughs. Still a good mahout will guide these docile creatures much more easily than a steersman directs a boat. And so the great procession passed on, tearing through brier and brake, alarming cheetul, hog-deer, wild boar, peacock, and jungle-fowl. Now and then there was a fusillade, and a triumphant hurrah told that some victim had fallen; but, after all, there was more excitement than sport. It was so till the sportsmen came to a withered tree, on the branches of which were forty or fifty gorged vultures. "I am sure there is a kill," said Colonel Dickens; and sure enough there was the half-devoured carcass of a buffalo, left by a tiger so recently that the stream was still discoloured where it had crossed. The word was instantly passed, "No tigers, gentlemen." But the elephants began to trumpet, and presently there was a caution given by one of the party, "Look out! there is something before you." The grass was cleft by some dark body. A shot was fired rather at random. "Luggee!" exclaimed a shikarry; "he is hit." It was a

splendid tiger, but he certainly was not yet killed. Killed he ultimately was, however. This was an achievement of Dr. Russell's own, so that the hand which uses the goose-quill can sometimes be effective with a very different sort of implement. The sun had scarcely gone down, the party having returned to the tent, when a chorus of jackals, wolves, owls, night-jars, and strange birds filled the air. The wind came keenly from the mountains, and the night being intensely cold, and no fire in these tents, the gentlemen "dressed and went to bed."

The poor camp followers were but thinly clad, and the night must have been to them very miserable. As soon as the shooting elephants had started to meet the Prince on his return from Nynee Tal, another section of the suite set out on horseback to a village six miles away. The fleet of shooting elephants stood, as they were directed by their mahouts, in line across an ocean of pulse, grain, and barley, to which they did no good. Outside there were herds of black buck, but long before they could be reached they had vanished in the high grass. The ground literally swarmed with game—cheetah, buck, musk-deer, and wild boars. Occasionally the elephant whisked round, or started so violently as to cause one to hold on very firmly by the howdah—something had run close to his legs. At last various game began to suffer, and deer, wild boar, partridge, and other beasts and birds began to accumulate on the backs of the pad elephants. This party returned to the camp at about seven o'clock; and there they found his Royal Highness, who had returned much pleased with his visit to Nynee Tal, although his first day was a blank.

After dinner great logs were heaped up in front of the mess tent; chairs were brought, and before the huge camp fire, burning brightly, the Prince and the company sat listening to the anecdotes of Sir Henry Ramsay, who invests the land and the people and the chase with fresh interest. Among other things he told of a certain village where the people were terribly troubled by a tiger; so they sent for the wise man to charm the beast away with his drum and songs. The tiger, however, came out and eat the wise man, whereupon the villagers arose and migrated. "For," said they, "now that the tiger has eaten our sage, he will know all our secrets, and we shall have no chance of evading him."

It was clear moonlight; the stars were shining brightly; and the band of the 3rd Gurkhas played a fine selection of music. The Himalayas towered above this party who had

gone a-gipsying. Who knows what lies beyond these snows? Who can tell what the crowd who sit afar, with their cloaks thrown around their heads, are thinking of, as they gaze at the white-faced strangers laughing and chatting so merrily in front of the camp fire?

On the next day three parties were formed, but no tiger was killed. After several blanks the Prince and his party were posted by General Ramsay round a patch of deep grass and reeds, with water near it, in which a tiger was reported to be hiding. The elephants were sent in to beat. Unfortunately the Prince was shifted to another place, and immediately after he had moved a splendid tiger rushed out within twenty paces of where he had been stationed. The Prince fired, but the grass was high, and the tiger got off untouched. Subsequently a leopard started from the jungle, which the Prince wounded, and which was killed. However, the general shooting, deer and small game, was very successful. The objective point of the Prince and his suite was Peepul Perao, thirteen miles to the eastward of the present camp. Each of the party had by this time got on pretty good terms with his mahout, his shikarry, and his elephant; but the wonderful way in which some of the former persist in never learning how to secure the howdah provokes great acrimony. As the unwieldy but not stupid brute which sustains the howdah plods along, the occupant sometimes feels that he is going steadily over on one side. The mahout, forcibly admonished of the fact, entreats the shikarry to step out on the back of the animal, to drag at the howdah to set it straight, or conjures two or three friends on pad elephants to come to his assistance. But it generally happens that at some crisis in the hunt one has to halt while the elephant lies down, and the howdah, with all its difficult apparatus of chains, ropes, and straps, is readjusted. At the time of year when the Prince was there tigers are in the deepest swamps, where the grass rises many feet above one's head; and the only chance of finding them is in diligently thrashing through the morass. Deep as these swamps and jheels are, they generally end in narrow guts, or taper away to comparatively bare spaces. What swarming life of birds there was! Duck, teal, kingfishers, reed warblers, painted and common snipe, rails, dappers, butcher-birds, partridge, and quail; parrots, many sorts of thrush or grackles, woodpeckers, fly-catchers, owls; jungle-cock in the thick stuff, black partridge on the outskirts, and porcupines rustling over the dry water-courses; hares near the cultivated patches; by the edges of the woods

little burrowing creatures like marmosets; and, above all, career eagles, falcons, hawks, buzzards, and kites. Orders were strict—"No firing!" No matter what heads or tusks may be seen, not a shot must catch the ear of some distant tiger, and send him slinking away. Hour after hour the hunters swept through great marshes and forests, where dâk, sal, teak, and peepul excited ever-recurring wonder. The absence of population in these regions is not remarkable when one thinks how people would be harassed by wild beasts and by fever; but still, to travel mile after mile through beautifully wooded regions, where nature seems to give the most astonishing proofs of vigour and fertility, and find no trace of man, is startling! It is too much to say no trace, because there are wigwams belonging to people who have come down from the hills to feed their herds in the winter-time—poverty-stricken, subdued, timid-looking creatures, of mild, inoffensive aspect, clad in coarse cotton. Those who think that it is not an unpleasant half-hour when the cart advances with its Norwegian stove, and the cloth is spread on the grass in some pleasant dingle at home, would not disapprove of the arrangements made by General Browne for shooting-tiffin in the jungle. There were not merely German waiters, and the work of French cooks transported on the backs of elephants, but blocks of ice to cool the wine and water, and many other luxuries not at all to be despised by those who can get them when heated with the chase. When all hope of tiger was abandoned, the word was passed for "general shooting" homewards.

Peepul Perao, which was reached ere sunset, is a name only. Even the map-makers do not venture to give a local habitation to it. The once-quiet glades at this time presented long lines of tents, blazing camp fires, and all the bustle of camp life; and there were the trumpetings of elephants and the neighing of horses breaking through the silence of the forest.

The camp contained 2,500 persons. Without counting General Ramsay's separate camp establishment, there were 119 elephants, 550 camels, 100 horses, 60 carts drawn by oxen, besides many goats and milch cows, sheep, and perambulating materials for food. There were nearly 600 coolies, 60 tent-pitchers, 20 men to supply water, 20 men to clean, 20 messengers, 75 non-commissioned officers and men of 3rd Gurkhas and their band, 20 troopers 11th Bengal Cavalry, 16 of the 28th Native Infantry, a detachment of native camp police (it will be observed the Prince's person was guarded by natives exclusively), and there were odds and ends which added to the total,

without counting mahouts and their families and camel-men assembled round the Prince and his thirty or forty Europeans.

Almost to a certainty the first sight that caught one's eyes in the morning was the light spare figure of General Ramsay smoking the inevitable cheroot, which, if unaccompanied by spirits or wine, must be one of the most wholesome articles of diet in the world. The shooting camp was shifted on the 12th of February from Peepul Perao to Nuglah, about twelve miles away.

The first party had about eighty elephants; the second division had fifty. Covert after covert was beaten, but the landlords were not at home. General Ramsay did his best; but it was too early in the year, and it was labour in vain. When the flies are not out the tigers are in. The ground was so deep in places that the beasts floundered about as if drowning; while between the jheels it was thickly wooded with *Butea frondosa*, euphorbias, elephant creepers, *Derris scandens*, dwarf palms, and the dak-tree, leafless, but decked with profuse bunches of the brightest scarlet flowers. It must have been a relief to hear the word down the line, "You may fire at anything." And when the pad elephants were drawn up in camp at night there was a fair show of sambur, cheetul, nilghie, marsh-deer, and pig. Eighteen Bhotias, a Hill people, a cross between Monguls and Tibetans, of whom six were women, were brought down; but though they may be curious, they are not interesting. They were sketched by Mr. Hall, and they were photographed. They bore the ordeals with perfect composure. The women wore silver amulets, ornaments of turquoise, and rude gems round their necks; some had silver nose, finger, and toe rings, and anklets of uncouth workmanship. One man had a praying-wheel; others, who were professional beggars, produced the little drums by which they incite a desperate charity.

The next day was Sunday and a day of rest. The Rev. Julian Robinson read service in General Ramsay's camp. The gun of one of the members of the suite having been damaged, it was sent to a skilful native, who soon brought it back neatly repaired. "You should not have worked on a Sunday, Mahomed," said the owner. "It was a necessary work, sahib," said he, "and your Book says it is lawful to do what is necessary on your holy day. How could you shoot to-morrow if I didn't mend your gun?"

February 14th was, of course, St. Valentine's Day. Dr. Kellett kept a record of the game, and it is curious reading. Take "an off day," for example:—"H.R.H., 2 para (deer), 1 pig,

3 black partridge, 1 kingfisher; Lord Aylesford, 2 mongoose, 1 para, 1 hare, 1 partridge, 3 plover; Lord Carington, 2 partridge, 1 cheetul; Lord A. Paget, 1 porcupine, 1 florican, 1 partridge, 1 hare; Fayrer, 2 para, 1 cheetul; Prinsep, 1 hare, 2 para, 3 partridge; Dr. Smith, 1 pig, 1 partridge," &c. The camp moved from Nuglah to Tandah, the shooters dividing into four parties. The Prince's party, led by General Ramsay, moved across the open country in line, killing boar, deer, and partridge, till they reached the jungle. Presently sight was caught of two dark objects in the grass. They were bears. One was fired at and killed by Lord Aylesford. Mr. Macdonald called out, "Tiger gone back!" The elephants began to beat the jungle once more. The Prince was placed in the middle. In two or three minutes the elephants near him gave way, and looking across a small rivulet, there was a bear crouched as if listening. The Prince fired. The bear dropped, but got up and rushed out of the jungle, charging an elephant in its way. Several shots were fired, and it rolled over into the rivulet, struck by a fatal ball, but it had been hit by the Prince's first barrel. It was a sloth bear of extraordinary size and weight. These creatures are exceedingly fierce and mischievous, and Mr. Macdonald has official knowledge of eight persons having been killed in two consecutive nights by one of them. The other parties were not successful.

The weather was cold at night, with variations of 40° between two A.M. and two P.M. Quinine was taken according to prescription, but the country is considered quite healthy at that time of year. The people, who are called Taroos, a small-boned, quiet race, suffer much. Unhappily they have taken to drink whiskey as a national beverage.

The lion is called "the king of beasts" by Æsop, but Æsop was an African. In the Indian jungle the tiger is king, and there is no royal road to shooting him. Every other creature must be allowed to pass unscathed when he is sought, for to kill a tiger hours of beating and watching and halting must be endured day after day without repining. There is, indeed, the excitement of knowing that at any moment the quiet patch of grass before one's eyes may be rent asunder, and its yielding rushes and waving reeds glow with the fire of that terrible eye, and warm with the rich colour of that royal presence. One is told that it is much nobler to descend into the jungle on foot, and to seek the tiger in his lair, but gentlemen who pursue that sort of sport are generally destroyed; certainly, whether safe or not, it would not be possible to pursue it at this place, for no living man could

walk a hundred yards through the astonishing growth of reeds and tangled vegetation. It might be possible to get a tiger by sitting night after night watching on a roost up in a tree over a pool of water, or the carcass of a dead buffalo; but, in truth, the beasts are not abroad.

Next day the Prince went from Tandah to Ooncha Gong, only a march of five miles, but the beat extended over fifteen. For a long time there was tramp, tramp, tramp through wood and swamp, and nothing to see worth shooting. At last fortune began to smile. In the jungle a great sloth bear was discovered sunning herself, which started off with a scrambling run in the high grass. A quick shot from Mr. Colvin killed it. When the hunters went up they found two cubs, about the size of full-grown pug dogs, gamboling about their dam, as unconscious as herself of the cause of her sudden quiet. As soon as they found the strange beings were about to separate them from their mother they fiercely snapped their little milk tusks at their captors. At last they were secured, uttering piteous cries, and fastened on a pad elephant. As soon as the carcass of the dam was hoisted up alongside the poor little fellows they stilled their lamentation. At camp they were put into a box, and eat a dish of bread-and-milk without much pressing.

Towards four o'clock the hunters entered a covert in which reeds and grass rose high above the howdahs; and at times the elephants were restive. A para (deer) bounded past Lord Suffield. An instant afterwards there was a sharp cry. The line pressed on, and a tigress made a rush through the thick stuff. It is not easy to determine what happens on such an occasion. Every one who sees has a shot. Lord Carington was credited with the hardest hit; and Sir D. Probyn, who certainly made his mark, refused to claim any share in the skin. The tigress, hit through shoulder, head, and back, rolled over with a growl which died into a moan, and with a few heaves of her striped sides lay stark, but not stiff. The tremor of the elephants was explained when it was found that there had been three little tigers, some six weeks old, running about in the covert, playing with their mother. What became of these bereaved tiger-lets? General Ramsay thought their father would have nothing to do with them—that he would be very angry, in fact, if they came near him. He would not teach their young ideas how to hunt. The deer which the tigress had intended for their dinner was discovered, its neck broken and flanks rent by one stroke of those claws which now any one could feel with impunity.

The camp then moved from Ooncha Gong to Sassoon. While enjoying very good sport in general shooting, two villagers brought positive news of tigers in a swamp of extraordinary depth. Several members of the suite were sent onward. They heard much shouting, and went to ascertain the cause. General Browne's elephant had sunk in a deep hole, from which it was extricated after much hard work. Another met with a similar misfortune. This was unlucky, because the tiger was just before them. Lord C. Beresford had a shot at a crocodile, and a large bear was seen by the beaters. Search was made for the bear, but in vain. The Prince returned to camp with a tigress 8 feet 6 inches long, and a fine sloth bear weighing over 250 lbs., and measuring 6 feet 8 inches, which he had killed after a long day's work. There were deer and pig, some florican, black partridge, and sundries to boot. A mailed ant-eater, or manis, was brought in alive. It could only be uncoiled by pouring water on it.

It rained during the night, and it was 10.45 A.M. before the tents were struck, and the shooting party stood in single file westward, to beat the covert in which the tigress had been killed yesterday. Unambitious shooters viewed with regret gorgeous peacocks fly sambur, cheetah, and wild boar bound across the path. When the scene of the kill was reached the Prince and one body of his followers made a sweep round the swamp. The other guns were disposed in a semicircle at the extremity and on the flanks. At 12.50 P.M. the word was given to advance, and there arose the noise, like the hissing of a long rolling surf on the shingles of a beach after a storm, made by elephants moving through the grass and rushes. The elephant, resolved not to get into a hole if he can help it, thrusts his proboscis down in front, and sways it from right to left, and left to right, with the regularity of a pendulum, laying low the green wall with the "fleisen" sw-i-i-sh which the Germans say Homer meant when he wrote of "the much-resounding sea." The elephant, perhaps, would decide the question if we could only find a mahout intelligent enough to understand it, and put it to him properly in elephant language. Suddenly there was a roar. "It is a guddee elephant that has gone down in a hole; that's all!" A good deal was to be felt for the poor guddee, however, which had scarcely more than his head and proboscis over the mud, and which made a tremendous outcry over his situation. Elephants, unlike men, will always help a friend out of a hole—ay, more, they will help an elephant with which they have not even a bowing acquaintance.

The sun was getting low when the elephants made a sweep towards the smoke, rising high in the calm air, which indicated the site of the new camp at Nanuk Mutla. A few deer, hares, and black partridge, of the last of which Lord A. Paget made the largest bag, were added to the score.

The camp was pitched in a fine tope of mango and *Ficus religiosa*, near a favourite place of pilgrimage of the Sikhs, revered for the miracles of Nanuk Goroo. The Prince and his party came in at eight P.M. with two young tigers. The third party saw a tiger swimming a river, and Ali Ashkar Khan got a long shot at it. This is indeed in Tiger-land, and one had eaten a man only the day before.

Several of the suite visited the shrine of Nanuk Goroo, and found many ascetics and pilgrims established round it, who never came to look at the royal party. Arrangements were made for a visit to Nepal. The whole party left camp together. The elephants formed a line of more than 600 yards long. At 12.30 P.M. the elephants crossed a quicksand in the bed of the Deva, which yielded, but did not break. Soon there were marshy places swarming with duck, teal, and snipe. Ground so extensive required careful beating, and General Ramsay's lieutenants, Macdonald and others, aided by Major-General Probyn, directed the operations. It was nearly two o'clock when the elephants gave notice of something unusual in front. The line had contracted, forming a loop, with the Prince in the centre. Suddenly the grass moved, and a tiger bounded across in the direction of the Prince. Those who saw it called out, "Do not fire;" but at the moment some one fired from the other side of the loop, and the tiger turned before the Prince could get a shot at it. The beast charged the elephants, receiving fire from the howdahs, and rolling over dead close to the end of the line—a splendid male, 10 feet long, beautifully marked—shot through back, neck, and head. Some of the party thought they saw a tigress going away at the same time, but Mr. Macdonald, who knew every inch of the jungle, thought they were mistaken. It was dark when the Prince arrived at Kalteema, one short march from Bunbussa, on the Sarda. Here he was nearly at the frontier of Rohilkhand, and the shooting excursion in British territory terminated. The result did not answer expectations. It was poor consolation to be told that a month later many tigers would be shot where now deer wander unmolested. There had, however, been a considerable amount of game killed, from bears and deer of various kinds down to florican, partridge, and snipe, and two large

and two small tigers were scored to the Prince and his friends.

The tents were sent on to Bunbussa. One of the most curious sensations in the world is that of the dweller in tents when he finds his tent is gone, and that he is left out on the open, blinking his eyes in the sun, like an owl driven from his ivy-bush. During the journey what strange sights were to be seen! There were strings of camels with their noses and tails connected by ropes; so a camel which would be high-minded because he knew his tail was compelling the head of the next to follow was humbled by finding his own nose obliged to obey the tail of his predecessor, and the pride of the first of the string had to undergo abatement when he became aware that a small boy was leading him by the nostril. There were men carrying all the quaintnesses of an Indian camp: boxes, labelled "Agra Ice Company," dependent from the ends of bamboos; men with hooded falcons; men with greyhounds; old women on ponies; young women wearing breeches; men with no clothes on their legs, and voluminous folds of calico on their heads; sepoy guards guarding camels or elephants, or nothing but themselves; wallahs with boar spears; soda-water bottles; cases with wine bottles glistening in the sun, bearing the honoured names "Lafitte," "Château Margaux," and the like on their mendacious sides; then a flock of goats and sheep; thereafter, on an elephant, a red iron pillar, labelled "Post Office," and animated creatures of the same department on his back; then a cheetah (*Felis jubata*), hooded, in its ox-cart, with two attendants, purring like a gigantic tabby as its keeper stroked its head, and so on, mile after mile. Presently came in view a clump of trees and a few chairs by the roadside, while a cloud of dust announced Sir Jung, who came up at a canter with a few officers. He dismounted and sat down, talking and smoking, while Mr. Simpson took a sketch of him.

The Prince of Wales came in sight about one o'clock. Sir Jung Bahadur advanced on foot to meet him. Sir Jung then mounted and rode beside the Prince to the camp, where a guard of honour of the 3rd Gurkhas and a cavalry escort were drawn up; and, after the usual formal visits, the rest of the day was passed in peace.

The Rev. Julian Robinson again on Sunday read service before his Royal Highness and the Europeans, with the exception of those who were obliged to go to the new camping ground. Tents were struck after breakfast, that the luggage might be got across the river to Nepalese territory in time for dinner. By mid-day the tent of the Prince, the mess tent,

and the shamianah were the only traces of the encampment. The Prince remained at Bunbussa, on the British side of the Sarda, till three o'clock. He was about to enter a mountain jungle, where roads are unknown and camels travel with difficulty. The elephant must do all the work.

There were at least half-a-dozen bridges to be crossed before he could reach the new camp at Jamoa, on the left bank of the river, for the Sarda, beautifully clear and impetuous, was now rather low. It forms an infinity of islands, and is fordable at most places by elephants, but too deep for horses, and impassable for camels. The bridges are ingeniously made by filling osier baskets with stones, and placing them together till they form a continuous chain of posts; on these branches are laid, and then earth, till a road is made for horses and hackeries, but not for elephants. The Prince was escorted by Sir Jung and his sirdars. The British Gurkhas remained on the other side. A royal salute was fired by the Nepalese artillery. The Prince's camp was close to the tents of the Prime Minister, which were enclosed in a wall of canvas. Sir Jung took leave, and returned with his suite in full dress, blazing with diamonds. A durbar was held. Sir Jung delivered a *kureeta* from the Maharajah, expressing his great satisfaction at the honour of the royal visit to Nepal, and conveying assurances of his attachment. In doing so Sir Jung declared for himself he never could sufficiently acknowledge the kindness he had received from the Queen, the Prince Consort, and all classes of society when he visited England. He had been prevented by an accident from carrying out his intention to pay another visit to England, but he still cherished the hope. The Prince thanked Sir Jung for his expressions of goodwill. Her Majesty was well aware of the services rendered by Nepal, and felt grateful for them, and she appreciated highly the assistance given by the troops under Sir Jung Bahadur on an important occasion. Sir Jung Bahadur said it had been his pride and happiness to have been able to afford the help which had been so highly esteemed. The Government of Nepal had done what it could. Let the Prince assure the Queen that, if ever there was occasion, all the assistance Nepal could render would be cheerfully given. The Prince paid a return visit to Sir Jung. At each visit or durbar there were presentations, so that every member of each suite was twice introduced. Two caged tigers and a splendid collection of birds were offered to the Prince. Many Impeyan pheasants (which the Nepalese call *duffa*), and

argus (which they call *monal*, the name by which the former are known to us), kaleege, coqplass, chikore, jungle-fowl, and a delightful little elephant, which salaamed and performed many tricks, were also presented.

An enormous boa-constrictor was dug out of a hole in a lethargic state, and roused by buckets of water poured down its throat. It was eighteen feet long, as thick as a nine-pounder, and seemed an amiable reptile; but close at hand, coiled round a branch of a tree, was another of evil disposition, for when Sir Jung Bahadur sent a man to cut the branch, so that the serpent fell with a heavy thud, it raised its head and moved menacingly, as if to attack the beholders, but it eventually coiled itself round, and, like a true philosopher, went to sleep. Some Nepalese soldiers showed strength and skill in cutting trees, and there could be no doubt of their power to lop off heads and arms with their kookeries.

Sir Jung visited the Prince towards the close of dinner, and proposed the health of the Queen. After the toast Sir Jung proposed the health of the Prince, and said that "it was felt he had done them the greatest honour in coming to Nepal."

We know very little of Nepal. There is no good map of the country; nor will there be any till a few engineers throw some light on the darkness. The present maps are specimens of what Colonel Thuillier would style conjectural geography. The kingdom extends for 500 miles S.E. and N.W., and it varies from 70 to 100 miles in breadth, which will give a superficies of 54,000 square miles. The population is estimated at 2,000,000, the revenue at £1,000,000. The army consists of 14,000 infantry, 420 guns, of which six batteries are horsed, the others carried by coolies. There is a handful of cavalry, but the country is unsuitable for horses.

Next day the Prince went out shooting, and killed his first tiger in Nepal. What number of elephants and men were engaged in compassing his death it is not easy to say; but any one of them, brute or man, would have been sorry to have had a private interview with that mass of striped skin and inert muscle before he had received his quietus. This tiger had been marked down close to camp, and it was resolved "by the authorities" that the Prince's first day in Nepal should not be a blank. Elephants were moored to blockade him (*i.e.* the tiger), and men were stationed to keep up fires at night, so that he could not break through, according to tiger nature. The yells of the jemadars—*Roko!* ("Halt"), *Chelo!* ("Go on"), *Bāine-ko!* ("To the left"), *Dahine-ko!* ("To the

right")—the blows of the hircus—the shouts of mahouts—the crashing of branches above and saplings below—made the forest ring. As the great coil, each link of which was an elephant, moved on, a herd of deer, a confused mass of antlers and dappled skins, halted, like cavalry brought up midway in a furious charge. Then, taking counsel of despair, headed by a timid dame, they charged the elephants, which actually screamed with terror, and turned tail as the cheetah leaped over them. In another minute a tiger appeared, moving in an easy canter across the front, at a distance of some fifteen or twenty yards. He was growling as he ran. He seemed minded to go at the elephants, but he changed his intention of a sudden, and thought it best to consider the situation in the seclusion of a small natural shrubbery. Into this he dropped, and was lost to view. The elephants closed in round the spot. The Prince and Sir Jung appeared. The tiger, after two or three growls—the bellow of an angry bull and the snarl of a dog commingled—leaped through the brushwood. The Prince fired. One! two! The last shot turned him. He rushed into the covert. His side was exposed to the Prince. The next report of the rifle was followed by a yell of pain; the tiger raised itself, rolled half over, and fell as the second barrel sent a bullet through its body. The apparition of open jaws and glaring eyes sank down into the grass, which waved fitfully to and fro for a second or two; then all was quiet. There was the usual cautious advance of the shikarries; and, looking down from their howdahs, all saw the creature stretched out dead. He was a full-grown male, 9 feet 6 inches long. Had he not been stopped just at the right moment he would certainly have been "on" to a man or an elephant.

The afternoon's sport was inaugurated by a display rarely given to any one to witness—a procession, in single file, of 700 elephants. The Prince sat for three-quarters of an hour watching the column cross the Sarda. To each elephant there were at least two persons—the mahout and a man on the pad; several carried three or four people. Unless one sees what mountains of sugar-cane and green food an elephant can stuff down his throat, he can form no idea of the vastness of the commissariat arrangements. When the elephants were all in position, they wore ship from line stem and stern to line ahead, and began to move over the prairie.

Tiger talk may be monotonous, but next day brought into the camp a wonderful "bag." No less than seven tigers fell; of these, six, including that in the forenoon,

were shot by the Prince. Five were killed in a single beat, which did not last more than an hour. The Prince killed two with single shots; he disposed of three tigers in two or more shots each, and one was accounted for by "outsiders." The scene of slaughter was an island, with sparse forest and thick jungle, on the Sarda, such as tigers love. It was not easy for eyes unaccustomed to the work to make out tigers in the grass. The Prince steadily refused to listen to advice. "Fire just before you, sir! There he is in front!" He would not fire at an object he did not see. Once, the elephants being close alongside, his Royal Highness crossed over and shot the beast from Sir Jung's howdah. When three or four tigers were to be seen like so many cats in a London square, it was natural that sportsmen should feel excited; but, on the whole, the general feeling was that the creatures were not as "game" as they might have been. An old hand observed, "When they have seen as much of the gentlemen in stripes as I have done, they will think them far more interesting in the long grass than when they are on the howdahs, or clawing the mahouts off." The Prince's shooting drew forth the encomiums of the great Nepalese shikarry, who has killed to his own rifle more than 550 tigers, and who hopes to score at least 600 before he quits the field.

One of the beasts which perished this day — a tigress, fetid, lean, and hideous — was not content with deer; she was a man-eater. A large quantity of clothes and bones were found near the spot where the murderess met her doom. It is generally an old or sickly tiger which takes to man-eating. Too slow or too weak to run down deer, he pounces on some poor wayfarer; and once he has found out how easy a prey man is, never tries for any other food. Another had killed nine bullocks and buffaloes belonging to one village. Is it not a comfort to feel that justice is overtaking the creatures, though, as they are cats with teeth, claws, and stomachs, they must have "their rats and mice and other small deer?" It will be many a long year before Nepal ceases to keep up a breed of tigers.

Close to the river, apart from his fellows and tended by a few chosen followers, lives a monster of force, and, if one is to believe his eye, of cruelty. He is happily restrained from mischief by great ropes secured round his legs and fastened to the trunks of large teak-trees, but for all that he is fenced in and guarded sedulously. His head is painted blood colour, so are his neck and the upper part of his body. Two small furrows over

his cheeks, marked by unholy ichor trickling from his head, show that he is *must*. This is Jung Pershaud, the champion elephant of the Nepalese woods. There are Bijli and other famous chiefs in camp, but none equal to him. They are kept to engage the males of the wild herds. The first day the Prince entered Nepal it was rumoured that there was a herd not far distant, and Sir Jung told him that he had sent out his fighting elephants, and hoped to be able to let him see some sport. Orders were given accordingly for every one to be ready next morning at seven.

The party was led by Sir Jung, and went full speed through woods and swamps, across ravines and rivers, up and down nullah sides, over old moraines, crashing through brake and copse with the tumult of a hurricane. The trained pads were urged by the mahout, and by a man who hangs on by a strap behind, and belabours the brute with a wooden mallet. The speed, by means of this process, is about eight miles an hour. Excited men came down the hillsides at the gallop to report that the fighting elephants could not come up with the animal which had been sighted. What yells of drivers there were, what shouting of the leaders, what trumpeting and snapping of reeds and saplings, and what a rushing noise through swamp and grass they did make! Some of the elephants showed signs of distress, and many were far behind. Sir Jung suggested that they should give up—"he did not know whether the Prince would think it worth while to go on." But the Prince decided on going on, and away they went once more, the fatigued beasts now and then cooling their sides and expressing their indignation by spouting jets of water from their trunks over their backs, careless of who was on the pad, even though it were the Prince himself, who came in for the full benefit of a douche, till at last a second halt was called. It was noon. In a few minutes a scout went up with news that the wild champion was engaged with Jung and Bijli. Sir Jung at once appeared, and said, in trepidation, "You must mount at once. The herd may break this way, and no one's life is safe." It was now impossible for the Prince to witness the engagement, as he was twenty-five miles off. However, on the way, he came on the conquered beast, between its captors, his legs tied together, with downcast ears, drooping head, and dejected proboscis. The greater part of the herd were taken before the morning.

The Prince had a long day next day. He killed a tigress, and its cub was taken alive. The district having been swept clear of tigers,

the camp was struck on the following morning, and was transferred to a place eight miles off, called Mahullea. The Prince started with Sir Jung for a wood within a few hundred yards of the camp, and the usual tumult began. Presently from the right came a few clear notes from a bugle. It was answered from the left. "Halt!" The line halted. There was a movement in the thick grass, and the Prince, looking down, could see something. He fired. The grass was agitated. He fired again, but all was still. The elephants closed up. There lay a beautiful, full-grown leopard, dead, killed by the first shot. The second had not been required. The elephants reformed and closed, until a shout announced that a tiger had been seen in an adjoining piece of grass. His Royal Highness fired. There was a growl from the grass, but no movement. Then followed another shot, and another growl. In a second out leaped the tigress, to the great discomfiture of the elephants, which flourished their trumpets, and acted otherwise as might have been anticipated. In an instant the tigress was again in her hiding-place, and two shots fired into the grass did not displace her. An elephant was ordered to go in and stamp her out, but he declined. Projectiles of various sorts were hurled into the grass, but they had no effect. Her ladyship only growled. Sir Jung seized the hunting hat of the rajah behind him, and threw it at her, but that had no result; so he flung his own pith cap on the head of the brute, and out she came, clawing her way through the agitated throng of elephants, and made off. The Prince was close behind, got a good view, fired, and, struggling convulsively, the tigress expired. So that, in less than an hour, a leopard and a tigress were killed close to the camp.

On the next day there was a peculiarly remarkable hunt. A herd of wild elephants, led by a tusker of enormous size, strength, and courage, which had engaged and beaten Sir Jung's best, was discovered about seven miles from the camp. Sir Jung resolved that this time they should be his. At eleven o'clock Sir Jung pulled up and waited for news of the herd. By-and-by up came to him a Gurkha with full particulars. The indomitable tusker was covering the retreat of the ladies of his family, in order that they might pass onwards a few miles ahead. Sir Jung at once called to horse; but the way was difficult. In a short time the horses were given over to the charge of the syces, and the party proceeded up the river-bed till they reached a very steep bank, up which Sir Jung climbed, followed by the Prince. It was expected that the tusker would emerge from a

deep valley, or rather gorge, which was here, but he did not appear. Sir Jung became impatient, as he would not have been if the Prince had not been in his company, and jumped on the back of one of the Nepalese, and, with two men to steady him, went over the rocks and the bed of the river, and up the opposite hill. In a quarter of an hour he reappeared, urging his bounding biped on his mad career. The wild tusker was making for the pass in which the company were waiting. It was believed that it would take some time ere this great lord of the forest and his retinue could reach this point, and it was proposed that lunch should be had at this place; but lo! Sir Jung interrupted the hasty meal with the exclamation, "We are dead men if the elephants break down upon us. We must all get into trees." "But the horses?" "They must do the best they can. Providence will take care of them." He was in earnest, evidently. The Prince at first laughed at the idea of getting into a tree, but by good counsel was ultimately persuaded. The elephants, however, did not appear. They had taken another course, scenting danger in the distance.

Sir Jung was disappointed, and gave the directions, "Call up the pads. Let the Prince mount at once." But his Royal Highness wanted to ride; and by that means, although no one expected it, he secured the success of the day, for it was only the speed of the horses which enabled the party to come up with the runaway. The excitement of Sir Jung was wonderful to see, and how he got through that gallop who can tell? At length the horsemen reached the verge of the forest, and they saw before them, in a plain of high grass, a huge brown back borne along on invisible legs. There was immediately a cheer—a joyous English "Tally-ho!" "Hark forward!" This cry was new to the hunted elephant. He paused, raised his proboscis, as if to ask, "What manner of men be these?" and then he resumed his course for the swamp. The instant the elephant stopped, Sir Jung, who well understood the whole business, shouted, "Shahzadah! Take care! Look out, all of you! You must not go near him! In that long grass you have no chance of getting away!" But when he saw that the elephant was moving off, he put spurs to his horse, and, keeping outside the thick grass, galloped in a line parallel to the course of the beast. He was imminently risking his life. But there was another who, in the excitement, was willing to do the same: the Prince followed hard after him. Very soon the horsemen were careering in front of the monster. The brute, it could be seen, was

sore distressed. He had been on the move incessantly from dawn; had travelled over mountain and valley; had had no time to rest or to eat; his sides were heaving, his gait was heavy, he tossed his head wearily from side to side, showing only one very large tusk and the stump of another. He was of tremendous bulk and stature. He seemed to become bigger and bigger as his form loomed over the cleared space. When he observed his pursuers, his proboscis was extended, his tail was straight out, and he stood and looked around him. Suddenly uttering a shrill cry, he made a run at the horsemen who were circling around him, and then he scattered them. Every one had to try and escape for his life. Sir Jung, with one eye over his shoulder, kept calling out, "Look out, Prince! Take care, Prince!" (*Shahzadah! Keiber dar!*) The pursuers were pursued. But the beast was too much fatigued to continue this pursuit very long. He halted, blew a note of rage, swaying his head to and fro, and flapping his ears. All the party had the honour of special attention as the great animal seemed to regard particular individuals as most likely to succumb to him. All were now expecting the champions; but the redoubtable Jung Pershaud was, at this time, somewhat wrong about the legs, and could not travel fast, and Bijli Pershaud was far in the rear. The hunting party got quite close to the infuriated animal, but, notwithstanding, he got to the swamp, and for a time was lost to sight. At this juncture a Nepalese was sent up a tall tree, and saw the elephant in a pool, splashing and cooling himself. "He will quite recover," said Sir Jung, "if this goes on, and will probably be able to fight his way out." But now a bell, like that of a town crier, was heard ringing from afar. There was a joyous cry, "Jung Pershaud is coming!" And soon after the head of the immense brute, painted a bright red, presented itself above the reeds. He was plodding wearily along, but had a wonderful air of business about him; and, as if he had an appointment to keep with an antagonist in that precise spot, he went straight into the swamp. When the wild elephant heard the strange clang of the bell which was attached to Jung Pershaud's neck, he slowly turned and swept away the reeds with his proboscis so as to get a clearer view. The wild brute, as has just been mentioned, had only one tusk left, and this he lowered as if to receive an enemy. But Jung did not give him much time for reflection. He was a trained foeman, and, large as the other was, he was still bigger. Jung, moreover, had two very strong tusks,

which, although cut short, were still four or five feet long, and bound round with brass rings to prevent fracture. Jung, raising his proboscis with a flourish, ran in, and when within a foot of his enemy's weapon swerved a little, giving him only a slight blow on the ear. The wild one turned a little to get his sole tusk to bear; but Jung, passing on towards his quarter, gave him a smart tap which reeled him over. The stroke was like that of a thump on a big drum. There was next something like a fearful battering ram; and that was enough for the poor great beast which had been king of the woods. As Jung drew back to administer No. 3, his opponent, if so he might be called, drew back, and with a speed which he would not have been thought capable of, set out for the open country, leaving Jung to beat the empty air. He escaped.

Sir Jung's anxiety was intense. "Don't go near him! Keep him in view, that is all!" It was marvellous to see how long he coasted along, only turning for the larger trees. He continued his career until he reached a small stream, and saw that he would have to go over some open ground before he could arrive at the great forest. After reflection he resolved to cross the stream. But at that moment Bijli Pershaud emerged from the covert, only a few yards away. He was not so large as Jung Pershaud, but he was comparatively fresh and of great courage. When the wild animal saw his antagonist, he set his fore legs a little apart, lowered his head, and prepared for battle. Bijli came on at full speed, and there was a terrific encounter. Bijli was the quicker of the two. He delivered several tremendous strokes. When the wild animal ran, he ran too, and, being faster, was always able to resume the attack. The forester was conquered. The Prince was on the ground to witness the final defeat. And it being so, the great animal was bound with ropes. Lo! it was discovered that he was blind of an eye. He had no doubt lost the use of it in the same fight which had broken off his tusk. Bijli had got to the blind side of him. When this discovery was made there was pity for the poor beast, and Sir Jung said, "I will let him go if the Prince expresses a wish that he should be set at liberty, but I hope to be allowed to offer his Royal Highness the tusk." The Prince at once requested grace for the captive, and he was led away to a great tree, to which he was cabled, and there he stood sullen and silent. Next morning he was set free, and went off in search of his family. When Sir Jung went over that night to the Prince's camp fire, he was accompanied by men bearing the beautiful tusk which had been sawn

off. So far as regards himself, this is said to have been the "best day" which his Royal Highness had in India.

On the next day there were two beats marked out, but the Prince returned without having had any sport, although led by Sir Jung himself. The camp elephants and camels had got on the ground and spoilt the shooting. There was a second party which went out for general shooting, in charge of Mr. Moore, magistrate of Bareilly. They came upon a fine tiger, which Mr. Moore fired at and hit. The animal sprang on the elephant of Mr. Robinson, placing one claw on his rifle, so that he could not fire, and tearing the mahout's leg. The elephant swung round, the tiger fell off, but sprang at the elephant again, and clawed it fearfully. It then changed its position, and leaped on the mahout of the elephant carrying Colonel Ellis, and was tearing him down when the colonel, leaning over the howdah, fired his rifle, and the tiger dropped, but it had lacerated the elephant's ear and the man's knee and leg. Half an hour afterwards another large tiger was killed in the open valley. Next day being Sunday, Mr. Robinson, none the worse for his tiger scare, read the service. Sir Jung, having obtained the Prince's assent, displayed his army in the afternoon. The advance guard was composed of about a dozen Lancers well mounted, and dressed very much like the English native cavalry. There was then a battery of six four-pounder brass guns—each gun being carried by ten men—four and six—muzzle and breach. Each limber was borne by twelve men, and two men carried the ammunition in leathern cases on their backs. There were five artillerymen to each gun. In less than a minute the battery was in action, and in another minute it was out of action, in retreat. These lascars get a battery over the ground at a speed which would beat mules. Then there was the Rifle Battalion—service-like men, who went through the ordinary exercise to English words of command.

There was a grand march past, the Prince taking the salute. The band played "God save the Queen" and "God bless the Prince of Wales." Among those troops there were more than one who burnt powder against the English in 1857-58; but that is happily all over.

The camp was raised next day, and removed across country to Mooza Panee. It was still hunting and sport, and the sport is said to have been excellent. In the general battue a tiger sprang on the Prince's elephant, and tore the cloth on which the howdah rested. Narrow escapes must be counted upon in the

pursuit of such "game." The camp next moved to Duknabagh on the Sarda, opposite Moondia Ghat, the gentlemen there also engaged in the same pursuits. The Sunday which followed was distinguished by worship under the direction of the Rev. Julian Robinson. At noon Sir Jung was seen approaching the camp, bestriding a man, he having been ill, and this mode of carriage being usual when one is in small health, and unable to mount his horse. The Prince met him at the entrance to the tent, and led him to a seat of honour. It was a farewell *darbar*. The presents for Sir Jung included several very fine rifles, a silver statuette of his Royal Highness, and many other valuable souvenirs. The brothers and relatives of Sir Jung were likewise presented with rifles and other arms, as well as a variety of gifts. Sir Jung begged Mr. Girdlestone to express his sense of the great obligations under which the Prince had placed Nepal, and also the thanks of those who had received marks of munificence far beyond anything which they deserved at his hands, and the *darbar* was broken up. The days of the Prince's Indian experiences were by this time drawing to a close. He had now to cross the Sarda to reach British soil. The less agile members of the suite did not much relish the idea when they were informed that they must cross on pad elephants; neither was Sir Jung much pleased with this mode of transport; but the Prince himself was delighted at having the opportunity of swimming over on the back of an elephant. All went well, and the whole party landed at the other side in safety. Just before his Royal Highness left, Sir Jung went to bid him a final farewell. When he was told that what he had said the day before had already appeared in London, he did not evince the least astonishment. The leave-taking between the Prince and the Nepalese Prime Minister was most friendly and cordial.

On the 6th of March, at half-past eleven in the morning, the Prince's equipage set out for Bareilly. A new road had been made through the forest. At Phillbeet the Rampur Chief had made a small but pretty encampment, in which there was a room of gauze, supported on silver poles, under a great tree, where one could enjoy the air without being pestered with the flies. The roads at Bareilly were all illuminated. The Prince dined at the mess of the 18th Royal Irish, and the evening passed so pleasantly that if his Royal Highness had not been to travel by a "special" he would have "missed his train." From Bareilly there was a continuous run of night twelve hours to Lucknow, Cawnpore, and Allahabad. At the last-mentioned place Lord Northbrook had

already arrived to bid adieu to his wide-wandering guest. There were a grand reception at the station, and a state procession to the Lieutenant-Governor's house. A Chapter of Investiture of the Order of the Star of India was also held; and in the afternoon the Prince drove to the Fort and Canning Town. There was a dinner at the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor in the evening. The Prince and Lord Northbrook had a long conversation before his Royal Highness went to the station, to which he was attended in the same state as when he entered Allahabad in the morning. The train left before midnight amid loud cheers from a great crowd on the platform. Travelling all night, and arriving at Jabalpur in the morning, there was a very graceful and tasteful reception, and the party were hospitably entertained by Mr. Grant.

The next station was Candwah, which was reached in five hours. Here dinner was served, and a long halt made. The Holkar State Railway, narrow gauge, commences there, and the carriages were of course more confined and less comfortable. It was half-past six in the morning when the train drew up at Chowral, on the Nerbudda, which is the terminus as yet—1878—of Holkar's line to Indor. Refreshments, tents, and a large pavilion were prepared for the party. There were many officials, civil and military, with a guard of honour, waiting the arrival of the illustrious traveller. Then there were open carriages and relays of artillery horses at intervals of six miles all the way to Indor. The ascent of the Vindhya range, on this route, is exceedingly interesting. On the high lands in the famous opium district of Malwah fields of poppies were spread out, like carpets of Turkestan, as far as the eye could reach. Five miles from Indor the glistening of arms attracted attention, and then there was a great triumphal circle spanning the road. As the Prince approached, Holkar came forth with his chiefs to welcome him. He wore a Maratha turban, with the ribbon and badge of the Star of India. A fine collar of diamonds was his only ornament, with the exception of a brilliant ring—a single stone of great size. All the men that Holkar could turn out were under arms, and formed a picturesque, if irregular, line for more than four miles to the town.

The Prince was escorted by the Maharajah and his sirdars to the house prepared for him by Sir H. Daly. There was a levee after the departure of the Maharajah, and the chiefs of the district attended it in order to pay their respects.

At five o'clock in the afternoon the Prince visited the Rajahs of Thar, Rutlam, Jowra,

and Dewas, in acknowledgment of their attendance at the residency, after which he paid a visit to the Lallbagh, where he was received in durbar. Holkar led him to a room where his presents were laid out, first taking off a brilliant ring, and putting it on the Prince's finger. A state dinner followed in a pavilion erected for the occasion at the residency, to which eighty European ladies and gentlemen received invitations. Holkar gave the health of the Queen, whose rule, he said, was founded on the principle of doing justice to princes and people alike. After his health had been proposed by the Prince, he expressed the honour he felt at being visited by the son of the Queen at his poor capital, and begged to assure her of his loyal attachment. There was afterwards a ball, where European ladies and gentlemen had assembled.

On the day following his Royal Highness received chiefs of smaller note, and the officers of the Bhopal and Malwah Bheel corps. Five men of the Central India House, who charged the guns on the 1st of July, 1857, seemed more than rewarded by the Prince's notice, and the few words which acknowledged their services.

There was a group of Bheels who performed graceful dances—the men with bows and arrows, and the women with garlands in their hair, dancing together, and having their arms and legs ornamented with gold bands, the music being rather harmonious. Before his departure the Prince thanked Sir H. Daly for his exertions in Central India, and especially for what he had done at Gwalior and Indor. Such thanks were well and worthily bestowed.

The departure of the Prince from Indor was his last excursion in India. Holkar took his leave at the pandal. "We shall be in Bombay to-morrow morning, and then in two days we are off towards home!" "Hurrah! my boy! Hurrah!" At Candwah there was a banquet; and at about eleven o'clock in the morning of the 11th of March his Royal Highness arrived outside the Churchgate station at Bombay. The station was carpeted, and the pillars wreathed with flowers. There was a continuous line of people, who seemed to regret the Prince's departure from India. Instead of the welcoming inscriptions in golden letters, it was now "God speed you!"

The Prince stepped on board the steam launch. Thirteen ships-of-war saluted. There was something more than official warmth in the cheers with which he was greeted by the *Serapis*. There was a farewell dinner on board in the evening. It was just seventeen weeks since the *Serapis* had cast anchor in Bombay harbour. The Prince had travelled

nearly 7,600 miles by land, and 2,300 miles by sea. He now knows a greater number of chiefs than all the Viceroys and Governors together, and has seen more of the country than any living man. But let justice be done. He saw the faces and observed the manner of those lofty gentlemen, but he could not, as the Viceroy and the Governors could, enter into their policy.

There were many leave-takings and considerable display. But India did not show its satisfaction at the departure as it did at the arrival. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy and his family had a farewell audience, and various official gentlemen, Major Henderson and others, took their leave. There was certainly no exaggeration in the compliment paid by the Prince to those gentlemen, when he declared that the success of his Indian tour had greatly depended upon their exertions. Admiral Macdonald was the last to leave. With full eyes he bade the Prince "good-bye." It was 3.45 p.m. Then came the strokes of the bell which set the engines in motion. The Prince stood on the bridge as the *Serapis* slowly forged ahead. The farewell salute was

fired, and as soon as the smoke cleared away, the signal, "God speed you!" was seen flying from the *Undaunted*. The *Serapis* made reply, "Thanks! we look forward to our next meeting." And so farewell by the Prince to India! His Royal Highness had seen much, learnt much, and enjoyed much that was fresh and new to him. It is not necessary in these pages to follow him in his homeward journey. He was cordially greeted everywhere; and "the lass he left behind him" went to meet him before he touched the English shores. Some unreflecting persons may churlishly be disposed to think that his Royal Highness devoted more than a due proportion of his time to field sports; but it was not so. He neglected no public duty—not one, and won the favour of all the native princes whom he met.*

If it had not been for the Prince's visit, Lord Northbrook would have returned to England before this time—his health had failed. He now came home. He was a thoroughly good Governor-General. He spared no pains in the discharge of his duty, and was especially careful and skilful in matters of finance.

CHAPTER CXLIV.

LORD LYTTON'S VICEROYALTY.

It is necessary now to be brief. Recent history must be looked at as a great picture. Glance at it and have done with it. To properly judge of it one must stand off and be at some distance. So with the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton. He is the son of the eminent novelist and statesman who held office as Secretary for the Colonies in the second administration of the late Lord Derby, and who was made a peer in 1866. The present holder of the title—the Governor-General—was born in 1831, and entered the diplomatic service before he was eighteen years of age as attaché at Washington, where his uncle, Sir Henry Bulwer, was the British Minister. He was transferred to France in 1852, and in 1854 to the embassy at Paris. In 1858 he was appointed first attaché to St. Petersburg, and shortly afterwards held the same position at Constantinople. While at Vienna he was employed on a special mission to prevent the renewal of hostilities between the Turks and the Servians after the capital of the latter had been bombarded. He rose to be Secretary of Legation at Copenhagen, at Athens, and at Lisbon. He assisted in the negotiation of a commercial treaty between Great Britain and

Austria, was transferred to Madrid, and then was promoted to the Secretaryship of Embassy at Vienna. More recently he was Secretary of Embassy at Paris, and British Minister at Lisbon. As a poet Lord Lytton came before the public in 1855, when his "Clytemnestra and other Poems" won much praise. The "Wanderer" was published in 1859. "Lucile" was not equal to his former productions; but his "Chronicles and Characters," and his "Fables in Song," more than redeemed his good name.

It was said at the time of his appointment that "Mr. Disraeli had gone out of his way to choose Lord Lytton, and it might be assumed that Mr. Disraeli had not gone out of his way without good reasons." All honour to his predecessor! In his foreign policy he was discreet and watchful, ready always to act when need required, but slow to interfere without just cause. The Governorship

* It is scarcely necessary to observe that in these pages, so far as they bear upon the Prince's tour, not only has the contemporary literature of India been carefully consulted, but that Dr. Russell's "Tour," he having been an eye-witness, has been largely drawn upon. It is a magnificent book, creditable alike to both author and publishers.

of Madras had been offered to Lord Lytton before he received the appointment to the Governor-Generalship.

Lord Northbrook's retirement a year before his regular term had run out was regretted by many. His conduct throughout the famine which characterized and darkened the second year of his administration attested at once his readiness to expend himself at the call of duty, and the firmness with which he held to his own line of policy in spite of popular clamour and the remonstrances of even his subordinate officers. Under the heavy strain upon all his energies involved in the successful grappling with that prolonged crisis his health began to give way; and the cares and worries of the year, especially in the matter of the Baroda trial and the Burmese difficulty, aggravated former sufferings. His mode of dealing with the Gaikwar subjected him to much unfriendly criticism; but those who are best able to judge commend the course which he pursued. His management of the finances was remarkably successful, in spite of the heavy pressure caused by the Bengal famine.

Not the least touching scene connected with the Prince's tour in India was his laying of the first stone of the monument destined to commemorate, at Lord Northbrook's own expense, the noble faithfulness of the sepoys who fought and fell in defence of Lucknow residency in 1857. These men were tempted by their relations, by caste men, and by comrades to desert from the British, but they would not, and doubtless, but for them, Lucknow would have fallen. The part taken by his Royal Highness on that spot consecrated by the blood of the truest and bravest of England and India will not be forgotten by the natives of the latter; neither will Lord Northbrook's share in the transaction ever fail to be held in grateful remembrance.

Lord Lytton arrived in Calcutta at half-past six o'clock on the evening of the 12th of April, 1876. Upon reaching Howrah he was received by several high Government officials, by whom he was escorted in procession to the Government House. The way was lined with British and native troops. There were large crowds of spectators, and the new Viceroy met with a very warm reception. On reaching Government House his Excellency was received by the Lieutenant-Governor and the civil and military officers, while Lord Northbrook met him at the top of the grand staircase, and conducted him to the throne-room. He then proceeded to the council chamber, where he took the oaths of office.

After the ceremony Lord Lytton made a speech, stating that he had now become, by

the sovereign's favour, the inheritor of a great duty bequeathed by great men, whose talents, and even lives, had been exacted by the unsparing nature of the duties of the office. He had not shrunk, and would not shrink, from the great task before him, relying on the support of his colleagues, the sympathy of his countrymen, and the confidence of his sovereign. The recent development of events both in Asia and Europe, and the increasing proximity of the Eastern and Western worlds, while rendering more difficult the complete duties of the Government of India, added to their importance and grandeur. His lordship then alluded to the then recent discussion in Parliament respecting the relative position of the Home and Indian Governments, and said he would always welcome the timely constitutional co-operation of the Home Government as a guarantee for the freedom of their discussion and the dignity of their authority. But with the best possible intentions, it is not always possible for the Viceroy in every instance to obey orders from home. He must be more or less politically independent. He declared that he would keep a strict watch over the economical management and continuous progress of the Government, while providing with unbending firmness for the safety and repose of the Empire. It was his fervent prayer that a Power higher than any earthly Government would bless their counsels, directing them to the honour of the country, the authority of the sovereign, the well-being of the millions committed to their care, and the security of the chiefs and princes of India in their just rights and heritable possessions, and enable him to reach his term of office and merit the esteem and regard which Lord Northbrook had enjoyed.

When Lord Northbrook embarked in the *Tenasserim* at Calcutta, on his return to England, he was saluted with viceregal honours.

The proclamation that her Majesty's title in India should be "Empress" was issued from Windsor on the 28th of April, 1876. It is unnecessary here to enter into particulars in regard to the determination of the ministry at home, and the excitement of the people in connection with it. The thing was done. It was well received in India, and it was now time that there should be a formal recognition of the British superiority over the subordinate princes. The Queen is a lady; but readers must nevertheless acknowledge the fact that, in reference to the provinces of India, England occupies the place of a "King of kings." The inauguration of the Empress afforded an opportunity for great display, and

of this Lord Lytton fully availed himself. His lordship held his first levee at Government House in Calcutta on the 17th of April, 1876, at the unusual but more agreeable hour of half-past nine. There were about 1,300 persons presented.

The Governor-General having wisely gone to Simla, as being more cool and better for an unacclimatized European, his whole Council shortly arrived there. There they did important work; but his lordship having but partially recovered from illness—the effect of climatic changes—was compelled to restrict himself to a limited amount of business. Still he held a levee on the 27th of May in honour of her Majesty's birthday.

It would be negligent to omit to notice that Lord Napier of Magdala having quitted India, his services there had been unusually conspicuous. Half a century ago—1878—he entered the service of the East India Company as a Bengal Engineer. As Lieutenant of Engineers he got an opportunity of distinguishing himself in 1840 at Darjiling. He then was employed in the construction of roads, and in various works of kindred usefulness. Captain Napier had, however, to take part in the Sikh campaign of 1845-46, and was severely wounded at Sobraon, but ere long was able to resume his regular duties. In the next campaign of 1848-49 Major Napier acted for a time as chief engineer at the siege of Multan, and obtained the brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel for his services at Gujarat. He was again employed in public works.

Meanwhile, in 1853 Colonel Napier was again called into the field to take part in one of those border campaigns which have so often tried the mettle of the English troops. Colonel Mackeson says, in reference to the service which he had rendered, "My obligations to Colonel Napier are greater than I can express." During the mutiny his services were once more in request, and in March, 1858, when Lucknow was finally captured by the troops of Lord Clyde, it was Napier who directed the engineering works, and who afterwards drew up the plan of occupation based on the establishment of three military posts, and on the opening out of three roads through the city. "These works," said Lord Clyde, "set free and at my disposal some 12,000 men."

After playing his part as brigadier in the capture of Gwalior by Sir Hugh Rose, Sir Robert Napier—for he was now a K.C.B.—was sent in pursuit of the flying enemy with a small force of cavalry, about 600 strong, and a troop of horse artillery with six guns. In the summer of 1858—disastrous year—he was opposed at Jaurā Alipur by the whole rebel army, which was still many thousand

strong, and had twenty-six guns. He scattered them in all directions, and carried off all their guns. In the subsequent chase of Prince Feroze Shah he showed the same dash combined with the stubborn energy of his race, and the best qualities of a successful leader. With a few squadrons of horse, a few light guns, and 200 Highlanders mounted on camels, he marched thirty miles a day, until he had caught up, routed, and dispersed the flying rebels. The same swift-moving pertinacity marked his subsequent measures for hunting down the last remnants of Tantia Topi's force.

He led a British division, under Sir Hope Grant, against the Chinese in 1860. From 1861 to 1865 he sat in the Viceroy's Council, only leaving it to take up the post of Commander-in-chief at Bombay. When, in 1867, war with Abyssinia became inevitable, Sir Robert Napier was intrusted with the task of carrying a small but fully equipped army some 400 miles into the heart of an unknown and very rugged hill country. But he was an engineer, and had many soldierly qualities besides. His success is known to the world. He was rewarded with a peerage. Lord Napier of Magdala went back to India in 1870 as Commander-in-chief. The Lushai campaign, which ruffled the peace of India, was successful, this result, no doubt, being largely attributable to his arrangements for carrying it on. He is still living—1878—respected and loved by all, by the British soldier, by the native sepoy, by the Rajput chief and the Punjab noble—loved best by those who know him best.

The Viceroy left Simla on the 10th of October, and spent two days with the Maharajah of Cashmere at his large manufacturing capital. He then proceeded to Srinagar, where he remained five days. This was the first occasion on which a Viceroy visited Cashmere. He arrived at Bombay in the middle of December, leaving on the 21st, and reaching Delhi on the 23rd. Lady Lytton, the private, military, and foreign secretaries, and two aides-de-camp accompanied him. About seventy native chiefs, including the Nizam and Gaikwar, attended the Delhi durbar; but many among them did so with anything but good grace; for, although they were well disposed to meet his lordship, they felt that the expense of attending a durbar in full state, so soon after the Prince of Wales's visit, was a heavy drain on their resources. As himself a literary man, Lord Lytton recognised the Press by inviting the editors of the principal European and native journals to meet him.

There were heavy floods, owing to excessive rains, in Western and Central India. The

Bombay, Baroda, and Central Indian Railway suffered especially. The large bridge over the Narbada at Broach had thirty arches washed away. The river Mahi beyond Baroda had risen thirty-eight feet. A gentleman had predicted in the morning that the Narbada bridge would not see the next day, and he was right. This bridge consisted of sixty-seven spans of sixty-two and a half feet high. The heavy rainfall, however, averted a threatened famine.

The great famine in Bombay and Madras began to show itself, and Lord Lytton had a task before him resembling too closely the work which had made anxious several of his predecessors.

And now comes the great event of the proclamation of her Majesty Queen Victoria as Empress of India. The cost of the Delhi gathering was estimated at £100,000. But the native chiefs and princes vied with each other in extravagant expenditure, and how much was spent on the pageant it is impossible to tell. It is easy to be generous with other people's money, and when the princes found themselves out of pocket they knew how to recoup themselves by screwing what extra they wanted out of their patient subjects. *Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.* It is the people of the native states who have to smart for the extravagance of their rulers.

There was a great difficulty in the arrangements: one prince wanted precedence of another. Why should Cashmere, for instance, have his salute raised to twenty-one guns, while Sindia and Holkar will have only nineteen as before, and Udaipur must be content with seventeen? But matters were happily managed. Each chief was to proceed from his camp to the platform assigned to him in a separate elephant procession. There were thus to be a hundred elephant processions. When all had assembled, the Viceroy, Governors, and Lieutenant-Governors of India, and all the other high officials entitled to accompany him, were to proceed to take their places on the central dais. Behind the Viceroy there was to be an array of assembled troops. When all should have taken their places, the proclamation was to be read, and the royal standard of England unfurled to an imperial salute of 101 guns, the whole body of troops presenting arms, and the bands playing "God save the Queen." At the same time her Majesty was to be proclaimed Empress in every civil station and camp, and an imperial salute was to be fired from every fort and battery in India. The Viceroy was next to deliver to each of the chiefs the special presents sent to him by the Queen.

The Delhi gathering was designed to be the most remarkable assemblage that had ever met in India. There was to be a great canvas city which would spread seven or eight miles beyond Delhi proper, and which for the most part would lie to the north and west of the Ridge, where the British troops were posted in 1857; but some few camps were to be placed between the Ridge and the town. The largest of these was expected to be that of the Nizam. The young Prince himself was to occupy Metcalfe House, while his retainers were to spread nearly a mile to the north and south. Next was to come the Maharajah of Mysore, whose camp was likely to be smaller; and next to him was to be the Gaikwar, conspicuous for his gold and silver guns. Outside the Cashmere gate were to be the camps of the visitors and the Punjab civil officers. Immediately beyond these was to come the camp of the Maharajah of Cashmere. It was expected to be small in extent compared with some of the others, but the costumes of the retainers—the cuirassiers and men in chain mail—were intended to recall the splendours of Runjeet Singh's Sikh array. The Maharajah's tent was to be lined with the finest Cashmere shawls. Most of the official camps were to be beyond the Ridge, near the site of the old cantonments, and just below the spot where the Delhi field force lay during the siege. They were nearly all to be on one plan, like a gigantic letter T. The perpendicular line was to represent a wide street with tents on each side, the road being in the middle, with a broad line of border between it and the tents. The horizontal line was to be a smaller street on the same plan. At the point of intersection there was to be a large open space ornamented with flowers and shrubs, and a flagstaff in the centre. The Viceroy's camp was to lie in a line with the flagstaff tower on the Ridge. Its main street was to consist of tents occupied by members of the Council and the Viceroy's guests. Guns and piles of shot were to be placed at intervals. Round the flagstaff there was intended to be a mass of greenery, facing which, and looking down the street towards the Ridge, were to be placed the Viceroy's state tents. The camps of the Governors of Madras and Bombay were intended to be situated, the former on the right and the latter on the left of the Viceroy. Beyond the camp of the Governor of Bombay were to lie those of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and the Punjab. Various Chief Commissioners and the Governor-General's agents were to be close at hand.

The prettiest camp, when all was complete, is said to have been that of Sir G. Cowper, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West

Provinces. Smooth turf and a profusion of flowers and shrubs made this camp look like a bit of fairy-land. Of the Bengal camp the main feature was an enormous *shamiana*, or awning of red cloth, hung with chandeliers, which formed an entrance hall to Sir R. Temple's tent. The Commanders-in-chief of India and Bombay were placed near the Viceroy; but the spot which had been reserved for the Commander-in-chief of Madras was unoccupied, inasmuch as General Chamberlain had declined the invitation to be present. Close by were the tents of the Viceroy's escort, namely, the Body-guard, a battery of Horse Artillery, the 12th Hussars, the 3rd Bombay Cavalry, the 60th Foot, and the 11th Madras Native Infantry. The remainder of the troops were encamped by divisions in various positions behind the native chiefs. The latter, without taking into account those who have been named before, were arranged in eight groups, according to the provinces from which they had come. Then there were the miscellaneous camps, including those of foreign consuls, attachés, the European press, the native press, the police, the telegraph and post office, the visitors, and the Bengal native gentlemen. The great dais, reserved for the ceremony, was on the Dahirpur Plain, about three miles beyond the Viceroy's camp.

Such was the arrangement of the great camp beforehand, and that arrangement was adhered to to the letter. In order to satisfy himself that all was well arranged, Lord Lytton visited Delhi and the camp ground several days before the arrival of the great occasion; for such a display as this was not to be prepared for in a short space of time. His lordship entered Delhi in state, the pageant in connection with his entrance being very magnificent. He held a *darbar*, which was attended by a large number. He signified the appointment of the Maharajahs of Cashmere and Gwalior as generals of the British army, and visited many chiefs who had personally paid their respects to him, and who were present not only to attend the *darbar*, but also in order that they might see to the plans which were being carried out by them in regard to their being suitably encamped on and before the proclamation day. The Viceroy held a general levee in Delhi, which was attended by more than 2,000 persons.

In due time came the impressive ceremonial. On the 1st of January, 1877, the Queen was formally proclaimed Empress of India by the Viceroy in the amphitheatre on the open plain outside Delhi. Lord Lytton was seated on a dais under a canopy of

crimson and gold and white cloths. The Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, the state officials, eighty ruling chiefs with their retinues and attendant bearers carrying magnificent memorial banners, were grouped in a semicircle in front of what might be designated the throne of the Viceroy. Behind them the vast amphitheatre was filled with the foreign embassies and the native nobility and gentry who had received invitations; and farther off was the vast concourse of spectators who had assembled to witness the ceremony. The whole presented a scene of surpassing splendour, heightened by a long line of elephants with gorgeous trappings, and by the flash and colour of armed men.

Lord Lytton's arrival at 12.30 had been heralded by flourishes of trumpets, and a crash of music from all the bands at once. A grand march was followed by the National Anthem. Major Barnes, the chief herald, then read the proclamation, after which the trumpets again sounded, and the imperial standard was raised. Then came a salute of 101 salvoes of artillery of six guns each, and a *feu de joie* from the troops, the bands playing the National Anthem. Addressing the assemblage, the Viceroy confirmed the promises contained in the Queen's proclamation of November, 1858. The princes and people, he said, had found full security under her Majesty's rule. The assumption of the title of Empress was intended to be to the princes and peoples of India a symbol of the union of their interests, and a claim upon their allegiance, the imperial power giving them a guarantee of impartial protection. The Viceroy then severally addressed the civil and military services, and the officers and soldiers of the army and volunteers, conveying her Majesty's cordial sentiments of esteem and honour. He announced also that her Majesty, with the object of noting public services and private worth, had sanctioned an increase in the number of members of the Order of the Star of India in British India, and instituted a new Order, entitled the Order of the Indian Empire. Addressing the princes and chiefs, the Viceroy bade them welcome, regarding their presence as evidence of their attachment to the imperial rule. With respect to the natives in general, his lordship acknowledged their claim to share largely in the administration of the country, and counselled the adoption of the only system of education that would enable them to comprehend and practise the principles of the Queen's Government. Referring to the possibility of invasion, the Viceroy said that no enemy could attack the Empire in India without assailing the Empire as a whole, and

pointed out that the fidelity of her Majesty's allies provided ample means of repelling and punishing all assailants. Lord Lytton concluded by reading the following telegram from the Queen:—

“We, Victoria, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom Queen, Empress of India, send through our Viceroy to all our officers, civil and military, and to all princes, chiefs, and peoples now at Delhi assembled, our royal and imperial greeting, and assure them of the deep interest and affection with which we regard the people of our Indian Empire. We have witnessed with heartfelt satisfaction the reception which they have accorded to our beloved son, and have been touched by the evidence of their loyalty and attachment to our house and throne. We trust that the present occasion may tend to unite in bonds of yet closer affection ourselves and our subjects, that from the highest to the humblest all may feel that under our rule the great principles of liberty, equity, and justice are secured to them, and that to promote their happiness, to add to their prosperity, and advance their welfare, are the ever-present aims and objects of our Empire.”

The address of the Viceroy, concluding by this important telegram, was received with general and prolonged cheering, and after three special cheers from the troops his lordship declared the assemblage dissolved.

The imperial proclamation was also made on the same day at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, in all three with the due amount of pomp and ceremony. The good-conduct prisoners, and those deserving of consideration in any way, both European and native, were all released in the Puna and Yarauda gaols, as were also those of the Bombay and other presidency gaols. The houses in Bombay were decorated and illuminated in honour of the occasion. At Calcutta an address from the citizens was delivered in three languages. Certificates of honour were presented to sixty-one native gentlemen, and the whole ceremony was concluded by a march past of the troops. Loyal addresses and a march of the troops also marked the day's proceedings in Madras.

As soon as the Viceroy had done speaking, Sindia and the principal chiefs sent a telegraphic message to the Queen, congratulating her Majesty on the assumption of the title of Empress. The *Gazette of India* published a list of the Stars of India and other honours which had been conferred, and intimated that 15,988 good-conduct prisoners had been liberated. There were races on the following day, at which a large and brilliant assemblage was gathered, including most of the native chiefs

who had taken part in the ceremonies of the proclamation. The Viceroy attended in state. On the night of the 4th of January there was a brilliant and successful display of fireworks, witnessed by an immense concourse of people, on the plain between the fort and the Jamna Musjid. It is understood to have been the largest and grandest spectacle of the kind ever seen in India. The chief feature of the display was a set piece having reference to the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India. Delhi was brilliantly illuminated throughout.

Regarded as a splendid show, the Delhi gathering was a memorable success. The weather was all that could have been desired. The showers which occasionally mar for a few days the brightness of an Indian winter were kept away from the plain in front of Delhi, and the sun shone forth without a cloud over the vast encampment. All the colours of the rainbow, the wealth and pride of four score princely vassals of a mighty Empire, the far-reaching greatness of a Government which rules over 240,000,000, the disciplined strength of an army which in a hundred years had carried the British rule from Cape Comorin to Peshawar—all were there. It was a glowing picture. Lord Lytton in the midst of his own great state had a right to be proud of it. The music of scores of bands, and the thunder of successive salvoes of artillery from more than thirty guns, added their noisy emphasis to the ceremony which was meant to crown the issues of the victory which was won in 1857. In all points of outward significance the pageant went off without a hitch. The native princes received their medals and banners with becoming grace. Kind words, intended to have a meaning, were spoken, and no doubt New Year's Day of 1877 will ever be regarded with the deepest interest in Indian history. The Delhi assemblage will serve to convince the world at large, however, of the entire dependence of the native princes on the paramount power; and, for India's own sake, it was well that this point should be duly emphasized.

Sir George Campbell had perhaps unwisely called the proceedings at Delhi during the first week of the year “tomfoolery,” and was abundantly criticized by the Indian newspapers, both European and native. An able man is Sir George, but at times somewhat eccentric. At the banquet on New Year's Day Lord Lytton pointed out that England had been slowly building up her Indian Empire for nearly three hundred years; that is, ever since Queen Elizabeth had chartered a small company of British merchants to trade with

India. On the last day in 1600, and now on the first day of 1877, the title of Queen of England has been proclaimed to the willing allegiance of the Empire in whose rule that Company's superiority has now been merged. That was a consummation which, by a singular destiny, associated the names of two English queens. His lordship went on to say that the meaning of the Empire was, that all its subjects should live on the same level with each other; that every one should grow rich in his own way, provided his own way was not criminal; and that each should follow his own religious views without assailing those of others, and live unmolested by his neighbours.

At the review outside Delhi, on the 5th of January, Lord Lytton took his place punctually at eleven A.M., being accompanied by Sindia, the great officials, and a numerous staff. The troops paraded for two whole hours in the broiling sun, while the retainers of the native chiefs marched past. But every one was tired of tinsel and embroidery, and at last the exhibition was welcomed to its close.

After the break-up of the Delhi gathering Lord Lytton went to Patiala, where, on the 6th of January, the young Maharajah, grandson of the staunchest vassal of England during the mutiny, was installed on the *gadhi* with all solemnity. Lord Lytton adorned the young Maharajah with the jewels sent by the Queen. Complimentary speeches were made, and there was a distribution of medals in commemoration of the event. On the 8th the Viceroy laid the foundation of the Mohammadan college at Aligarh. On the following day his lordship arrived at Calcutta, with his wife, children, and suite, and was greeted by a large muster of officials and other gentlemen in front of the Government House.

By this time the camp at Delhi was melting away. All officers commanding divisions and brigades had been directed to return to their respective commands. The Commander-in-chief had published the following general order:—"The Commander-in-chief in India desires to record his approbation of the soldier-like bearing of the force assembled at Delhi, the smartness and clean appearance of the guards and escorts, and their punctilious discharge of duty, which, together with their excellent conduct in the camp, is highly creditable to the troops. It was with feelings of pride that Sir Frederick Haines heard the Viceroy and Governor-General speak in terms of high eulogium of the appearance and admirable precision of the movement on parade of the forces on the 5th of January. To general officers commanding divisions and

brigades, his Excellency's thanks are due, as also to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, for their successful endeavours in carrying out the directions of the Government of India. Credit is also due to the several administrative departments and their assistants."

The rejoicings at the imperial assemblage were at least as marked and general as those at the previous reception of the heir apparent to the Empire, and nothing more than that need be said. Every prince and noble expressed his gratification in unequivocal terms. Some, it is true, may have doubted their sincerity. The language of compliment is often exaggerated by Orientals into hyperbole; but neither can it always be accepted from courtly Europeans as meaning less than it says. But deeds are stronger than words. It was impossible to mistake the general enthusiasm at the time of the visit of the Prince of Wales; neither was there the slightest reason to suspect the loyalty and gratification of all who were present at the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India.

The causes of this spontaneous and hearty loyalty are not far to seek. The British Empire in India is one of aliens and foreigners; but so were the Rajput and Mohammadan Empires. Both became enervated by Oriental influences, and lost their hold on India. The Maratha Empire was of native growth; but it failed to keep the peace in India, or protect her from invasion. The British Empire in India is one of Englishmen. It has never been enervated by Oriental influences; and it is strengthened year by year by fresh streams of Englishmen. It has never declined in strength, or shown any symptom of decay. It is the only empire in India which has kept the peace in the country, and protected it from foreign invasion. It is the only empire which has persistently, for more than a century, sought, without break or interval, to deal even-handed justice to all classes of the community, high and low. The allegiance of the princes and people of India to the British power is thus bound up with all their interests and rights. Their loyalty is a natural growth, which becomes more deeply rooted and more widely spread as time rolls on. They may, perhaps, want an occasion, now and again, such as the imperial assemblage, to give expression to their loyalty; but, when that is found, the sentiment is never wanting.

Such assemblages were common in bygone empires; but they were not invariably popular with the princes and nobles of India. They were often characterized by the overbearing haughtiness of a suzerain, or by deadly feuds between the feudatories. But there was

nothing to fear at the imperial assemblage at Delhi. No prince or ruler went thither trembling with apprehension as was the case in days gone by. No gentleman of any degree was required to play the part of a servant, such as was expected from Rajput princes in ancient times. No one was called upon to act as doorkeeper, as Prithi Raj of Delhi was ordered to do at the assemblage at Kanouj. No one was called upon to mount guard round the Viceroy's pavilion, as the princes and nobles of India were obliged to do under the Mogul. No one was forced to prostrate himself before the imperial throne, as the son of the Maharana of Udaipur was compelled to do before the feet of Jehanghire. No one was treated with the insolence and contempt that Aurungzebe showed the famous Sivajee in the durbar at Delhi long ago. Neither was any one maddened with abuse and scorn like those which had to be suffered by many of all ranks, and among others by the illustrious ancestor of the Nizam.

The Mogul sovereigns held great durbars on their accession to the throne, on the anniversary of their birthday, and at the beginning of the New Year; but such assemblages were often little better than excuses for extortion. The princes and nobles were expected to impoverish themselves and their ryots in order that they might present gifts to the padishah, the ministers, and the favourites. Such presents were deemed necessary to win favour; and rulers and nobles vied with each other as to who should present the rarest and costliest gifts. The jewels and gold mohurs presented on such occasions were not unfrequently the spoil of provinces or kingdoms. In return for these presents the giver received titles and dignities, a dress of honour, or the insignia and emoluments of some post or government. Often, when a chieftain or noble had exhausted all his means in the hope of getting justice or reward, he was put off with an embroidered handkerchief, or a trumpery medal not worth a rupee.

The British Government has laboured hard to put a stop to the semblance of such proceedings. No presents are received without an equivalent being given. No servant of the Government is allowed to receive any present at all. At the imperial assembly at Delhi it was arranged that the Viceroy would accept of no presents; accordingly none were received, although many were offered.

The political effect of this gathering may be inferred from another fact. Besides the ruling chiefs who were present at Delhi, independent potentates beyond the frontier sent deputations to represent them. There was an ambassador from the Maharajah of Nepal, whose

dominions lie beyond our northern frontier, among the heights of the Himalayas. There was another ambassador from the King of Siam, beyond the south-eastern frontier of British Burmah. There was a deputation from the Imam of Muscat; and there were also an envoy from Yarkand and messengers from Chitrol and Yassim. The Khan of Khelat attended in person, accompanied by a large body of his chiefs and followers. The arrival of these men was one of the most interesting and curious episodes of the occasion. They had been fighting one another for many years. Khelat had been in terrible disorder. The intervention of the British Government became an absolute necessity. No sooner was this intervention put in force than the whole country quieted down. The Khan and his sirdars ceased to breathe vengeance against each other, and they arrived at Delhi in the same train, with many expressions of mutual friendship. Their visit was one of the most important incidents in the history of the assemblage. Whilst the Khan was at Delhi he was profuse in his professions of gratitude for British intervention. It delivered him from all the anxieties of civil war, and had rendered his throne more secure than ever. Indeed, he expressed his disappointment at not being treated at Delhi as a feudatory ruler under British supremacy. He urged the construction of railways and telegraphs within his state, inasmuch as these alone could develop the trade routes, and restore Khelat to its pristine prosperity. The Khan and his retinue were representatives, and perhaps descendants, of the men who fought against Alexander the Great during his return march from India to Persia. They were fine specimens of semi-cultured men—the outcome of Islam and the desert. To them the world of civilisation was filled with miracles and marvels.

At the time of the assemblage famine had begun to desolate certain districts in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. Every measure that suggested itself for relief was being carried out by the Local Governments; but the Viceroy took advantage of the attendance of so many high officials to convene a General Council. It was necessary to do something more than discuss the measures which had been taken to avert the calamity. It was requisite to lay down general principles of policy; to guard against rash impulses, which are apt unduly to sway men's minds under the pressure of such calamities. The Duke of Buckingham, Governor of Madras, and Sir Philip Wodehouse, Governor of Bombay, were present. They furnished full information respecting the progress of the

famine and the action of the local officials. Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was also present, to give the Council the results of his large experiences during the Bengal famine of 1874. In the end it was resolved to depute Sir Richard Temple to Bombay and Madras to report upon the famine districts from his own personal observation, and to assist the two Governments with his counsel as to the necessary operations.

The opportunity was also taken for discussing other matters of imperial interest. Many financial questions connected with the coming Budget were debated at Delhi. So, too, was the foreign policy to be pursued on the north-west frontier, the amalgamation of Oudh with the North-West Provinces, as well as other topics of importance on which it was expedient to elicit the opinions of the best-informed men in India.

In addition to the receptions of ruling chiefs, the Viceroy had interviews with a large number of native noblemen and gentlemen, who exercise considerable influence among the people of their neighbourhoods. A silver commemoration medal was given to each; and medals were also presented to the foreign consular body. One and all expressed their high satisfaction at a public ceremonial which had brought so many of the rulers of India, European and native, into the closest communication for inaugurating the new title.

There was an interesting meeting of ruling chiefs and European officials, at which the Viceroy presided. It was the council of the Mayo College, which had been founded at Ajmir by the princes of Rajputana. The report of this meeting will be read with interest:—

“This morning at one o’clock his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General presided at a meeting of the council of the Mayo College, held in the great tent of his Excellency’s camp at Delhi. The officiating agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, the Maharana of Udaipur, the Maharajahs of Alwar, Bharatpur, Kishenghar, Kerauli, Jodhpur, the Nawab of Tonk, Mr. Saunders, the Commissioner of Ajmir, and others were present. The Viceroy opened the proceedings by expressing the pleasure he felt in presiding at the first meeting of the council. The college was an institution in which his Excellency took the greatest personal interest—an interest which he was confident was shared by those assembled at the meeting. His Excellency was sorry that his own opportunities of acting as President were not likely to be frequent, but he felt assured the

members of the council would meet as often as possible under the Vice-President. His Excellency then directed Major St. John, the principal of the college, to read the report. On this being concluded, his Excellency took the votes of the council on the subject of the proposal to print and publish the report in English and Urdu. The proposal was unanimously agreed to.

“The Maharajah of Kishenghar then remarked that he was much gratified by this resolution, as it would keep Rajputana informed of the progress of the institution, with which the interests of all the chiefs and their subjects were so intimately connected.

“The Vice-President then proposed that in future the vacation, instead of being divided into two portions, should be given during the three months of the hot season.

“On this the Maharajah of Kishenghar proposed as an amendment that a better distribution would be effected by granting to the pupils two months’ leave during the hot season and one month during the cold weather.

“After some discussion the Viceroy took the votes of the council, when the original proposal in favour of a three months’ vacation was carried by a small majority. His Excellency then inspected and approved the designs of the new college buildings.

“The Maharajah of Alwar then rose and expressed a hope that he might be permitted to give to the college a new set of iron gates, in testimony of the gratitude he felt for the education he had received in the institution, and in remembrance of his being the first native chief who had enjoyed the advantages of attending this institution as a pupil. His Excellency, having consulted the council, was pleased to accept the gift, and carried a vote of thanks to the Maharajah.

“The Viceroy then declared the proceedings closed, and in doing so his Excellency impressed on those present the importance of their giving the fullest support to the institution, with a view to the extension of its benefits to the nobles of Rajputana. His Excellency expressed his regret at the absence, through illness, of his Highness the Maharajah of Jaipur, his Highness having been from the first one of the most liberal and earnest supporters of the institution.

“The officiating agent to the Governor-General then rose and begged permission to propose, in the name of the assembled chiefs, a vote of thanks to his Excellency the Viceroy for presiding at the meeting of the council. The chiefs also expressed their gratitude for the interest taken by his Excellency in the institution.”

Thus came to an end a meeting which was manifestly most business-like in its proceedings, and which, let it be hoped, may be regarded as another indication of what native India may more and more become as sound education makes progress.

It would be tedious to dwell upon the miscellaneous entertainments which took place during the assemblage. There were races, athletic sports, and displays of fireworks. On Thursday, the 4th of January, there was a farewell reception of the ruling chiefs. Each was presented with a sword as a gift from his Excellency the Viceroy, together with a book, portrait, or some other token of esteem; and each in turn expressed his gratification at having been present at the important ceremonial. On Friday, the 5th of January, which was the last day of the imperial assemblage, there was a general review, which made a deep impression on all who witnessed it. The review was preceded by a procession of all the troops and retainers of the ruling chiefs present at Delhi. The sight was one such as had never before been seen in India, and is never likely to be witnessed again, except on some very extraordinary occasion. It was a spontaneous expression of loyalty towards her Majesty the Empress.

The multitude had only expected to see a review of the British troops, European and native, of which nearly 14,000 were assembled at Delhi. His Excellency the Viceroy, however, had invited the different ruling chiefs to order their respective retainers to march past in their own fashion. The troops were comparatively few in number, but sufficed to represent their respective armies. The result was a procession which lasted two hours. The scene was unusually interesting. On one side were the large bodies of British troops; on the other was a multitude of spectators. Between the two marched an ever-changing procession of varied uniforms of infantry and cavalry, accompanied with music, elephants, camels, guns, banners, and every other appliance of pomp and war. The banners which had been presented by the Viceroy were conspicuous in the procession. They were gorgeous in silk and embroidery, and resplendent with the bright rays of the Indian sun. For the most part they were displayed on the backs of elephants, but some were on camels, and in other instances they were carried before the infantry. The music was both European and native.

This extraordinary procession was more than an Oriental show. It proved how well Lord Lytton understood the way to corroborate and clench the recent deed of the proclamation. It told also how slowly but surely

the ancient civilisation of India is assuming European forms. The elephants, the golden litters, and the golden car are relics of the civilisation which dates back to Alexander and Asoka. The European music and the semi-European uniforms are things of yesterday. Sometimes the mingling of the European and Indian elements produced a somewhat grotesque effect. For example, there marched past a body of native infantry clothed from head to foot in bright yellow; but, notwithstanding this Oriental garb and aspect, they no sooner came near the Viceroy than their band began to play "Home, sweet Home." The procession of native troops and retinues was succeeded by a review of the British troops assembled at Delhi. They numbered 430 officers, European and native, and 13,462 men. The appearance of this fine British force—artillery, cavalry, and infantry—excited much admiration. At the close of the review his Excellency rode up to the lines, and addressed his Excellency the Commander-in-chief and commanding officers in terms of strong commendation and praise, to which address the Commander-in-chief suitably replied.

Lord Lytton also delivered very important addresses at the state banquet at Delhi on the evening of New Year's Day, and at the banquet given to the Governor of Bombay. Both of them were of much significance. Addresses from all parts of India, and from a variety of classes, were presented to the Viceroy, in which he was congratulated in connection with this great occasion. The presentation of these occupied five hours, and his Excellency showed himself abundant enough in resource and suitably prolific of words to be able appropriately to reply to each.

The imperial assemblage was confined to Delhi; but the proclamation day was observed as a festival at every English station and native court throughout the Empire. Delhi, of course, was the centre of attraction. There her Majesty the Queen of the British Isles was proclaimed Empress of India before all the notables and feudatories of the Empire. There the Viceroy of India and Governors of presidencies received the high officers of Government from every part of India, the native rulers, and the friendly embassies sent from the neighbouring countries, and dispensed princely hospitalities. Indeed, the hospitalities throughout the imperial assemblage were of a public character. Eighty guests were entertained by the Viceroy alone in his magnificent camp during the whole of the proceedings, whilst a hundred and twenty often sat down to dinner. The Governors and Lieutenant-Governors vied with each other in the

decoration of their camps and the extent of their hospitalities.

All this while the proclamation was being made, and rejoicings of a similar character were being carried on in all parts of India—from the Khyber Pass to the hills and jungles of the eastern frontier; from the slopes of the Himalayas to the fabled bridge of Rama, between India and Ceylon. Tented pavilions were set up in many parts—conspicuously in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—for the accommodation of select hundreds, while thousands of spectators crowded around in the open air. One was the type of all. The proclamation was invariably read in English and in the vernacular of the district. Salutes were fired, addresses were delivered, and the national anthem resounded through the air. In most places there were sports, amusements, and illuminations—for the East Indian loves that sort of thing; but, best of all, the poor were feasted by thousands, and sweetmeats were distributed among hosts of children. Subscriptions were spontaneously given by the wealthier classes to schools, hospitals, and dispensaries. In one place, as an example of several, liberal zemindars sought to enhance the memory of the occasion by contributing thousands of rupees towards building a new school-house to perpetuate the name of the Empress. At another locality it was resolved to build a bridge, and at another to erect a town-hall, in commemoration of the event. Addresses were, in many instances, prepared by natives of position for presentation to her Majesty, and in others songs were sung by the populace in praise of her virtues.

In most of the native states there was a large release of prisoners. In India, as elsewhere, this is regarded as an act of grace on great state occasions. Moreover, it brings home the event to the lower strata of society. In native states the measure involved but little difficulty. The bulk of the prisoners are men who have offended the ruler or his officers, but have committed no other crime. In British India, with comparatively few exceptions, the prisoners are real criminals, and some apprehension was felt that anything like an indiscriminate release would be followed by disturbances or an increase of public crime.

But the arrangements for the release of prisoners in British territory were made with special care. The selection was mainly confined to offenders who had yielded to sudden temptation, and who were not otherwise evil-disposed; it also included prisoners whose debts did not exceed Rs. 100. The estimate of the number released in British

territory varies; but no doubt, as has been hinted in a previous page, it was between 15,000 and 16,000, or about one-tenth of the whole.

The effect of the release upon the prisoners themselves was of a peculiar character. Natives of India are little given to spontaneous demonstrations of joy or grief; it is foreign to the instincts of the people. On the proclamation day, when told of their release, they were utterly taken by surprise; they could not understand the fact of their release, or the occasion for it. One account states that the released prisoners received their clothes and subsistence money for the journey home like men in a dream. But directly they understood that Queen Victoria was concerned in their liberation, and that it was an act of grace on the part of the Empress, all doubts vanished, and joy beamed on every countenance. Discipline was forgotten. They broke into groups, and soon raised shouts of rejoicing as they severally went their ways. The women, it was noticed, were more demonstrative than the men.

To the credit of those who selected the prisoners for release, there was only an infinitesimal fraction of prisoners liberated who relapsed into crime. Only one or two cases were brought into notice in which persons so released were again arrested. There was also a marked improvement in the conduct of life prisoners at Port Blair. Such prisoners had already been made aware that good conduct would entitle them to obtain release after twenty years' imprisonment, including fifteen years' residence at the settlement. But the settlement was young; very few had been released, and the bulk hardly realised the hope of ever being free. The liberations on proclamation day, however, inspired them with new incentives, and then ensued a general falling off in petty crimes and offences against discipline, which was unexpected and extraordinary.*

It was the lot of Lord Lytton, as it had been that of his predecessor, Lord Northbrook, to have to deal with a most disastrous famine. This occurred in parts of Bombay and Madras Presidencies, the latter suffering much more severely than the former. So extended and so calamitous, indeed, was the affliction on this occasion, that many writers, comparing the scarcity in Bengal with that in Madras and Bombay, refuse to acknowledge

* Readers who are desirous of obtaining fuller information respecting the great event of the proclamation of her Majesty as Empress of India by Lord Lytton may obtain it from *The History of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi*, by J. T. Wheeler. Longmans & Co., London.

the Bengal distress as a famine at all, although it involved much misery and no small amount of death. The famines of India being all of the same type, and the action of the Government in connection with them of a similar character, it is unnecessary here again to bring forward many details, as in the case of Bengal, more especially so since Sir Richard Temple was appointed to inquire into the necessities of the people, and to arrange and supervise the means of relief. To this work of mercy Lord Lytton, along with the presidential Governors, arduously devoted himself.

A *Gazette of India Extraordinary* was published at Delhi on the 5th of January, 1877, which said, "His Excellency the Governor-General in Council having had the advantage of personal conference with the Governors of Madras and Bombay respecting the condition of parts of their presidencies which are at present afflicted by scarcity, deems it expedient that a high officer fully acquainted with the views of the Government of India should visit those presidencies for the purpose of inspecting the distressed districts, and communicating personally with the two Governments regarding the measures which are being carried out, and which will have to be carried out, for the relief of distress, and of offering for their consideration any suggestions he may deem suitable. His Excellency in Council has accordingly resolved to depute the Hon. Sir Richard Temple, Bart., K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, on a special mission for the above purpose. Sir Richard will report his proceedings from time to time to the Government of India."

Even at this time there were in Madras alone as many as 817,514 employed on relief works, or receiving relief in other forms. The numbers employed on relief works were rapidly increasing. The expenditure from November, 1876, to the beginning of 1877 was nearly £400,000, but this was regarded as preliminary only, as the Board of Revenue estimated the total amount which would be required for the famine in the presidency at three millions and a half sterling, or about one half-year's revenue of the presidency. It was calculated that the expenditure would go on rapidly increasing, month by month, until April and May, when the famine would probably be at its climax, and cost about half a million sterling per month; and this expectation was fully realised. By next month the numbers on relief works, or receiving gratuitous relief, had risen to 972,976. But prices were generally going down, showing that the various districts continued to be well supplied with food grains by the Government.

The Government of India wrote to the Secretary of State at home, summarising the reports of Sir R. Temple. He had reduced the wages of the poor creatures employed on the relief works at Madras, and now he applied the same rate to Bombay. Many considered the previous wages too small; but more of this anon. His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, the Governor of Madras, having zealously done his utmost to alleviate the distress, not a few intelligent persons, together with the English newspapers of the presidency, were offended with the appointment of Sir Richard Temple, as if to control and supersede him. One of the papers put it thus: "In a nutshell—

‘Sir Richard came to teach our Duke
The proper way his fish to fry,
Sir Richard went, reporting thus—
Veni, vidi, abii!’ ”

The manner in which Sir Richard chose to bring strangers from Bengal and elsewhere to help him to manage the famine was another offence which the Commissioner was alleged to have committed, and the *Bombay Gazette* in particular was alarmed, and alleged that this was a cause of grief to the public servants in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, who imagined that their services were being overlooked. The *Gazette* says, "There may not be another Sir Richard Temple either in the Bombay or the Madras Presidency, but we venture to say that there are plenty of a commoner species of mankind who are both able and willing to give as valuable services in the management of the famine as could possibly be given by Bengal civilians. Seeing, then, that there does not appear to have been any startling necessity for ordering civilians round from Bengal, and that their work in Madras or Bombay will contain nothing that no other man acquainted with such work could not do, we think Sir Richard would have been wiser and more just to the civilians of those two presidencies if he had contented himself with the services of local men, who possess this undoubted advantage over the civilians who have been called from Bengal, that they understand the vernacular of the famine-stricken people." A gentleman who travelled through a part of the Belary district gave a sad account of the state of things in that part of the presidency. He described the whole country as a desert. For many miles along the road after leaving Gooty, two or three unburied or half-buried bodies might be seen within every few yards. Great quantities of grain were stored in the larger towns, but how were the poor to buy it? There was little doubt, he thought, that many of the poor in these out-of-the-way places were dying of starvation.

The following figures, in illustration of the Madras famine, are compiled from a return issued by the Madras Government on the 27th of February :—

District.	Price. Seers per Rupee.		Imp. of grain in tons by sea or land.	Population.	Number on Relief Works.	Number fed by Government.
	2nd sort Rice.	Cholam, or dry grain.				
Ganjam ...	15	21·3	486	1,500,000	...	...
Vizag.....	12	21	84 3-5	2,300,000	...	...
Godavery...	11	17·6	Nil.	1,580,000	...	...
Kistna ...	9·69	12·28	149	1,400,000	3,247	154
Nellore ...	8·12	9·68	1,320	1,375,000	66,278	8,666
Cuddapa ..	7·10	9·34	...	1,350,000	67,728	1,705
Kurnool ..	6·97	8·91	1,469	1,000,000	203,453	3,538
Bellary ...	7·34	8·54	4,714	1,650,000	269,213	14,708
N. Arcot ..	7·9	9·26	1,350	2,007,000	18,572	557
Chinglpt..	9·32	10·8	211	940,000	8,137	4,819
Madras ...	9·12	11·68	10,600	400,000	...	...
S. Arcot...	8·75	11·24	1,420	1,760,000	730	147
Salem.....	7·43	8·96	1,010	1,200,000	41,400	3,100
Trichy. ...	7·4	12·48	116	1,200,000	489	1,209
Tanjore ...	8·37	11·25	...	2,060,000	...	...
Coimbat...	7·62	10·02	708	1,750,000	22,900	1,297
Madura ...	7·8	10·35	785	2,250,000	9,478	451
Tinnevel..	7·75	11	921	1,700,000	1,295	138
Nilgiris ...	7·6	10·2	129	50,000	...	...
Malabar ..	9·3	10·12	4,646	2,700,000	901	...
S. Canara.	10·22	12·2	75½	920,000	...	...

And the following is from the official report for the week which ended on the 22nd :—“ In Madras rain is reported from Kistna, Nellore, Kurnool, Coimbatore, and Tinnevelly. The numbers on relief works reported give a total of 775,777 ; there is a decrease in every district except South Arcot ; in Bellary the numbers are less by 41,000, in Cuddapah by 37,000, and in Kurnool by 24,600. Rain has fallen in Sind, and a little at Sholapur ; none is reported elsewhere in the Bombay Presidency ; there is no material change in prospects. No rain has fallen in Mysore. The rabi harvest is progressing in the Central Provinces ; rain is reported only from Seoni and the Upper Godavari ; prospects have improved. In Berar the reaping of the rabi is nearly finished. No rain has fallen in Central India or Rajputana ; prospects are good. In Bengal there have been a few scattered showers in the Eastern districts and Orissa ; the cold-weather crops promise well. No rain has fallen in the North-Western Provinces (except at Almora) or Oudh ; prospects are favourable. In the Punjab no rain had fallen during the week, but it was recommencing when the report was dispatched.”

Importations of grain on a large scale still continued. The number of persons on the relief works, or relieved by the charity of the Government, was being steadily diminished, and the prices of grain were still coming down.

The Governor-General in Council having expressed his belief “ that no one ever died of starvation through obstinacy ”—for some

persons had positively refused the relief offered them—the Governor of Bombay in Council remarked in a dispatch that he would be glad to think that his Excellency was right in this opinion, but that there was some reason to apprehend that instances of the nature referred to were not so unlikely to happen as was assumed. “ Recent regulations requiring reduction of wages in this presidency, with the view of giving full effect to the policy first announced by the Government of India, orders regarding the exaction of moderate tasks on relief works have been reiterated, and measures have been taken for transferring able-bodied people from the Civil to the Public Department Works. The immediate effect has been that large numbers of people have left the works, declining to submit to the reduction of wages, or to perform the required tasks, or to accept the work tendered. There are other influences at work to sustain them in this movement, and the people are many of them voluntarily suffering great privations.”

In a letter to the Government of Bombay the Viceroy in Council remarks that the most efficient measures that are practicable should be taken to give relief in each individual case in which it is necessary. “ When a man is obviously in danger of dying of starvation, it is evident that we cannot refuse to save him because he has been misled into joining a strike, or has neglected to comply with certain orders or conditions. If, however, after all practicable efforts have been made, the case anticipated as possible by the Government of Bombay should occur, and some of the more weakly should wander about and die out of reach of assistance, the misfortune will be much regretted, but it will throw no discredit on the Government or its officers. In carrying out the humane policy which has been adopted, the Government does not pretend that it can guard against every one of the numerous risks to life which arise in time of famine, or that it can save every one from the consequences of his own ignorance or folly.”

Lord Lytton, in a later communication to the Governor of Bombay, says, “ The Governor-General in Council regrets that his instructions to Sir Richard Temple in respect of the necessity of preventing, to the utmost in our power, the loss of life from starvation, should not have been correctly understood by the Government of Bombay ; and he would regret it the more if, as the Government of Bombay appears to think, the misunderstanding arose from some obscurity of expression or inconsistency in the language which was used. It may, however, be observed that the

interpretation placed upon the instructions by Sir Richard Temple, to whom they were addressed, has been from the first in complete accordance with the intentions of the Government of India; and his Excellency in Council fails to perceive the obscurity by which the Government of Bombay thinks that it has been misled. These, however, are matters of little practical importance, and as the Governor-General in Council has never attached any blame to the Government of Bombay for the misapprehension which has arisen, it is needless to continue what would be merely a verbal discussion."

A trustworthy gentleman well acquainted with the country about this time accompanied the sub-collector and one of his special assistants on a tour of inspection in the B taluk of his division. After a cross-country ride of ten miles they approached an out-of-the-way village, which, before the commencement of the famine, was unconnected by a made road with any neighbouring village. They found no relief works in progress, through the rascality of the maistry, as it afterwards turned out, who had kept the coolies out of their pay for fully two weeks. The magnitude of the distress in this small village can hardly be imagined. Many coolies were too weak to stand, or even to speak, and seemed to have quietly given themselves up to their fate. Several mothers were seen carrying about their children a few months old, who from their appearance had not many hours longer to live, so distinctly could almost every bone in their bodies be counted. Those who were not so much reduced by want were clamorous for their pay, and the whole village seemed to be in the utmost disorder. The first step taken by the sub-collector was to send his assistant into the village to seek out those who were in a dangerous state of weakness from want of food. The people were conducted into a tope, and food prepared for two hundred of them. The sub-collector himself distributed the rice, giving to each a lump of it nearly as large as a cricket ball. This does not seem a large amount after several days' starvation, but it was received gratefully by the poor coolies. Having disposed of those in extreme want, the next business was to see that the coolies received their two weeks' pay. At first this was no easy matter, for they crowded in so much upon the gomastahs who were making payment, and made so much noise, that the coolies whose names were called out could not hear them, and so could not come forward for payment. The coolies were then ordered to sit down in parallel lines marked out on the ground, and were informed that not a single pie by

way of payment would be disbursed until perfect silence was observed. By making a few examples of the obstreperous ones and turning them out of the tope, silence was at length obtained, and the payments were commenced. Towards evening the money was exhausted, and as a few bags of rice had just come in, payment was continued in grain until about nine o'clock at night. It was then ascertained that many coolies still remained to be paid, and that the rice was done. The gentleman visitor and the officials therefore made up between Rs. 200 and 300 from their private purses, and continued the payments in money until about midnight. A sub-maistry was then detected submitting false nominal rolls, and several suspicious things having come to light, all of a sudden a maistry and gomastah were arrested, lodged in gaol, and their houses searched. The sub-collector, in his capacity of joint magistrate, was present during the search, and returned to camp about three in the morning. Several documents which tended to criminate the arrested parties were found, and the whole matter was subsequently thoroughly investigated. The sub-collector had necessarily a considerable amount of trust to repose in his subordinates, and to see that all went right in out-of-the-way places, and it was very much to his credit that on a flying visit like this he was able to ferret out a case of fraud of great magnitude. It was well that he arrived when he did, or no one can say how many deaths would have occurred in a very few days. A sub-maistry informed him that eight deaths had taken place from starvation in the preceding week in this village and its hamlets, and there can be no doubt that a large number had really died from want of food or from diarrhœa, brought on by eating leaves of the *davadari*. Many of those who were seen on this occasion were too much reduced ever to recover, however well fed.

The state of affairs in this village was sufficient to make any one doubt the propriety, either from motives of economy or humanity, of exacting task-work from the coolie employed on relief works. Many coolies were in such a state that nothing but the most careful dieting with good and ample food could possibly save them from death within a period numbered by days, or at most by weeks; and many of those whom the sub-collector now saw in fair condition would, if a hard day's work had been exacted from them on their scanty allowance, soon have followed their deceased neighbours.

Such is an example of what might have been seen in many villages and districts of the afflicted provinces. There was a lack of

European superintendents. Granted that lack was not to be easily supplied. But the dishonest native maistry took advantage of it, and, after a visit from his superior, knew full well that before he had gone his round and came back again he should be left to his own devices, which were generally planned so as to defraud the Government and the coolies to as great an extent as possible, and put the money into his own pocket. In this respect, however, things were soon mended. Remonstrances against the smallness of the allowances having been made by persons employed on relief works, and by persons otherwise obtaining relief, Lord Lytton and his Government sanctioned and directed an increase, in order that, when the evil day should have passed, the ryot might return to his ordinary occupations with something like the strength which these required.

On the 31st of January the Secretary of State for India wrote to the Viceroy, and his dispatch contains the following passages:—

“The accounts contained in the latest dispatches which have reached me on the subject of the prevailing scarcity in Western and Southern India clearly indicate its increasing gravity, and the magnitude of the task which has devolved both upon your Excellency’s Government and the Governments of Madras and Bombay.

“In leaving to your Excellency the widest discretion as to the measures of relief which must be undertaken at this juncture, her Majesty’s Government in no way desire to decline their full share of responsibility for the policy adopted, and the results by which it may be followed, but they feel that this duty can be best discharged in an emergency such as this by giving every confidence to the Indian Executive, and by supporting to the utmost the humane and enlightened efforts of those whose knowledge of facts and local experience render them most competent to deal with the various questions which arise from day to day, and which, in the majority of cases, call for prompt and practical decision.

“In dealing, therefore, with the many grave questions which at such a time have forced themselves on my consideration, I have abstained from instructions or suggestions which, under less urgent circumstances, it might have been my duty to make, for I have felt it right to avoid every expression of opinion on the part of her Majesty’s Government which might in any degree have the effect of embarrassing your Excellency’s Government in the execution of the arduous task before it, and lead to hesitation and delay at a moment when action and decision are of paramount importance.

“I have followed this course the more readily on this occasion, from my reliance on your Excellency’s ability to deal with the difficult questions which have already arisen, and must continue to arise, in connection with the work of relief, and also from my confidence in the devotion of all those who in different places, and in the discharge of different duties, are serving the Crown to the utmost of their power. The unhappily too recent experience of famine administration acquired by many distinguished officers in India has, in one sense, given to your Excellency an exceptional advantage by affording you the means of discriminating between conflicting theories and obligations, so that whilst, on the one hand, adhering to principles the value of which has practically been tested, you may, on the other, avoid the repetition of any mistakes which subsequent inquiry and a larger knowledge have disclosed.”

Sir Richard Temple spent the last week of March in Bombay and the Deccan, and returned to Madras, where the famine was felt most severely. He found the condition of relieved persons satisfactory, and in his dispatch to the Viceroy spoke hopefully of his ability to weather, with the assistance of the Local Government, the great calamity. But, even after the increase of the allowance, continued complaints were made by the newspapers that the people were being half starved.

Native Public Opinion, which may be assumed to know something about the domestic habits of the people of Southern India, has the following remarks on the question of food consumption:—

“The labouring classes all over the country take three meals in a day. This applies to all classes of people, be they Bramans, Sudras, or Pariahs. Just before a labourer goes to his field in the morning he takes his cold rice or the ragi or cholum preparation of the previous day. At one o’clock in the afternoon his wife, sister, or daughter brings him his midday meal, just prepared, to the scene of his labours, and after regaling himself with it and enjoying some rest he resumes his work, and at sunset returns home, and after bathing, &c., takes his third meal (prepared for the occasion), and of course, if he is a member of a class which does not condemn drink, he has his Indian beer. His wife and grown-up children also contribute to the domestic store. Now we have known several Braman agriculturists: these people require at least one measure of rice every day exclusive of extras, which cost about an anna. We know Sudra agriculturists, all over the country, who complain that this Braman meal is barely sufficient for them. This is

due to two causes; first of all, the quantity is less, and secondly, they are not accustomed to the kind of meal taken by the Bramans. We have instituted inquiries wherever we could, and all those whom we consulted are agreed that even after making due allowances for the famine, any allowance which does not give three-quarters of a measure of rice, exclusive of sundries, will be hardly conducive to the preservation of the requisite amount of health and strength, so far as the agriculturist is concerned, even in these famine times. As task-work is demanded from them, they must have at least three-quarters of a measure of rice alone. As regards professional tank-diggers we have the following facts to state. They take a hot meal early in the morning, and conjee in the day, and a substantial meal at night. Indian beer also comes in for its share. The average rate of cooly for a man and woman in proper seasons is 6 annas. This gives Rs. 2 and annas 4 per week. One rupee goes for rice—it brings in good times 11 measures; 4 annas are spent on sundries, 1 anna and 6 pies are spent on mutton (which they take thrice a week), 1 anna on dry fish, 7 annas on toddy (they say that this is absolutely necessary for the preservation of their health); there is a net saving of 1 anna and 6 pies. This latter item enables them to get their clothes, &c. If they do contract work, they get as much as even 8 annas a day on an average. Now, owing to the famine, rice sells at 7 measures the rupee. This gives a measure a day, and they have, we are informed, curtailed their expenses so as to have at least two measures of rice more a week. The quantity of rice thus consumed by a man and woman is $1\frac{1}{4}$ measures a day; owing to this there is abundance of cholera and small-pox. These remarks apply to the Upparavas of Madras. It will thus be seen that both in Madras and the Mofussil a man and his wife cannot subsist on anything short of $1\frac{1}{4}$ or $1\frac{1}{2}$ measures of rice a day exclusive of sundries; 4 lbs. of rice alone are required for a man and woman."

A *Gazette Extraordinary* was issued at the beginning of May, announcing the close of Sir Richard Temple's famine mission upon his assumption of the Governorship of Bombay. After describing the nature of the duties intrusted to him, the notification declares that at a considerable sacrifice of personal comfort and convenience, Sir Richard Temple promptly responded to the call made upon him, and had conducted his arduous and delicate mission with signal ability and success. "The energy and devotion which have enabled him to undergo an amount of physical exertion which few could have accomplished, are not

more remarkable than the thoroughness of his inquiries, and the judgment and tact which have characterized his communication with the Local Governments and their officers. To the Government of India Sir Richard Temple has rendered invaluable assistance at this juncture in enabling it, by his clear and lucid reports, to appreciate the actual facts of the situation, and his Excellency the Viceroy in Council is persuaded that the Governments to which he was accredited must recognise the advantage of his practical suggestions for the relief of distress, and for promoting a judicious economy in the heavy expenditure which is being necessarily incurred. The Governor-General in Council has no doubt that if life and health be spared to him in the high office which he is about to assume, Sir Richard Temple will add fresh and important services to those which he has already rendered to the State during his long and distinguished career. In entering upon his new duties, he carries with him the best wishes of the Government of India."

But there are two sides to most questions, and the Anglo-Indian press generally considered it somewhat premature for the Government of India to glorify Sir Richard Temple and themselves about the management of the famine. Dr. Cornish, of Madras, himself an official of the Government, had strongly controverted the famine policy, and his various pamphlets and publications had been cordially commended by the newspapers, and by other competent judges. The *Indian Mirror* is one of the leading native papers in Bengal, and it says, "We have all along maintained that the famine policy of the present Government is a heartless one—one that will never rebound to the credit of that Government, and will inevitably lower it in the eyes of other people. There never was a time when a policy so insidiously cruel was adopted by the British Government in this country. During the Orissa famine the disasters that happened were owing mainly to apathy, indolence, and mismanagement. But the Behar famine made amends for this, and those deficiencies gave place to activity and a heroic regard for the lives of the subjects. Now, however, a policy has been framed, which, ignoring as it does former good precedents, has devised such an ingenious mode of giving relief as might look benevolent to the world outside, but hideously and shockingly cruel to the recipients thereof. We in Bengal cannot realise a tenth part of the sufferings caused by the half-starvation policy of Government, and what is a greater wonder is that even Sir Richard Temple is unable to understand that the deaths which are daily happening are the results of insuf-

ficient feeding." The contrast between the statements of the *Gazette of India* and the criticism of the *Mirror* is certainly striking, and yet the *Mirror* is supposed to speak the thoughts of the "inarticulate million."

The *Bombay Gazette* of the 5th of May says, "Judging alone from the movements in grain, the famine in Bombay is much less severe than it is in Madras. We have up to date imported 600,000 tons of grain from all sources, whereas up to the end of last month only 245,875 tons of grain were brought into the distressed districts of Bombay since the beginning of October—104,511 tons through the Southern Mahratta ports, 118,991 by the G.I.P. line from Poona to Sholapore, and 22,373 by the North-Eastern line from Nas-sick to Bhosawul. The Bombay Government say that 'still larger imports would no doubt have reached the famine districts if the rail-ways could have carried more.' Moreover, of this 245,875 tons 61,000 tons were forwarded to Madras stations beyond Raichore, and are included in the above-mentioned 600,000 tons, so the food requirements of the Bombay Presidency alone were reduced to 184,875 tons. During the week ending the 2nd ultimo 564,130 cwt. (22,206 tons) were shipped from Bengal and Burma to the following Madras ports:—

Exported to.	From Bengal.	From Burma.
	Cwt.	Cwt.
Madras	306,237	9,487
Negapatam .. ..	..	98,490
Tuticorin	60,587	..
Cochin	17,199	7,338
Tellicherry	8,829	..
Calicut	41,671	..
Other Ports	499	13,703
Total ..	435,115	129,018

The actual receipts in all Madras ports during the same week amounted to 313,322 cwt. (15,666 tons). The imports in the previous week were 410,116 cwt. (20,505 tons). The transit of grain by the Madras Railway during the week ending the 5th ultimo was 7,588 tons. The G.I.P. Railway carried 7,936 tons in the week ending 21st ultimo, and 6,739 tons in that ending on the 28th."

The *Calcutta Englishman* remarks, "The position of affairs in the Bombay Presidency and in Madras is very serious, and the money market may again feel the influence of this famine, which is proving much more severe and lasting than was expected. Latest accounts state that the famine is becoming worse in every district, and it begins to look

as if the Government estimates for meeting it will be insufficient. That large additional supplies of food will shortly require to be poured into those unfortunate provinces is undoubted; prices are rising, and existing stocks are being rapidly used up."

Relief camps were established in the neighbourhood of all towns and the principal villages in those districts affected by famine. These were open to all comers, and the superintendents were particularly instructed that all applicants for admission should be at once received without any inquiry. Rows of sheds were erected within the enclosure. At five o'clock in the morning the camp gates were thrown open, and the mass of applicants waiting outside were admitted, and were at once formed in line. The medical officer soon arrives, and proceeds to inspect the new-comers, of whom the majority are women and children. A visitor on one occasion informs us that "the first case was that of a middle-aged man, who, though somewhat thin, certainly did not look as if he was suffering from starvation. The doctor, having satisfied himself that he was in a state of health to do manual labour, handed him over to the inspector of the relief works, where he would have to do a light day's work and get payment for it. He received food for the day, and was instructed to return to the relief camp at night. The next case was that of a woman and two children, the latter aged respectively five years and two months. The woman looked haggard and anxious, and the baby looked shrunken. 'A hopeless case,' said the doctor; 'these famine babies rarely live a month.' Milk was ordered for the starving baby, and other food given to the mother and the elder child, and then the three were taken to a shed. The poor woman had lost her husband three or four days before by cholera. The next lot consisted of a father, mother, and five children, who were all very emaciated, having eaten nothing for two days, and during that time had performed a long journey. 'We will give them a good week's feeding,' said the doctor, 'by which time they will have regained health and strength.' A poor little object now presented itself dressed in a few tattered rags. It was difficult at first sight to determine what it was, but a woman standing by volunteered the information that it was a little girl aged about five years. Hers was a sad story—father, mother, sisters, and brothers had all died owing to the famine. The child had been found in a state of starvation by the Reddy of her village, and by him passed on to the relief camp. The superintendent beckoned to a woman in an adjoining shed, to whom he offered the alternative of

being sent to relief works next day, or of taking charge of this girl in the camp. She selected the latter, and led the child away by the hand not unkindly, promising her presently a good meal of ragi and pepper water. A very old couple next presented themselves. The old man expatiated largely on the hardships he had had to endure before reaching the relief camp, accompanying each asseveration with an emphatic slap on the stomach. He, a punctual payer of his taxes, and one whom the collector had specially singled out to receive his answer to a deputation, to be allowed to suffer hunger in this way! He was, however, speedily comforted by the superintendent, who called over the camp barber, and ordered him to shave the old gentleman's head, the greatest possible luxury to him that he could have wished for, but this was certainly the first time in his life that he had undergone the operation at Government expense. Next to claim attention was a pitiable object stretched prone upon the ground. Was it a human being? It is a poor woman, whose age was probably about twenty-five, but whose appearance indicated at least twice as much. Her eye was fixed and glassy, her jaw fallen, and her lips covered with a thick fever coating. Her arms and legs were nothing more than bone covered with integument. But her melancholy, hopeless, fixed expression of despair was the saddest thing about her, so far as appearances went. Her tale, as told by one of her neighbours, was briefly this:—First her husband died, and then her two children. As she was on her way to the relief camp she was prematurely delivered of a famine baby, so weird, misshapen, emaciated, and unnatural that her reason for the time forsook her, and she threw her child into an adjoining well. There was no one to say whether the child had been born alive or not. She was found by some villagers in a state of starvation and settled moodiness, and by them sent on to the relief camp. The doctor was deeply moved, turned hastily round, and, patting the poor creature on the back, bade her take comfort, said that she would certainly recover, and told her that she should have everything she desired." Such cases might be indefinitely multiplied. The relief camps were of immense advantage, and saved the lives of very many. Moreover, the instances were far from rare in which the poor creatures who came to them were treated with exceptional kindness, while the mass of the applicants, with very few exceptions indeed, were very generously dealt with. To serve Government under public criticism is often a difficult and thankless task, and those who

had the administration of famine relief in Madras and Bombay frequently found it so. But time and experience brought about many improvements.

But why dwell longer on this painful topic? Partial relief came sooner to Bombay than to Madras. But the small quantity of rain which fell, especially in the latter presidency, checked the hopes of the sanguine, and by August the affliction was worse than ever. Liberal contributions were sent from England, and several native states conveyed very considerable sums to the relief of their countrymen. Railway engines were lent by Bombay to Madras, and from England sixteen engines were dispatched to enable the railways to convey food to the famine-stricken districts, many passenger trains being discontinued that this traffic of mercy might not be impeded. The Government procured and distributed vast quantities of grain, and so met, or at least mitigated, the distress. As time went on the sad calamity wore itself out, although even now (1878) its effects are still to be seen—nay, will be seen for years to come. Very many thousands perished of hunger, notwithstanding all that could be done for them had been done.

The Viceroy had from the first manifested much interest in the condition of the suffering people, his letters to the Governors of the presidencies being frequent and full of sympathy. On the 16th of August his lordship left Simla, and himself went over the whole of the famine localities, expressing on his return his satisfaction with the care and kindness with which he had observed the relief to be given.

It has been Lord Lytton's lot, during the brief period of his viceroyalty, to fall upon a time in which there have been several great opportunities by means of which to make his name famous. He has sedulously devoted himself to the duties of his Government, and especially, like his last two predecessors, to the matter of finance. But there was the brilliant pageant of the proclamation of the Empress, then the distressing visitation of the famine, and now (November, 1878) the impending war with Afghanistan. What his future may be during the remaining period of his term, time must be left to tell. It is to be hoped that he may even yet be saved the anxiety of war; but the probabilities are not great, inasmuch as the Amir has for several years been dissatisfied because the Viceroy has ceased to send him the presents to which for some time he had been accustomed, and, in a spirit of revenge, has been tampering with the border tribes even across the British frontier and against British interests.

CHAPTER CXLV.

CONCLUSION.

IN a history such as this there are always points which it is important to go back upon, as well as subjects which cannot be incorporated with the narrative of any Governor-General's viceroyalty. And first among these is the sepoy revolt. The sepoy revolt in British India was a most important and disastrous event. Hindoo astrologers had predicted that in 1857-58 the East India Company would terminate for ever. In the early part of 1857 it became apparent that a mutinous spirit had crept into the Bengal army. The military authorities had resolved to arm the sepoys with Enfield rifles, and a new kind of cartridge greased in order to adapt it to the rifle bore, was introduced into many of the schools of infantry instruction. A report spread among the native troops that, as the cartridges in loading had to be torn with the teeth, the Government was about to compel the men to bite the fat of pigs and cows, the former of which would be defilement to a Mussulman, and the latter would be sacrilege in the eyes of the Hindu. The wildest excitement prevailed for a time, but the substitution of the old for the new cartridges temporarily prevented an outbreak. Meanwhile, though the greased cartridges had not been used elsewhere, the cry of danger to caste and creed was raised in many other stations. Disturbances occurred on the 19th of February at Barhampur; and on the 29th of March the first blood was shed at Barrackpore, the revolt being led by a private sepoy in the 34th Native Regiment. Then, again, dissatisfaction declared itself at Meerut on the 24th of April; and at this latter station there was a formidable rising on the 10th of May. The Europeans were massacred, and the mutineers marched to Delhi, where the garrison fraternised with them, and a second butchery was committed. The rebels proclaimed the restoration of the Mogul dynasty, and thenceforth acted in the name of the King of Delhi, though without much deference to his orders. The King, however, subsequently took an active part in the revolt, and Delhi became a rallying-point for the mutineers from other quarters. In the North-West Provinces risings took place almost simultaneously at Allyghur, Boolundshahur, Minapore, Shahjehanpore, Etawah, and Bareilly. The sacred city of Benares on the Ganges was in revolt on the 4th of June, and on the next day, at the military station of

Cawnpore, several thousand sepoys revolted and placed themselves under the command of the Nana Sahib, Rajah of Bhitoor. On the 27th of June the terrible massacre of Cawnpore took place.

About the same time the ferocious Ranee (Princess) of Jhansi, in Bandalkand, took the field at the head of two regiments which mutinied at Jhansi on the 4th of June. In the course of June and July Jaunpur, Allahabad, Fathipur, Nowgong, Banda, Mozuffernugger, Agra, Jhelum, Saugor, Sialkot, Segowlie, Dinapore, and Ramghur became the theatres of commotion, and in many instances of massacre. In the subsequently annexed kingdom of Oudh, from which a large proportion of the sepoys in the Bengal army had been recruited, the rising, which elsewhere was purely military, partook of the character of a popular insurrection, the people generally favouring and assisting the rebels. The native troops at Lucknow, the capital, mutinied on the 30th of May, and nearly every sepoy regiment in Oudh soon followed their example. The troops proclaimed allegiance to the ex-King of Oudh, and gradually closed around the territory.

The keys to the action of the mutiny, and indeed to too much of English history in India, are the Ganges and Jamna rivers, both sacred. On these rivers there are great cities and a myriad of villages, connected with each other by boats, of whose number it is scarcely possible to form an estimate. The news that one boat brings from any place, a score of boats take to as many other places, and from the bazaar of each the news spreads throughout many districts on both sides of both rivers. It is in this way that, by a power as of electricity, the native heralds of intelligence have often left the English mails far behind. We could, before the magic wire came to us with such power for peace or war, speedily span the distance between any two cities; but native India in the same time spanned the distance between many cities and the most remote villages. The news seemed to spread as on the wind.

There were many political complications in relation to what afterwards became the mutiny. Oudh and Delhi were principally concerned in them. It was very remarkable that the misunderstandings and alienations which issued in that great disaster should have occurred on the eve of the hundredth anniversary of

Plassey, the date which prophets had assigned as the end of the reign of "John Kompany." In 1857, little cakes (chupatties) were carried from village to village by sure hands. All that was then needed was some unmistakable signal that the hour to strike had come. Enfield cartridges arrived from England in January, and ominous whispers ran from rank to rank and from regiment to regiment that, as has already been noticed, the cartridges were greased with cows' and pigs' fat, to break the caste of the soldiers, as the first step to making them Christians.

Alarming news came rapidly of the refusal of the cartridges by the men at Dumdum and Barrackpore, and indeed no one knew where, and of a dreadful feeling of uneasiness from Dacca to Peshawar. March came, and there was seen in Barrackpore that strange thing, one of the sepoy regiments (the 19th) disbanded in face of European artillerymen, match in hand. And where had those disciplined men to go? Some said to Oudh, others to Bandalkand; but everywhere disaffection was in the very air. To disband a regiment for misconduct would have been a small matter—the like had been done before. But here was a common cause such as had never before been seen. The 34th, immensely the more culpable regiment of the two, followed the 19th. The first regiment had gone away with some signs of penitence; the second went away exultant. Sahib was now powerless, and the fact was told in the bazaars and at the Ghats of Lucknow and Cawnpore and Delhi. Sahib himself knew, as the native prophets knew, that his year and almost his hour had come. One more step and the veil might be torn aside. The native troops at Meerut did what the 34th had proposed to the 19th. They murdered their officers and all English people who could be safely murdered; and then, on the 10th of May, they marched off to Delhi.

General Hewitt commanded a strong English force at Meerut, and had power to give a good account of the mutineers; but he was paralyzed with the weight of his responsibility, and the mutineers had a pleasant night's march, their cavalry trotting jubilantly into Delhi a little after daybreak next morning. Delhi rose to the grand news. The King was saluted. The Europeans, men, women, and children, were dragged to the great street of Delhi, the Chandnee Chouk, and there, in the presence of some of the Princes of Delhi, were murdered. The royal city of the Moguls was no longer British. The last point—the arsenal—had been blown up by its right heroic defenders, some of whom escaped; but all of whom, living or dead, told of the time, and

this not the only time, when the refuge of England in mortal extremity, her fearless spirit, her unyielding resolution to death, had equally well served the country. Men who shuddered at responsibility might return home, if not too late. Those who remained, women as well as men, must gird up their loins for such a trial as comes only at rare intervals to any race of mankind.

General Anson, Commander-in-chief, hurried from Simla to recapture Delhi, which Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, had telegraphed to him must be taken. General Anson died at Karnul on the seventeenth day after the outbreak at Meerut. Sir Henry Barnard succeeded to the command, and, joined by Brigadier Wilson from Meerut, marched direct from Delhi at the head of 4,000, mostly British men. The two brave Lawrences, sons of a gallant soldier, had differed strongly in the Punjab in a by-gone time, and Lord Dalhousie had supported Sir John. But they would now differ no more even to the end. The Commissioner in the Punjab, finding his sepoys dropping off, enrolled Sikhs. Chiefs and people flocked to him—the man whose pulse beat as calmly as ever, now that the clouds were black as pitch. Sir Henry had been only a short time at Lucknow, Chief Commissioner of Oudh, Lord Canning's selected man—designated, moreover, if he had lived, and Lord Canning had died or become incapacitated for work, to wield the highest power in India under her Majesty.

No man had done more than Sir Henry Lawrence to improve the position of the sepoys, and to rectify the injustice that fell alike upon nobles and private persons in connection with the annexation of Oudh. He had a handful of men and a few guns in the cantonment. He fortified the residency and a building above it—the Muchee Bhawn. He would not, he said, fall back upon Allahabad; he would defend Lucknow. The month of June came. Sepoys from Allyghur, from Mynpoorie, from Nusseerabad, from Bareilly, and from Peshawar were converging joyfully upon Delhi to serve the King. At Fathigarh, an important station, 166 persons—merchants, civil officers, and others, including many unfortunate ladies and children—embarked on the 4th of June for Cawnpore, satisfied that they would be well received—the Nana was so princely and so kind. About 126 of them reached Cawnpore on the 12th. Four days afterwards the Nana opened fire on General Wheeler's entrenchment. The poor fugitives then felt that their doom had come, as indeed it had.

Sir Hugh Wheeler, who was at Cawnpore

himself, was confident in the Nana's loyalty, and—trustful to the last to the sepoy, to whom he had been as a father, and a daughter of whose race he had married—was much deceived. On the 4th of June the "faithful" sepoy prepared for a gladsome march to Delhi. They had even begun their march, when the Nana, who now saw the possibility of a Maratha dynasty, stopped them and brought them back, together with the human scum of many districts, to where General Wheeler was entrenched. The entrenchment was 250 yards square, surrounded by a mud wall. There were now nearly 1,000 people with Sir Hugh Wheeler, including 200 soldiers, gallant men of the 32nd and 84th Foot, and of the Royal Artillery. Three hundred women, children, and sick persons were crowded into two small buildings at the middle of the entrenchment, and which had been entered on the 21st of May amid fearful forebodings. The combatants remained under canvas. All, civilians and soldiers alike, were combatants. Fire was opened by the Nana on the 8th of June. Attempts to beat into the entrenchment were thrown back, and the assailants scattered like chaff before the wind. But provisions would not last long, and for water the gauntlet of musketry must be run to a well at the far side of the entrenchment, over an open space which, long before the end, could only be traversed by night. Ladies who, a month before, had been in possession of all the luxuries of Indian life, were now exposed to an Indian June sun, and in sight by day of a maddened mob like a sea, and all night through in the hearing of ceaseless cries for vengeance.

Going over this sacred ground, two friends remarked to each other; their voices sunk to a whisper, "There they went for water." "There they conveyed their dead by night." "There they stood, 200 fighting men—ever growing fewer—against in the end 10,000 men who had been soldiers, yet who never once dared to attack this forlorn hope of England." "Here they came out for the last fatal march." "The women," one writer says, "suffered terribly. Some went mad, some sought death, and some behaved like angels. The noise and revelry and musketry ceased not day nor night."

General Wheeler and his men learned by degrees the hopelessness of their isolation. The banks of the river above and below Cawnpore were so carefully watched that even if Sir Henry Lawrence could have spared help from Lucknow, and the relief could have reached the Oudh side of the river, the attempt to cross must have been fatal. Lucknow was itself besieged. Mr. Colvin, Lieu-

tenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, was shut up in the old red sandstone fort at Agra. The Ranee of Jhansi, after besieging the European residents of Jhansi for four days in the palace fort, had induced them to surrender, and then had cut them down—seventy-five in all—man, woman, and child. The Gwalior contingent, young Maharajah Sindia's force in aid of the British, was either in mutiny or on the eve of it. The fugitives from Fathigarh and elsewhere who had fallen into the Nana's hands numbered about 136, who had been slain in some cases, and "reserved" in others. The King of Delhi had been proclaimed successor of the Moguls. The Nana had assumed the headship which he claimed of right over the Marathas.

On the 24th of June Mrs. Greenway, a lady suffering sadly, wretchedly clad, and with a baby in her arms, arrived at the entrenchment with a message from the Nana. She was one of a family who were said to have paid the Nana £30,000 for their lives, which, after all, were sacrificed. She was the bearer of the Nana's offer to permit all of the garrison who were not concerned in Lord Dalhousie's proceedings to go to Allahabad, and the offer was accepted. On the 26th a few officers strolled down to the river-side to see that the promised boats were ready. On the 27th a long line of tattered, woe-begone people wandered in the same direction, with such precautions as could be taken against treachery. They entered a shallow gorge, which was more like a small dried-up watercourse, and were pressed upon and separated by a vast crowd, conscious manifestly of some great treat in store. Some were at once slain. General Wheeler, who had come down wounded in a palanquin, was ordered to leave it, and was murdered, perhaps in ignorant mercy, before he had well touched the ground. The head of the line reached the ghat, to find the boats aground, and the people around eager and laughing. Women and children all must wade through the mud and water. This was a slight trial compared with many others, but it was dismal nevertheless. They waded. Some reached the boats, some were in the water, some were at the ghat, when the thatched roofs of the boats were seen to be on fire. At the same time volleys from carbines, muskets, and guns planted on the river bank were poured upon them. About 450 had marched down to the river that morning, and in the evening 163 women and children remained close prisoners of the Nana. Four men only, after perils of many kinds, escaped by the river and the river banks to tell the sad story of Cawnpore.

In addition to the 163 women and children

of the survivors of Cawnpore, the Nana had in his possession about 47 from Fathigarh and elsewhere. The men had been at once put to death. The prisoners were confined in one house, close to another in which, from the 27th of June to the 15th of July, the Nana at intervals held high revel, with music and festivity, fancying himself a real king. The known horrors of that imprisonment were dreadful. Havelock, however, was at hand, sweeping the rebel forces before him; and in the dark of the evening of the 15th five men entered the prison-house sabre in hand, and did not leave it again till dark. For a time there were screams and the sounds of struggling. When the ruffians had left and closed the doors, nothing was heard but a low dismal moaning, which continued all night through. Three hours or so after sunrise next morning the bodies were dragged over a piece of waste desert ground, and thrown into an old well. On the same day the Nana was defeated by Havelock. Havelock was one of the best of men, and the Nana one of the very worst: it was like an angel fighting against a fiend. On the following day (the 17th) Havelock entered Cawnpore.

On a part of the site of Wheeler's entrenchment there is now a beautiful Memorial Church, and near to where our countrymen and countrywomen fell there is thus, week by week and day by day, an acknowledgment of Him who mysteriously permitted this great crime, but who prevented further and even more disastrous wickedness by the timely arrival of his servant in command of efficient troops.

Cawnpore is once more a flourishing station, with fine markets for the produce of the North-Western Provinces, and a trade representing great wealth. There is at Cawnpore a great cotton market, one of the most notable in India. This market is held in an immense square, which, at an early hour in the morning, is almost always densely crowded with men and women, donkeys, horses, bullocks, camels, and gharries or other conveyances—a scene of barter of all manner of commodities on every side and on a large scale. Around the square are those low warehouses, the Indian “go-downs,” filled with cotton, the property, in some instances, of very wealthy persons, whom, however, it would be impossible to distinguish by their dress from the poorest clerk. There is an eagerness to barter in some cases, and an apparent carelessness as to sales in others. Purchases are often made by the manipulation of the fingers without speech, and the market contains what many districts of the North-Western Provinces produce, and what the representatives of

one of the greatest industries of England, and one of the growing industries of India, are there to buy. Any thoughtful person passing through the midst of that great mass of human life must feel that there are many in it whose memories carry them back to 1857; but the subject is little talked of. The busy life of to-day covers the deeds of the past; and the residents of Cawnpore seem scarcely conscious of the feeling of relief with which a stranger turns away to other scenes.

While General Wheeler and his little band were struggling in Cawnpore, Sir Henry Lawrence was defending the lives of many helpless people and the honour of England in Lucknow. On the last day of June he advanced from the city to meet a large body of mutineers reported to be approaching. At the moment of action his native artillerymen cut their traces and went over to the enemy. The day was lost, of course. The commander, prostrate, but not wounded, was carried away on a gun carriage to the beleaguered city. The Muchee Bhawn was now given up, and the residency itself was the utmost that could be defended. On the 2nd of July Sir Henry was struck by a shell and mortally wounded. Still he counselled no surrender, and his weightiest argument was the politically insane massacre at Cawnpore. “God help the poor women and children!” said he, and then in a low voice, as if in self-communing, “Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty. May God have mercy upon him!” These last words were accepted as his epitaph, and written upon his tomb.

Other great and brave men fell; but at length Sir Colin Campbell, on the 9th of November, advanced on Lucknow with 5,000 men of all arms and thirty guns, leaving General Windham, of the Redan, to guard the bridge over the river. Part of the troops were of the men intended for China, part were of Greathed's column from Agra, and part were Peel's naval brigade. Sir Colin reached the Alumbagh without much difficulty; and a civil officer, disguised as a native, running the gauntlet of the enemy with the key to a semaphore telegraph, a communication was at once opened. On the 14th of November Sir Colin's march began. By means of a *détour* through some of the beautiful groves of Lucknow, the sepoy defences were avoided. A park and a fortified building were captured after a fierce fight. Then Sir Colin rested for the night, to the dismay of the garrison, who had expected an assault like an avalanche. In the morning the men were under arms betimes. The Secunderbagh crossed the path or threatened

their progress. It was a garden with lofty loopholed walls, flanked with towers, and in the centre of the enclosure there was a house of two stories, also loopholed and filled with sepoys. The fight raged here for three hours with small advantage. At last two breaches were made at two opposite angles, and the 93rd Highlanders and the 4th Punjabis were ordered to storm. And storm they did with a vengeance—the men who had seen the well of Cawnpore; and when they left that awful garden 2,000 of the mutineers lay dead on the ground. Hardly a man escaped.

A little farther on was the Shah Nujeeb—a domed mosque in a garden. The place was immensely strong, and was well defended, but it must be taken. Sir Colin himself led the 93rd, after Captain Peel had cannonaded for two hours with the guns of his naval brigade close to the very walls. The Shah Nujeeb was stormed with tremendous slaughter. Another day's work was done. Next day the guns from the relieving force and from the residency blended in one united roar, till the garrison and their deliverers met in a scene which will remain one of the grand tableaux of English history. But the city still continued in the hands of the enemy, and meantime Sir Colin was compelled to leave it so. Affecting to assail the Kaiserbagh, he quietly removed the women and children to the Secunderbagh. He then retired successfully on the Alumbagh, and, leaving Outram there with 4,000 men, directed his steps once more to the Ganges' bank. He arrived at Cawnpore in time, but only in time, to save General Windham, who, with 1,200 men, had been defeated by Tantia Topi with a great army, of which the Gwalior's men were the nucleus, and whose little force was on the way to being as effectually fastened and destroyed as ever fly was in a spider's web. The enemy was dispersed in headlong rout, and the Nana's property at Bithoor was then utterly swept away by Brigadier Hope Grant. Sir Colin proposed now to conquer Rohilkhand, but Lord Canning, who was at Allahabad, urged the moral effect of the complete conquest of Lucknow.

Therefore, on the 1st of February, the Ganges was again crossed, now with 18,700 European and native troops, while Sir Hugh Rose, with his Bombay column, was advancing on the way to Jhansi. Lord Canning, much to Sir Colin's dissatisfaction, was anxious that Sir Jung Bahadur of Nepal, who had promised to assist with 10,000 men, should share in the attack. This caused delay without being in the least degree helpful.

The final attack on Lucknow began on the 6th of March. The capture of the Begum

Kotie, of the Imambra, and the Kaiserbagh presents a series of scenes of which no drama ever could give the slightest conception. In the attack on the Begum Kotie, directed by Brigadier Robert Napier, the gallant Hodson fell, and died on the following day. Sir Colin attended the funeral, and said with tears over the grave, "I have lost one of the first officers in the army;" and he had. The Kaiserbagh presented, and still presents, a marvellous scene. It is a network of palaces, interspersed with little gardens, but all—palaces and gardens—within one great garden. From the roof of the palace certain of the great men of Oudh, in the crisis of their danger, had been flying kites in sight of the avenging army; but that and all other amusements were very soon and very roughly checked by the sack of the palace and the destruction of nearly all that could be destroyed. The palaces of Lucknow are now in many parts inhabited by soldiers and soldiers' wives; but as the traveller wanders through the portals and long avenues, it is even now difficult to forget the splendour of the noble capital of Oudh.

Leaving altogether the question of what preceded 1857, what did the mutiny signify politically? If we take it as a general revolt against English rule, the reply to it was a series of victories till the last embers of the flame were trampled out. If we take it as a revolt against annexations, which threatened to sweep away all native states and confiscate private property, then the policy of Lord Dalhousie had its completion in the victories of the very different viceroyalty of Lord Canning.

It is surely worth while, also, to consider how much the British owed in 1857 to adventitious circumstances. We had, prior to the mutiny, concluded the war in the Crimea, and had a finer army when we ended than when we began. Some of our best troops and officers were also set free at the critical moment by the peace with Persia. We were at peace with all the world except China, and that was one of the most favourable events of the whole, since we were able to intercept the troops intended for China, and direct them on India. Then the mutineers had no real head of princely rank. The King of Delhi was an imbecile. The Nana was no soldier. The best soldiers of India and the ablest chiefs were on our side. In all this there was the silver lining to the dark cloud.

This was God's mercy to England; but what was this mercy for? Assuredly it was not that Englishmen might with greater facility lay up stores of money, or that the nation might maintain its high prestige. We have

no special claim on the Divine favour in India, unless we can look for it on the ground of upright aims, and it must be confessed we have had some of quite a different kind. No doubt, however, there are high-minded men in India ready to redress real wrongs, to push aside that dishonest self-seeking which never will be wanting while there exist such opportunities as Englishmen possess for making their interests paramount considerations. There are men working to educate India to self-government, and who are constantly endeavouring to make the rule of all subsidiary princes helpful to the paramount Government.

Finally, there is the important question of the duty of England to her own people in India. Are the securities for them greater than in 1857? There were certain circumstances in their favour in that year, as has just been said. Some people now say, "If ever there is another mutiny, the mutineers will be better prepared and more united;" while others reply, "Yes, and so shall we." But the latter assertion is not of equal weight with the first. Englishmen are in India one year, and in England the next. Lord Napier, for instance, could not now be spared to India in case of a European war. But the chiefs of India, moreover, can study the history of the mutiny at home. If Sindia or Holkar have not a complete strategical plan of the country from other than British hands, it is his own fault. Our soldiers and civil officers pass away; Sindia and Holkar, and the interests which they represent, remain. They might provide for this or that eventuality. But if India is fairly dealt with, very few chiefs or educated men, of any class, will have any motive to mutiny. What could the chiefs gain by an outbreak if England is just? There might be an attempt to found another empire; but there would be a war which would once more transform the map of India, perhaps of Asia. The chiefs, no doubt, see as clearly as we see that the collapse of the mutiny in 1857 was, in the first instance, the triumph of the annexation policy. What remains is to show them what is meant by the honest carrying out of the proclamation of her Majesty as Empress of India.

Native faiths and Christian missions in India are topics so intimately intertwined that it is impossible to fairly consider the one apart from the other. It is needless here to speak particularly of the fine Baptist College of Carey, Marshman, and Ward—it is so well known. It is under the care and direction of an earnest and cultivated principal. Quakers and Lutherans are also on the field. The Church of England, the London, and the Baptist Missionary Societies have many

agents, as have also the Wesleyan Missionary and other societies. The success of the missionaries has been variable, but, on the whole, encouraging. The influence of the missionaries in the matter of education has been most abundantly beneficial. There are three colleges connected with missions in Calcutta alone, and there are others, as at Serampore and elsewhere. The conviction seems to be deepening that if India is ever to be Christianized, the beginning of the work must be among the young. The American missionaries have a noble history. In Bombay they have a missionary newspaper, and in Lucknow they have another. In Calcutta they have a most important Mission Home, from which ladies go out to native houses—*zenanas*—to teach, and one, Miss Seelye, a physician, to heal the sick, charging a fee to the rich and nothing to the poor. Close to the Home this noble lady established a children's hospital, provided by the municipality.

Mr. Routledge, the author of "English Rule and Native Opinion in India," tells us that he met one day in Calcutta a native missionary, who had a large congregation in the Sunderbunds, where he seldom saw a European face. In the thickest of the famine work he also met with a missionary free-lance, Mr. Johnson, formerly a military officer, and even now not "reverend," who in very truth held his life as if nothing that he might obey God, and who travelled over the whole of India as he believed the Spirit of God called him. His arm had on one journey been gnawed off by a tiger. He had been apprehended riding defiantly over the frontier, and had only been spared as a favour. The laws of men were against him, but he read God's law, and in a spirit like American John Brown's, obeyed that. Englishmen everywhere are sincerely grateful to him. The sight of his face is in itself a security. To what church he belongs it would be difficult for an outside observer to tell; but he is a Christian; not rich; not, it is to be feared, a favourite among people who like staid rules; but a man, nevertheless, of heroic mould.

The Army Temperance work of the Rev. J. G. Gregson is most beneficial in its results. Mr. Gregson, while of course preaching, has made this his especial care, and at this time he can look on 6,000 pledged teetotalers in the British army in India.

Schools are one of the most potential means of morally revolutionising India. Among these ought to be mentioned several Baptist schools—one in particular, the girls, about fifty, boarding in the mission grounds, under the care of the Rev. George and Mrs. Kerry. The boarders are all the

children of professedly Christian parents, and the condition of the school is that the whole of the pupils shall hear a portion of the Bible and a prayer daily morning and evening, nothing of a controversial character, however, being introduced into the prayer. Mr. Kerry remarked to a visitor who had referred to the reverential deportment of his pupils during the devotional exercise, "Yes, and do you know those who are not with us think they may somehow get good from the worship of 'our' God. It is only to them like a fetish, but it is that." There are six fine separate class-rooms to Mr. Kerry's school. The fees are from 6*d.* to 2*s.* a month, the Baptist mission contributing £150 to the cost, the Government nothing. Similar work is carried on by other missionaries and their wives. Mrs. Sherring, Mrs. Mitchell, and Mrs. Kerry are conspicuous even among many able missionary lady teachers in various parts of India. The missionary's wife earns nothing by her mission work. She is expected to have mastered the words, "And they shall be one flesh," and to seek for no separate interest.

In Mr. Kerry's establishment, which is a sample of many others, the bungalows of the girls are separated from the mission-house by a tank, perhaps 60 feet wide. They are of course secured from male intrusion, ladies alone having the right to tread the private path. The plan is, that the children dress and eat as in their villages, and cleanliness is strictly enjoined. They are taught to manage their own affairs. Mr. Kerry throughout a long experience has never beaten a boy, and of course it has likewise been so with the girls.

The Rev. J. Long, of the Church Missionary Society, has an admirable system of fifteen village schools, with 800 pupils, many of them being Mussulman, to whom he teaches the Scriptures orally, with illustrations drawn from emblems and proverbs. The children commit to memory, in the vernacular entirely, small pieces such as "The old, old Story," and then Mr. Long begins the use of his symbols and proverbs, by means of which he is illustrating the whole of the sacred Scriptures. In the same way he teaches the ordinary branches of elementary education, giving prizes to the girls for cooking and house management. Mr. Long's influence generally on native India has been remarkable, the fact, in all probability, being in no small manner due to his great tolerance and wise forbearance. It was quite a common thing for him to take a holiday at the house—the English home for guests—of an accomplished Hindu landlord, and to use that gentleman's

carriage to and from church, the carriage of the worshipper of Doorga waiting for the servant of Christ; and when the missionary left India on leave for a time, his friend, fearful that he might not return, pressed him to come back as his guest, and guaranteed all expenses from and to Charing Cross. Missionaries with common sense—and most of them either have or soon acquire a large stock of it—are by no means viewed with dislike in India.

Mr. Routledge's views are strong. He says unhesitatingly "that all State support to the Church of England generally in India ought to be peremptorily withdrawn. No faith, as a faith, ought to be supported from the taxes of India, or assuredly ought not unless the Hindu temple and the Mohammadan mosque were also so supported. At the same time, the chaplains have often held the even balance against the missionaries. The feeling between the two bodies has not always been an amicable one. No religious service in India is more solemnising than that which may be found in some of those beautiful cantonment churches which stud the land. But let the State aid be withdrawn, and the chaplain placed on the same footing as the missionary, and the Church of England would occupy a higher ground of usefulness."

The outcry against "the godless education" of the State colleges is both wicked and senseless. The State colleges are England's simple duty to India, and will tend to India's well-being in a grand sense. The mission colleges, however, have duties all their own, and no one who believes in Christianity as a missionary faith would say them nay, so long as they pay for what they provide, and do not ask for money from the hard-wrung taxes of India. Some, indeed, say that preaching the Gospel to the poor, and not school teaching, is the true object of the missionary. This is simply an error. The Jesuits both teach and preach, knowing that a man works better with two hands than with one. Other ill-natured people say that the missionary in India is a man who could not "get on" in England. The truth is that the missionary in India is often the one man in a district who is independent of all control, and who can stand for the poor in their need; and when, as sometimes occurs, he is not merely like a hero, but also is one, he has in his hands a power which the heads of armies cannot in a just cause withstand. A man like Mr. Sherring, a loyal and ardent supporter of good government, is a safeguard against bad government, go where he may, and is a positive gain, not merely to the work of missions, but to English rule in India, and to the cause of the poor and helpless in far

more than the district in which his work for the time more directly lies. The true-hearted missionary does not ask for pecuniary aid from the Government. It were well if the Government did not sometimes unintentionally hinder his work.

Religious men of all Protestant denominations tell us that we have shown timidity as to Christian principle in our government of India, and contend that the country ought before this time to have been "irrigated" with British missions. They tell us that if we had proceeded as we ought in 1783, and afforded the proper encouragement to our Careys and Judsons, India would long ago have been in a high degree Christianized. There is much sound truth in such an opinion. Not merely the tolerance, but the absolute favour which the East India Company's Government and some of their civil and military servants showed to Mohammadan and Hindu idolatry is beyond belief. For many years, as every one is aware, we paid tribute to the Temple of Juggernath, and manufactured and supplied idols for the Hindus; and it was not, indeed, till 1852 that the East India Directors substituted an endowment in land for the heavy annual payments.

Christian liberty was likewise much impeded from deference to Indian prejudice and superstition. For example, the Council at Calcutta were about to issue a new penal code, and in one of its sections we may see how readily our Indian authorities can sometimes sacrifice the liberties of Christians in the vain effort to conciliate heathens and Mohammadans: "Whoever, with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word or makes any gesture in the sight of that person, or places any object in the sight of that person, shall be punished, which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both." The missionaries at Calcutta joined in a common protest against this contemplated restriction, showing clearly that a law so worded might be construed so as to put an end to some of the most important and characteristic of their labours. By many it may be thought that this piece of legislation occurred in the worst days of the Company's administration. Not so, however; it is a bit of Indian history, spick-and-span new, belonging to the year 1857—the year of the mutiny.

In regard to the connection of the English Government with Indian idolatry, a writer long resident in Western India, and one who is thoroughly trustworthy, says, "Large annual allowances are paid from the State treasuries in every collectorate in Western India for the performance of idol and Moham-

madan worship." The Indian Government, not content with prohibiting its servants from attempts to convert natives, actually makes them the disbursers of payment for the performance of idol worship. The way in which this is done is as follows:—The names of the different Hindu temples and Mohammadan mosques are entered by the collector in his official records. The two following entries will explain this clearly:—"For the worship of Gronputhe, Rs. 500 per annum; for the mosques of Mohammed Khan, Rs. 1,000 a year. Officiating Sind or Moolie, Hajee Ahmed." Now, before the collector can annually disburse these sums of money, the officiating Brahman or Sind must obtain a certificate furnished by the inhabitants of the place where the edifice stands, to the effect that the usual religious services have been properly performed. On the perusal of this certificate, the collector, an educated Christian and gentleman, the representative of the British Government in his district—a district which frequently exceeds in size several counties in England—pays the annual allowance. Let it not be supposed that these sums are trifling in amount, and hence have not attracted attention. It is not so. Upwards of £30,000 are annually paid away. In addition, many entire villages of large magnitude are permanently alienated for the same purpose. The rental of these in each collectorate averages about £1,500 a year. This increases the disbursements to the sum of nearly £50,000 a year. Independently of these cash allowances and villages, lands of the value of upwards of £100,000 per annum are held in the same way and by the same tenure; that is to say, they are liable to be resumed if it appears to the collector that the worship for the performance of which they were originally granted is no longer performed. These religious grants exist more or less all over India, though they are somewhat more numerous perhaps in the Bombay Presidency than elsewhere. But the mischief does not end here. The Rev. W. Clarkson, a true witness, says, "The several festivals of both Hindu and Mohammadan religionists are taken under the patronage of the Government, by being made the subject of regimental orders. On the same public order which states that there will be divine service at the church in camp may be also stated that lights and native music will be in the sepoys' lines on the occasion of the Huli or the Tarboot, or any other idolatrous festival."

A certain number of days for idolatrous purposes, with exemption from military duties, is afforded to the troops by Christian authorities. All this is considered politic and neces-

sary. Besides, the assistance of Christian officers, both of money and personal attendance, is far from infrequent. A Christian officer, truly such, refused to attend a nautch, or entertainment of dancing-girls, got up by the sepoys. The commissioned native officer remonstrated with him as being out of order, and endangering offence from the sepoys. What a strange state of moral principles is involved in this! The sight has been more than once witnessed of British officers, with their white jackets bespattered with the yellow ochre cast on them by their own sepoys in that abominable festival called the Sholi, which answers to the Saturnalia of Rome. A similar spectacle has been witnessed at an entertainment by a native prince. Shall we in this way secure the respect and loyalty of sepoys and princes?

In the days of the Company everything was made subsidiary to gain. Happily many changes for the better have been accomplished since the country came exclusively under imperial sway. But formerly, and to too large an extent even yet, the system was and is to do everything on a cheap scale. Our conduct throughout has been characteristic. From low views of cheapness and gain, and a desire to make the country pay as a commercial investment, we employed in undue proportions the native soldier and the high-caste man; and the same low, sordid, and thoroughly erroneous views have led us to neglect the most palpable and efficient means for the Christianization of the country. In order not to interfere with our profits or our revenue system, we have put our Christianity under a bushel and hid the light of the Gospel. When we had done so little in our own faith actively—when we had remained either passive or undemonstrative, if not hostile to the propagation of our religion—what would the Hindu conclude but that we did not believe in our faith? When he perceived that we exalted the Hindu idolatry—that we ourselves conserved and repaired its temples, renewed its idols, raised taxes and tribute in support of its ceremonious worship, and provided guards for its obscene rites—what would the Hindu conclude but that we were proud of his religion and ashamed of our own? It was thus we nurtured the fierce religious fanaticism, the insane religious pride of Mussulman and Hindu, which resulted in mutiny, with all its attendant atrocities.

In the appropriate freedom of civil government, the administration of justice between man and man, it is fully to be admitted that no plea of conscience ought to be allowed to overbear the plain course of law and equity. On no religious pretext should any man,

whether Christian or heathen, be permitted to annoy, injure, despoil, or destroy others in their persons, their property, or their liberty. It is proper, moreover, to say even of Mohammadan or Hindu charitable foundations that where property is left to certain purposes, if these purposes be not immoral, it belongs to the civil power to guard such property. The civil government has no more right to rob Hinduism or Mohammadanism of its endowments in India than to rob Dissent of its endowments in England. It is only as the one or the other can be demonstrated to be anti-social or immoral that the magistrate can come in as a reformer. But between thus merely tolerating or allowing to be administered heathen endowments, and mixing ourselves up with them and forwarding and favouring them, there is a wide distinction. It has been the fault of official people in India to have favoured idolatry and caste beyond what was necessary, expedient, or just. This mischief, again, is being gradually remedied by the Imperial Government.

It is often argued that Indian caste is an inviolable institute, and that the Government cannot intermeddle with it. All who *well* know the natives will give this one answer, viz. that the natives will not long let caste militate against their self-interest. They have a host of ways whereby to reconcile the twain. They all acknowledge a God above all gods. Hindu caste is like the snake, which may lie straight and stiff, but which can also bend and elude the grasp. According to the Shastras, for example, Brahmans demean themselves beneath respect by serving the Malécha races. But do the Brahmans, on this account, avoid our service? No, they press into it. How can they do so consistently? By a device of their own. "All power," say they, "is but an emanation of our god Vishnu; in serving the powerful British we are only serving our own god." The water of the Ganges is needed at times without number for oaths, purifications, and other purposes. But it is not at all times procurable in all parts of India. What is done? "Let there be faith," is the accommodating religious rule, "and so Ganges water is in your vessel." The supremacy of Hindu gods, and the political subjection of their vassals the Brahmans, may seem inconsistent. Not at all. The British are the descendants of the monkey-god Hunaman, and to them Ramchundra gave the political rule of India as a boon for the services of their ancestors.

The Mussulmans, when conquerors of the country, drew water, of course, from the public wells. Nothing could be a greater abomination, inasmuch as Mohammadans kill and

eat the cow. Did the Hindus then forsake their wells? No. Yet how could their religion brook their drinking of water polluted by the Mussulman? There is an exercise of Hindu ingenuity, and well does it accomplish its task. "The Mussulman," say they, "is *pāk* (holy, pure); the water therefore is not defiled." Thus they make a merit of necessity, satisfy their consciences, and spare themselves the obligation of force. And thus they will ever do.

On a large and enduring scale let Hindu interests be affected, and all the Shastras of India will not be allowed to interfere. Let Government take its stand on sound principle, and the natives will accommodate it to their own position. On the contrary, if their rulers condescend to them, they will find caste rise in its pretensions till its arrogant claims render the work of government impossible.

There are many ridiculous incongruities of caste. Thus what a Brahman cook has prepared is pure for his master, but what his master has touched is polluted for him. Nearly all Hindus so rigorously refrain from animal food, and look upon swine with such especial disgust, that in the great drought of 1770, when it has been calculated that more than one-fourth of the teeming population of Bengal perished by famine, thousands died rather than violate their religious scruples; yet all these will eat the flesh of the deer and wild boar if not killed by their own hands. In Kumara all will eat the short-tailed sheep of the hills, but none will touch one with a long tail. The Rajputs eat fish, mutton, and venison, but hold fowls, beef, and pork in abomination. Those who shrink from eating the domestic fowl will eagerly devour the jungle fowl. Hindus consider themselves defiled by feathers, but among the tribes at the Himalayas this prejudice does not exist. An earthen pot is polluted by being touched by one of inferior caste—a metal one suffers no such deterioration.

The feeling of caste has been mistakenly encouraged as contributing to the stability of the British rule in India. But it is certain that it retards the progress of enlightened principles, by which the character of the people would be elevated and rendered better adapted for free institutions. From the prevalence of caste has arisen that want of patriotism which has ever been remarked as a characteristic of the Indian people. They have no political unity, no nationality, no public spirit. To caste, too, is to be ascribed that extreme selfishness which induces the people of India to look without sympathy upon the misfortunes of their neighbours. Nowhere are the sufferings of strangers

treated with more indifference than in India. The traveller may fall sick by the way, but not a soul will render him assistance. If his caste be unknown, all will avoid him for fear of pollution.

It will scarcely be believed that caste has been continued among native Christians. Mrs. Colin Mackenzie tells us that "Mr. Winslow at Madras had to excommunicate more than thirty catechists for keeping caste, and the whole of them relapsed into heathenism. Caste till very recently, if not even now, has been most rigidly observed among a large portion of the Church of England converts at Madras." It seems that the venerable Schwartz set the example of this most pernicious compliance with idolatrous customs, not foreseeing its vicious consequences. Imagine so-called Christians of high caste refusing to associate, even at the Lord's table, with persons of low caste, scrupulously avoiding the pollution of having any communion with their brethren.

It was urged in defence of the East India Company that it had always been found extremely dangerous to interfere with the religion of the natives. Our Indian rulers have observed that for seven centuries Mohamadans of Persia and Tartary kept the Hindus in subjection; that during that period, though Hindu chiefs and Mohammadan omrahs and atabegs of wealth and influence could, by holding out a prospect of plunder to their followers, without much difficulty excite a rebellion, it was interference with their religion alone which roused the feelings of the natives as a body. This is undoubtedly true. Allow the people of India to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and they submit to any conqueror. It was on the ground of these considerations that the Directors based their policy of non-interference with native customs. But Christians answer, It is not with the non-interference of the Indian Government that they quarrel, but with its lending a helping hand, morally and pecuniarily, to idolatry and idol-worship. No sensible, reflecting man asks the Indian Government, as a Government, to interfere with the religious customs of the people; but, on the other hand, let them not seek to prop up and perpetuate those customs. There is certainly much less of this now than there was in the days of the Company, but there is still more than enough. It is a curious fact that the Brahmans, when twitted with their idolatry and charged with worshipping a bull in black stone, reply like Roman Catholics. We do not worship the images, they say; we only use them to put us in mind of the thing represented.

The character of the Hindu is patient, supple, and insinuating. His uniform subjection to foreign conquerors, his constitutional timidity, his love of repose, his limited powers of resistance, have made him more anxious to play the hypocrite, to dissemble and smother his feelings, than risk the inconvenience which might arise from open and direct opposition. This character it was, materially encouraged and promoted by caste, which enabled our sepoys to deceive their officers, and to induce them to believe that all was right, when the diabolical villains were on the eve of mutiny. Caste also interposes an obstacle to the progress of the missionary. It is in the character of the natives to be swayed by the examples of high rank and power; and few or no influential rajahs or princes have embraced Christianity. Bodies of native Christians are, no doubt, growing up, to which every fresh convert can attach himself, but among these there are few men of rank or consideration. If one influential rajah would embrace Christianity, thousands would follow in his wake. Such conversions might be of small avail, morally or spiritually, but they would take the arms out of the hands of many opponents. It would be well for the future if our missionaries would take one leaf out of the book of the Jesuit Francis Xavier. That remarkable man did not fail to address himself to the higher classes in the East, and among these he found many converts. Without neglecting the humble, it would certainly be advisable for British missionaries to address themselves to men of high position, whose example would have weight and influence with retainers and followers. There is now a spirit of inquiry abroad, and an eagerness for European learning, which cannot fail to forward the cause of Christianity. The greatest impediment, however, to the spread of the gospel in India is the smallness of the number of missionaries. But in considering this point it is but fair to reflect on the magnitude of our Indian Empire, and the myriads of human beings which it contains. Our Indian Empire is not much less than the whole of Europe, and is nearly as thickly populated. Its inhabitants are distributed over twenty-four provinces, speaking thirteen well-recognised languages and many dialects. Immense efforts have, within the last few years, been made, and greater efforts still are now being made, and will continue in the future. But probably, at the outbreak of the mutiny, notwithstanding commendable zeal, there were not more than five hundred Europeans actively engaged in spreading the gospel in Hindustan, if, indeed, there were so many. According to the *Calcutta Review*,

the number of Europeans engaged in the good work did not amount to four hundred in 1851. But the tide has now strongly set in in favour of sending a greater number of missionaries to the East.

It is in the southern part of India that the greatest number of native Christians, Protestant as well as Romanist, are now found. The Jesuit mission at Madura claims to have 120,000 converts, but doubtless this number is an exaggeration. But whether an exaggeration or not, British and Protestant missionaries will never resort to the expedients used by Peter Nobilius, the head of the Madura mission. This man, and the Jesuit fathers under him, adopted openly all the practices of the Brahmans. So scandalous was their conformity that, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, Clement XI. sent Cardinal de Tournon with powers *ablative* to put an end to these scandals. The delegate of the Pope, after inquiry, condemned the practices of the Jesuit missionaries, and forbade them, under pain of excommunication, to conform to the customs of the Brahmans. The Jesuits resisted, and sent envoys to Rome with a view to reverse this decision; but the Pope was inexorable, and maintained the decree of his legate.

The English authorities, however, dealt the most vigorous blow to the Madura mission. They denounced the imposture to the native population, who, thus enlightened on the true character of these Christian Brahmans, reverted to their primitive superstitions. The reaction was so complete that Père Dubois observes, in his remarkable book on Hindustan, that in a quarter of a century's sojourn in India he did not meet a single Christian. How different were the operations of the first Protestant missionaries: Dr. Ziegenbalg, who proceeded to Madras under the auspices of Frederick IV. of Denmark; and Dr. Kiernander, who was sent to Calcutta in 1756 by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. Lord Clive gave considerable aid to Dr. Kiernander, both pecuniarily and morally, and Hastings helped Kiernander's successors. In 1793 Mr. Wilberforce attempted by Bill to compel the East India Company to maintain and pay missionaries for the propagation of the faith. The Bill was rejected by an immense majority, but this neither discouraged Mr. Wilberforce nor his friends. The efforts of Protestant evangelical missionaries were crowned with a certain degree of success under the Government of the Marquis of Wellesley. This great statesman was the first public man who authorised the distribution of translations of the Bible in the wide

domains of the East India Company's Government, remarking that "a Christian could not do less, or a Governor-General more."

A great outcry was raised some years ago in regard to what was alleged to be the ill-treatment of Roman Catholics in India. Now the provisions for the spiritual wants of the Roman Catholic servants of the Government of India are on a most liberal scale. They were determined by the resolution of the Governor-General in Council on the 28th of February, 1856. They are still in force, and if there has been any change it has been on the side of liberality. They are as follows :—

"The sum of Rs. 200 per mensem, formerly allowed to four bishops, namely, to one in each of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and to one in each division of the Bengal Presidency, on account of the correspondence which they carry on with Government, and of the ecclesiastical returns relating to Roman Catholics, which they are required to furnish for transmission to England, has been raised to Rs. 400 per mensem.

"A Roman Catholic priest is now employed by the Government at every station where there is an European regiment, and a second priest at every station where there are two or more European regiments. A priest is also allotted to every station where, though there may be no European regiments, such a number of British-born Roman Catholics in the service of the Government reside as may seem to require a separate pastor.

"The number and rates of pay of Roman Catholic priests at the several stations are determined according to the following principles :—1. Wherever two or more European regiments are quartered together, two priests shall be allowed, on salaries of Rs. 150 and Rs. 100 per mensem, respectively. 2. Wherever more than one regiment of Europeans, but less than two, are located, one priest shall be allowed, on a salary of Rs. 150 per mensem. 3. The priest at each seat of local government shall be allowed a salary of Rs. 150 per mensem, irrespectively of the number of European regiments located there. 4. At any other station to which a priest may be appointed, his salary shall be Rs. 100 per mensem. 5. Wherever under these rules the allowance now paid to the Roman Catholic priest at any station is reduced, the difference may be made good in the form of a personal allowance to the existing incumbent during his incumbency.

"The Roman Catholic priests have also been declared entitled to the privilege of gratuitous medical attendance, and at Mofussil

stations to gratuitous medicines; also to travelling allowance on the usual scale when ordered to move on service.

"The Roman Catholic priests in the pay of the Government are required to perform spiritual offices for the native as well as the European Roman Catholic soldiers at their respective stations, without demanding fees for such services. Wherever an European regiment is quartered, such a sum of money is granted by the Government as will serve to provide a plain building for a Roman Catholic chapel, leaving all architectural ornaments, if desired, to be provided by the congregation, as in the case of Protestant churches built by Government. Each Roman Catholic chapel so aided is to be repaired by, and to become the property of, Government, and in each case a small allowance is made towards lighting and cleaning.

"A portion of land in the military burial-ground at Bhurampore, and in the Circular Road burial-ground at Calcutta, is set apart for the interment of persons of the Roman Catholic persuasion. A separate portion of ground in all military burial-grounds is also set apart in like manner exclusively for Roman Catholics, with the option of consecrating it according to their rites."

No one on reading these provisions can say that the conduct of the Anglo-Indian Government is other than liberal, tolerant, and generous.

The Government of the East India Company never expended anything like what it ought on railroads and public works. The conduct of the Imperial Government has been in striking contrast with this unwise parsimony. The estimate for 1854 and 1855, for salaries, establishments, and miscellaneous expenses, amounted to Rs. 93,000; of the land rented and purchased for the purpose, to Rs. 1,34,800. The total proposed to be expended in that period on embankments, roads, bridges, lighthouses, harbours, dock-yards, and inland navigation amounted to Rs. 37,14,668. In the North-West Provinces a comparatively very small sum was spent, whereas the expenditure in the Punjab was much more liberal.

The subject of railway communication in India was first laid before the Supreme Government in 1843 by Mr. R. M. Stephenson; but it was not till 1845 that the Court appointed Mr. Sims to be consulting engineer to the Government of India in the Railway Department. In 1849 the East India Company entered into a contract with the East India Railway Company for the construction of an experimental line, which was to cost £1,000,000 sterling, and to be selected

with a view to its forming a portion of a trunk line into the North-West Provinces. Mr. Sims did not report on the subject till April, 1850, nor did the Governor-General record a minute recommending the line from Howarth to Raneegunge till the 4th of July, 1850. It was calculated that, but for the mutiny, a portion of the railway from Allahabad to Agra would be ready by the end of 1857, and that the section between Bardwan and Ramgehall would be completed in the following year, and the remainder probably in 1859; but the mutiny interfered seriously with all such prospects.

In the Madras Presidency, during the years 1855 and 1856, the principal schools were remodelled, a normal school was established, and a commencement was made of a system called Zillah schools. A grant of Rs. 7,000 was made by the Government in aid of the building of a school at Madras for the instruction of Mohammadans.

Crime seemed to be steadily diminishing at this period. Female infanticide, so general among the Rajput and some other communities of Upper India, had been greatly repressed. This good result was produced partly by the influence of humane and energetic magistrates, and partly by their use of different measures of vigilance and coercion. In 1855 and 1856 circumstances led to the disclosure of a painfully extensive existence of infanticide in the Benares division. The ease and secrecy with which the life of a very young infant can be taken in the seclusion of a Hindu zenana render independent proof against the instigator or the perpetrator of the murder nearly unattainable. Yet it is shown by Mr. W. R. Moore, who was deputed for the purpose, that in one tribe of Goruckpoor Rajputs there has been no marriage of a daughter for more than two hundred years, and also that in the villages of other tribes no girl is to be found living.

The poisoning of cattle for the sake of their hides was found to have been of most injurious prevalence in the Azimghur district of the Benares division. The murders from jealousy regarding women were also common.

In the Punjab great efforts were made to render justice cheap, quick, sure, and substantial. There are no elaborate laws, but there are brief rules explaining, in an accessible form, the main provisions of the several systems of native law on such matters as inheritance, marriage, adoption, testamentary or other dispositions of property, and setting forth the chief principles to be observed in other branches of law, such as contracts, sale, mortgage, debt, and commercial usage. In

the Punjab, too, the most open and liberal provisions exist for the admission of evidence. There are also arrangements for reference to arbitration and for the ascertainment of local custom. The civil system of the Punjab may to some appear to be somewhat rough and ready, but it attains the broad and plain object aimed at, and that it gives satisfaction to the people is plain from this—that all through the terrible mutiny the Punjab was quiet. Crime has also diminished in the Punjab. Dacoitee, or gang robbery, has disappeared for a considerable length of time. Thuggee is probably also extinct. Female infanticide, if not extinct, is verging on extinction. The military police of the Punjab are thoroughly disciplined, and are hardly inferior to the best irregular troops. Notwithstanding what has just been said, there is still a considerable number of Thugs at large; but their devices are utterly confounded, and they find themselves so tracked that they cannot practise their dark profession. This state of things in the Punjab is altogether owing to that great man, Sir John (now Lord) Lawrence, one of the much and often unjustly incriminated civil servants of India.

The Court of Directors affords a remarkable instance of a Government disliked and distrusted by its employés. "I never knew an officer, of whatever rank," says Qui Hi, "who did not express and feel some contempt for the Court, and who had not, moreover, some distrust as to what new act of injustice might next be contemplated."

But the time was fast approaching when the power of the Company should cease, and the mongrel Government of India should be superseded by something better. In future, in regard to India, we must know where to put our finger on the delinquent if things go wrong, and not be driven from post to pillar and from pillar to post in a vain search after wrong-doers. There was no desire that the government of India should be curtly or contumeliously taken out of the hands of the Company, as though they were misfeasants or malefactors. Such treatment they in no degree deserved; for they had done great and good things in their time, and were, on the whole, men of integrity and good intentions, if not always of the largest views and statesmanship. But the Empire of India had now grown too large, too mighty, for the management of any company of merchants, and the time had arrived when it should come more directly under Parliamentary control.

It is not needful here to enter into the details of the history of the East India Company. In former pages of this work these have been given. Charter after charter to the Com-

pany was renewed; but the sudden increase of power and territory by the conquests of Cornwallis, and consequent annexations, threw everything into confusion. Corruption reigned everywhere. The revenues fell short of expenses, and in 1772 the Company, notwithstanding its immense possessions and privileges, was obliged to raise a loan of £6,000,000 from the Bank of England, and of £1,400,000 from Government, for current expenses. In 1773 reform was called for, but was only incompletely effected. In 1781 the privileges of the Company were extended to 1791, with three years' notice, the dividend on its stock being fixed at 8 per cent.; £400,000 were to be paid as an annual subsidy to the Government; and, moreover, three-fourths of the surplus revenue were to go to the Government, and one-fourth to the Company's use. But in 1783 the Company was again so involved, on account of wars, &c., as to be unable to pay the subsidy. In the following year, on the proposition of Mr. Pitt, a Board of Control was appointed, consisting of such members of the British Privy Council as the sovereign of England chose to appoint, the two principal Secretaries of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer being three of the members. The president was usually a Cabinet minister. This was really the death-knell of the Company.

From this time there were various charters given, some for longer and some for shorter periods, those charters imposing a wide diversity of conditions on the Company, till in 1833 Parliament decreed that the Company should cease to be a trading association; that it was continued in the government of India till 1854, subject to the authority of the Board of Control; and that, as on April 22, 1834, all property, real and personal, in possession of the Company should be held and managed by them as in trust for the Crown, the stockholders being assured by Government an annual dividend of $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the stock. Various other arrangements were made, and charters for short periods granted, but all resulted in what many had long foreseen.

The Indian revolt of 1857-58 called public attention more forcibly than at any previous period to the management of Indian affairs by the Company, and led to the passing of an Act "for the better government of India," by which all the territories heretofore under the government of the East India Company should be vested in the British Queen, and all its powers should be exercised in her name, one of the principal Secretaries of State to have all the powers formerly exercised by the Company or by the Board of Control. The military and naval forces of the East India

Company were to be deemed the forces of the Queen, and all persons holding an office, employment, or commission in India were to be transferred to the service of the Crown. All functions and powers of the Courts of Directors and Proprietors were to cease, together with the salaries paid, the Board of Control being likewise abolished. This Act, although depriving the East India Company of all its power and importance, did not utterly abolish it, and provided for the manner in which the Directors should hereafter be appointed; but its functions were almost exclusively confined to the administration of the stock and the distribution of the fixed interest or dividends upon the old share capital of the Company. On the 2nd of August, 1858, then, her Majesty really became Empress of India, although she was not formally proclaimed as such till the 1st of January, 1877. Many reforms have been introduced since the new form of government in India came into use, and many more are in contemplation.

Everywhere in India is a real deference paid to the man of skill. Never was there a people more eager for education, or who deserved to be more leniently and kindly dealt with in that eagerness. "Give us knowledge," is the cry at least throughout Bengal. A certain class of Englishmen in keen ridicule reply, "Go to your work; what has your M.A. degree done for you?" The Bengali turns away from such men, with his insatiable craving only the more whetted by the repulse. He will work night and day, and will endure much persecution, if only he can have that upon which he has set his heart—the knowledge which will enable him to rise in life. "Yes," it is said, "that is all he cares for—to rise in life"—a rejoinder which comes with a bad grace from Englishmen, who in most cases are in India for that special purpose and no other. The native of India, Hindu and Mohammadan alike, where the latter is not altogether reckless or despondent, wishes to better his condition in life. Apart from all questions of right and wrong, is it not England's high interest to afford him the opportunity, and to encourage him in the grand race of emulation with Englishmen which he is so well disposed to try? In any case, and do what England may, he will enter the race heavily weighted. He must pass examinations in themes of foreign thought, in a foreign land, and in a foreign language. He must go, at an immense cost—and not mere money cost, for he breaks his cherished caste by the voyage—to England. Often without a friend in London, those brave lads cross the ocean, and are thrown into the great dangers of a life whose pitfalls are on every hand. They

face English tutors, mix with English competitors, brook English snobbery, and, in many instances, bear away from Englishmen the prizes of England's competitive examinations. The thorny path is in nowise smoothed for them by the common sense of examiners, and their task is therefore more difficult than it need be.

Some have said that a native of India goes as far as he is taught, and can go no further; but this is a gross misrepresentation. The native of India is an essentially capable man. Let them go to work and leave the colleges, it is said. Let those who say so set the example. It is not a mere question of public office, but of status in the place of a man's birth that is at issue.

The native of India is a man by nature polite. Yet the most gentlemanly man, and the man of the highest social position in a district, may be made to feel, and to feel sharply, that he is subordinate to some young officer fresh from England, and ignorant of all life save that of schools. This is very hard; but it is far from uncommon.

In 1870 Dr. Sircar explained at length his project of a Science Association. "I want," he said, "a purely scientific association for the purpose of carrying on observation and experiment, and not for mere popular lecturing, though the latter will form a part of the programme of its working. Sight-seeing and sight-showing certainly ought not to be the objects of the institution." To carry out all this a house, books, a chemical laboratory, mechanical, electrical, magnetic, astronomical, and meteorological instruments, a geological and zoological museum, an herbarium, and many other things, "without which it will be a mockery to begin work," were required. Altogether the scheme, he considered, with salaries and costs, required at least a sum of £10,000. For long the sum stood at less than £5,000, and the subscribers urged Dr. Sircar to begin the work. But he did not see his way, and till he could he refused the money. Early in 1875 Father Lafont appealed to the public for help to build a spectro-telescopic observatory, and received the required money at once. Meanwhile, however, the modest, retiring Hindu scholar made little advance upon his £5,000. At last the scheme caught the eye of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard Temple. He contributed to it £50, and became a monthly subscriber. The subscriptions now rose to £8,000, and the subscribers manifested as strange an inclination to pay down the money as Dr. Sircar did a determination not to have it. At last he resolved to have an independent committee elected to receive the

money and take care of it. A meeting was held, and Father Lafont, who was chairman, said, "I belong to a religion commonly, though erroneously, regarded as antagonistic to science, a religion whose priests are supposed to dread the encroachments of science for fear that their dogmatic teaching might suffer by this enlightened contact. Well, gentlemen, I declare to you that though a Catholic and a priest, I hail with delight and pursue with love any advance of *true* science, the only thing that frightens me being the pretended discoveries of men who are not satisfied with facts, but put in their stead, and erect into scientific dogmas, the ill-digested lucubrations of their imaginations."

Sir Richard Temple, when once he had entered upon the project, held to it in his characteristic vigorous way. In February, 1876, he stated in a minute that the Bengal Government would give a house for a term of years to the association, on condition that £7,000 were raised, and £5,000 invested in Government securities, with subscriptions of at least £10 a month for two years. In this way the "Indian Science Association" was inaugurated in 1877 with an admirable scientific lecture by Dr. Sircar, and a happy and buoyant speech from Sir Richard Temple, who was the chairman. Europeans and natives, of many different pursuits and of various positions in life, gathered that day around Dr. Sircar, and, claiming him as their friend and the friend of India, bade him God speed.

The scholars of India are in all cases modest men—it seems to belong to their scholarship—and Dr. Sircar is modest in the extreme. For himself he never would ask or accept aught that was like a gift. He bravely, however, asks for English help for his association, that he may teach, in divisions now formed, "General Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Systematic Botany, Systematic Zoology, Physiology, and Geology," and extend his range of usefulness according to his means. He invites his countrymen to shake off the trammels of false science, and reason on exact facts. He is, in fact, a scientific missionary, but his prospects are not especially hopeful. Neither the Hindu nor the Mohamadan cares much for science as such, and some Hindus and Mohamadians oppose it as antagonistic to their faith.

At Calcutta there is a free library. The owner, Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee, is stone blind. He is a thorough Hindu, but his choice of books is of the widest. Nothing is banished so long as it is not immoral. In connection with the library there is a lecture-room, and in a neighbouring village, under

another and quite as public-spirited a branch of the same family, there is an institution of a similar kind. These villages are purely Bengali, and quite apart from English society.

Looking at all such elements in Indian society, we see them working to one great good end. The educated, orthodox Hindu looking with scorn on the men whose conversions can be bought; the elder Brahminist, striving hard to proclaim the oneness of the Supreme God and still remain a Hindu, cherishing the old familiar name; the younger Brahminist advancing boldly beyond Hinduism to a philosophy and a faith in which Christ is one of the master-builders, and God all in all; the scientific student casting off the old figments of an absurd science mixed up with a huge superstition; the Mohammadan compelling attention to be paid to his long-neglected condition; the Parsi, claiming to possess all literature, yet still worshipping the life-representing fire; the Catholic proving that he still possesses the power to reach the "common people," and win by sacrifice their pecuniary support without even asking for it; the Protestant, under many various names, labouring by all manner of agencies to establish higher standards of morals and education—can we suppose that all this work is in vain?

The testimony of eminent Englishmen, or Englishmen in high place, is strong in regard to the value of native capability and work. For a long time the natives of India were refused admittance to any office of high trust. It is not, however, possible to go on to all time governing India on English principles, and the first step towards governing it on Indian principles is to employ native intellect.

The great colleges, secular and missionary, represent all that is foremost in Christendom, and offer to India the elements of safety and progress. It has been said that all these things have the sore defect that they are of foreign growth. That, however, is nonsense. Christianity was of foreign growth to Britain. The civilisation of Rome was to Britain both foreign and conquering. But all the same the seeds were sown, and the web was woven; and when Rome was in ruin and decay, England stood with a robust young life, pushing her way into other lands, and impressing her genius and enterprise in perilous times upon all nations. What there is of good in the civilisation of England, India need not fear to take. It is merely the return of the tide of civilisation which India sent out to the West generations ago. It is harder and more brittle than when it first went out. It cannot so easily bend, or so easily mould itself into new

forms. But it may be to India like the omen of a great deliverance and a brilliant future, tending in the right direction, beyond which it will be well for us to remain silent and blind.

The native press of India has been undergoing a fiery trial. Every word of comment which it directs against any officer or any official act is construed by some into disaffection, and by others into disloyalty. On behalf of the Indian press, it may without hesitation be affirmed that in its highest parts it is generally characterized by fairness, and that, in the journals of a lower character, the strength of the language used is often miscalculated by the writers, while in neither case is it characteristically disloyal. Nothing of all that England has commended to India by precept and example is better worth preservation by India than a free fearless press; and any money spent in making that press known to the great towns—the popular life of England—would be a valuable outlay. At the same time the native press of India must face the fact that no nation in the position of England in India could permit her people employed as officers to be unfairly dealt with, even in the name of a free press.

It is a prominent feature in the national character of England that the most heart-stirring interests of the day soon slide away into commercial problems. When military difficulties arise, few other nations, probably, deal with them with equal energy. When political questions in turn present themselves, few nations address themselves to their solution with wider intellectual grasp. But before the enthusiasm has subsided—and while there is still need of vigorous military administration and acute political reasoning, the subject invariably begins to develop a new phasis. How to turn the conquered country to account commercially has always been a question which has very speedily cropped up.

Of all the empires which have possessed India in different ages of the world, none have possessed it as the English have. We alone have organized it, and we alone have integrated it into the conquering empire. It is on this account that our rule in India must still be regarded as experimental, and our Indian future as somewhat intermediate. We came into the possession of India, applying to it principles of government which are without parallel among conquering states, and which, in their present degree, are without precedent among ourselves. At the same time, there is no doubt that much has happened which is calculated to clear away our

illusions and to expand our knowledge. Since the age of Clive and Hastings the preposterous notions of Indian wealth which were then common have been discarded as fabulous and chimerical. We have long learnt that, after all, India is a poor country, or at least that it is a country much less wealthy than our own. A population of 200,000,000 affords the State a revenue less than £30,000,000. The immense fortunes which were formerly amassed there during a few years were obtained by every species of extortion, and often by open violence. The fortunes which are amassed at this day—less rapid and less considerable—still chiefly arise from the factitious superiority of the few. English officials are not paid higher salaries, nor are English barristers entitled to higher fees than they would receive at home; and they would never go to India, except in the hope that they might—and the hope is often delusive—obtain more cases than in England.

But, although many delusive notions are now dispelled, there is no doubt that the wealth of the British possessions in India remains in a great degree undeveloped.

In connection with this fact, it may be well here to glance at the relation which has been borne by India to Europe in the various ages of which we have any record. It is important to observe what that relation has been, under successive changes of civilisation, of manners, of means of intercourse, of navigation, and of military rule.

The existence of India, then, has been to Europe, in all such ages, a great commercial fact. While the political relations between Europe and India have widely varied during almost every century, and have often been quite extinguished, commercial relations have been permanent. The products which once supplied Babylon and Rome now supply London and Paris. All this, of course, is the mere result of the difference between the permanent laws of nature and the temporary character of political systems. But while civilised Europe has always looked upon India as a source of trade, both in the luxuries and in the necessities of life, her commercial relations in different periods with that country are marked by two radical distinctions. In the first place, under the Roman Empire the trade maintained between Europe and India was chiefly *indirect*, whereas in the modern age it has been chiefly *direct*. In other words, Rome did not conduct a *carrying trade*, even by land, between Europe and India—a trade which Venice, Holland, and Great Britain usurped by sea. In the second place, it was the genius of Roman policy to subordinate wealth to arms—to exalt dominion above

commerce. On the other hand, it has been the spirit of modern states to look to commerce as the end of their territorial acquisitions.

The Indians themselves never were an active or energetic race. The introduction of Mohammadanism made no appreciable difference in their commercial character; for the enterprise and commercial activity commonly displayed by the advocates of that faith were cancelled by their religious antipathy to trade. Hinduism, which was venerable before Mohammadanism arose, seems now not unlikely to outlive Mohammadanism in turn. At any rate, our notions of Indian trade are connected with the Hindus, as well after as before the introduction of the Crescent. This want of national enterprise is the more remarkable, since Hindu fables abound with the most romantic exploits.

The backwardness of the Hindus as traders has arisen from a permanent cause. Indo-European commerce has always been maintained far more by the advantage derived from it by Europe than from any real profit obtained from it by India. The Western nations have, therefore, been actuated by much stronger incentives to seek Indian commerce than the Hindus have been to seek trade with Europe. The nation which was least in want, or was least avaricious, was naturally least active. The negative attitude of the Hindus towards Europe is, therefore, the result of two principal causes. They are an inert and unambitious race, and they have had less, as they conceive, to gain from Europe than Europe has had to gain from India.

Strange to say, the Hindus were not equally unenterprising in regard to the Asiatic nations with whom they had more direct commercial interests.

Yet the Hindus, viewed as a nation, repudiated commerce; and trade, wherever it was conducted, was confined to the hands of a few. Those few became almost a caste. The Hindu merchants were called Banians, or Banyans. They settled themselves at different marts of trade, both within and without the confines of their own nation. The profession descended from father to son, and from son to grandson, until the Banians acquired an hereditary character, though always liable to be interfused by fresh mercantile speculators.

China was the country with which, principally, ancient India appears to have engaged in commercial relations. Commerce was maintained by the overland route through Bactria, and by sea from the mouth of the Ganges to Limyrica. The former, by which the bulk of earlier traffic in the Indian trade probably passed, is presumed to be the same

route with that which is traversed at this day by a portion of the Hindu trading community of India.

In remote times the carrying trade between India and the West was maintained jointly by the Tyrians and the Arabs; that is to say, so far as the ports of the Red Sea were concerned. At those ports the trade of the Arabs ceased, and the conveyance of Indian goods to the few civilised states of the Mediterranean was continued by the Tyrians. But the Asiatic carrying trade gradually expired. The Greeks, after the extinction of their independence as the agents of the world, became settlers in Egypt. Established midway, or nearly so, between Europe and India, they became the principal carriers, both in the Red Sea and in the Mediterranean. Another change occurred; and the Greek traffic, impaired in the Asiatic waters, became nearly extinct in the European. When the monopoly of the Egyptian Greeks declined, commerce found its way to the Mediterranean coasts by the double channel of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The trade by the latter route afterwards went up the Euphrates and the Tigris, passing by Aleppo and Antioch through the dominion of ruined Tyre. Hence arose the frequency of European adventure on these rivers in the Middle Ages, and hence Aleppo has always maintained its commercial importance. So widely had this spirit of adventure penetrated in those times, that in the sixteenth, if not in the fifteenth, century a company of British merchants had established themselves on the Euphrates. The goods, however, thus brought during the Middle Ages to the Mediterranean shores by a medley of traders formed of all nations, were shipped and transmitted through Europe by the Venetians and the Genoese. The devolution of the Indo-European carrying trade into their hands forms the most fixed feature of this commerce in the Middle Ages. In Northern Europe the Hanse Towns aided in the dissemination of Eastern products. Much of this valuable trade sprang from the Indian Archipelago, as well as from the Indian peninsula. So little acquainted were the European nations generally with the countries that produced the luxuries of life, that the islands of the Archipelago appear, up to the sixteenth century, to have been scarcely known by name.

But with the end of the fifteenth century another and a greater change occurred. The discovery of Vasco de Gama, in 1486, changed the fate of the commercial world. The Cape of Good Hope once discovered and possessed by Portuguese sailors, and the Cape once doubled by their ships, Eastern trade passed by another route. In 1512 the first Portu-

guese ship was laden with spices such as had never before passed through the plains and estuaries of Western Asia. Venetian commerce was threatened with annihilation. The Hanse Towns apprehended nearly an equal calamity. Portugal threatened to monopolize the carrying trade between the Eastern and the Western world.

It must not, however, be supposed that this great discovery immediately effected the consequences which it threatened. Few Governments seem to have been less aware how to seize a great opportunity than the Portuguese at the beginning of the sixteenth century. At the same time it must be remembered that they entered on this great enterprise when the arts of government and navigation were a century behind the era in which the Dutch possessed themselves of the same empire. But it was a fatal error in Portuguese policy that the Government, instead of opening the Indian trade to the nation, held it in their own hands. At the period of its origin, it is true that there existed no mercantile navy in Europe capable of navigating the Indian seas. For the moment, therefore, it was necessary that the King's ships should carry Indian goods. But the Crown, instead of stimulating popular enterprise, repressed it. When ship-building had reached such a development that the royal dockyards launched vessels of war of twelve hundred tons, there could be no insurmountable reason to operate against the creation of an adequate mercantile navy by the Portuguese public.

The Portuguese principles of intercourse with India were marked by another leading error. They gave more prominence to dominion by force of arms and to religious conversion than to commerce. Of their efforts towards the establishment of Christianity, as they knew it, we would speak with all reverence; but their fanaticism was wild, and their persecuting spirit extremely bitter. No permanent hold was likely to be secured to the Christian faith by a process so antagonistic to its precepts.

The Portuguese governed their Eastern colonies under singularly conflicting notions of that commercial policy which it would be an anachronism to term political economy. While they were so impolitic as to discourage the mercantile marine of their own country, they never attempted, like their successors, to limit or regulate the growth of the favourite articles of commerce. "It happened, therefore, from the degree of freedom which prevailed, that their commercial establishments prospered exceedingly, notwithstanding the vices of their administration. Malacca, famed as a commercial emporium under its native sovereigns,

lost none of its reputation under the Portuguese. An active and unlimited intercourse existed between the Indian islands and China, and between them and Japan, of a beneficial nature unknown to their successors."*

But while this prosperity prevailed in the East Indies, Europe gained little benefit. Eastern luxuries, indeed, were more scarce than they had been before the discovery of the Cape. The Portuguese wars in the Moluccas diminished the growth of spices; the ancient carriers of the trade by the Arabian and Persian Gulfs were plundered by the usurpers of the West; and the gulfs were seized and blockaded by a European marine, which was virtually a fleet of pirates. The armed navy of the Portuguese did not carry one-third of the Indian goods which had been brought into Europe in the previous age by the Venetians and the Genoese. The discovery of the passage by the Cape, during nearly the whole of the sixteenth century, was therefore not simply a calamity to Genoa and Venice, but an evil to the rest of Europe.

But the seventeenth century followed, and with it the enterprise of Holland replaced that of Portugal. The arts of commerce and navigation had meanwhile expanded. Dutch trade with the Indies thus widely differed from Portuguese. It was the trade, not of the State, but (theoretically at least) of individuals. But the trade of individuals soon passed into the trade of commercial monopolies. This, indeed, was then inevitable. There was little individual wealth. There was even less organized trade. Barings and Hopes were only to be made up by aggregating individual speculators into companies. No extensive trade, therefore, could have been carried on between Holland and the East Indies except by means of monopolies. Indeed, the adaptation of monopolies to those times, and their impolicy in our own, is but one of many illustrations of the reason which has often been asked why political economy was not known before the latter part of the eighteenth century. The truth is that, although the wealth of the Archipelago even under the Portuguese rule was fully adapted to the liberality of its commercial principles, the corresponding wealth of Europe was wholly unequal to reciprocate the benefit of such principles. The monopolies became, in the sixteenth century, the machinery of individuals for the development of national interests.

But these monopolies of Indian trade were chiefly mere speculations. This was common both to British and Dutch monopolies. Of one of them we are told that it was formed of

* *History of the Indian Archipelago.* By John Crawfurd, F.R.S.

"dukes, earls, judges, knights, the King's counsel, privy counsellors, countesses, ladies, doctors of divinity, doctors of physic, widows, and virgins!" It was simple gambling. The peers and the doctors, the old ladies and the young ladies, put their money into East Indian trade as they would have put it into a lottery. A clear indication that the speculation was of this character is to be found in the sums for which each speculated. For the first English voyage to India the whole number of subscribers was 237, of whom 212 were for sums under £300. In the second joint-stock company of the English it appears that the whole subscribers were 954, of whom only 338 were merchants.

The development of companies into quasi-sovereign societies arose from the exact contrast between the policy of the Dutch and English Governments on the one hand, and the Portuguese Government on the other. The court of Lisbon were both the rulers and the speculators in the East. The British and Dutch Governments, on the other hand, by abrogating all commercial enterprise, abrogated also all territorial and political pretensions. Trade could only be maintained by means of local factories; the factories could not be made secure without forts; the forts presupposed other means of military defence; the commercial monopolies thus established and secured provoked native jealousy; this conflict of interests produced a conflict of arms; the result of this conflict, both among the Dutch and the English settlements, was usually favourable to the intruders; the territory surrounding the forts was consequently evacuated; the settlement grew into a district; the district grew into a province; and finally, with ourselves on the Indian mainland, the province expanded into an empire.

The Dutch and British East India Companies were soon developed by these means. A vast difference is to be traced in the extent to which the two Companies carried their respective powers. And there is a corresponding difference between the vigour of our own rule at this day, a century after the battle of Plassey, and that of the Dutch rule a century after its establishment. But the introduction of Dutch rule in the East Indies during the seventeenth century marks two novel principles of European supremacy in the East. The first rests in the subordination of territorial empire to commercial wealth; the second represents the application to India of the great principle of commercial monopolies, which is now fading away from the face of the globe. The Dutch and English in this manner soon lost the simple character of Eastern traders, in which they first navigated the Indian seas.

Originally, indeed, they stood in honourable contrast to the Spaniards and Portuguese. The acts of piracy which frequently stained the annals of the latter nations in these seas rarely attached to the history of the former. But when the Portuguese rule declined, the Dutch usurped their place, and to a certain extent imitated their violence.

The cessation of the Portuguese rule thus developed what may be termed "coercive monopolies." Once established in factories and defended by forts, the Companies sought to carry out, as against the Indians, the monopoly which they enjoyed, as against their own countrymen. Occasionally, therefore, they built forts as much to overawe the native Governments as to protect their commercial establishments. Whenever a company obtained a preponderance of power, it was their first care to establish a commercial treaty with the native Government. The means employed by the agents of the Companies for this purpose were sometimes surreptitious, sometimes violent. At all events, it is to be suspected that law and justice were not greatly regarded. The object of these treaties has been aptly described as intended "to exclude all rivalry and competition, to obtain the staple products of industry at their own prices, and to possess the exclusive monopoly of the native market for their own imagined advantage." Hence, as well as from the innate jealousies of the native Governments, arose the continual wars between the settlers and the original inhabitants.

The most extraordinary result, however, of such relations between the European and Asiatic populations was the introduction of serfdom into the East Indies. The bloodshed incident to these wars had so depopulated the districts in proximity to European settlements, that the land could no longer be maintained in cultivation under the existing laws. "The result," writes Crawford, "was to convert the population of each particular country into practical slaves, and to compel them, by arbitrary edicts, to cultivate the most favoured products of their soil, and to deliver them exclusively to the monopolists at such prices as the latter might be pleased to grant. It was on this principle, equally iniquitous and unprofitable, that the English obtained their supply of pepper, and the Dutch their pepper, their coffee, their cloves, and their nutmegs."*

It is difficult to conceive any rule more alien from that which we now maintain in continental India than that which existed some two centuries ago in the Archipelago. During the mutinies—which we are now happily sur-

* *History of the Indian Archipelago.*

mounting—we have had an opportunity, such as no other nation has perhaps ever obtained, of testing the appreciation of the British rule by the populations over which we bear sway. To the mass of the Indian people, unacquainted with our home resources, India must then have seemed lost to the British Empire; yet even in the worst districts of the Bengal Presidency scarcely a single peasant armed himself on the side of the mutineers, even when those mutineers marched in triumph from province to province. The population knew that the British dominion, whatever the imperfections which might characterize it, was the guardian of their rights, and the guarantee of their domestic peace. Subsequent royal progresses and proclamations have only more fully evoked the expression of the satisfaction of the princes and people of India.

But two centuries ago the European name was execrated throughout the East Indies. The odious rapacity of those who bore it had engendered a universal rancour and malignity on the part of the governed races. Nor was this all. The Dutch were hated by the English, and the English were hated by the Dutch, as cordially as Dutch and English were detested in common by the Asiatics. They traduced each other, arresting their hatred for the moment when it became their united interest to traduce the Spaniards and Portuguese. The Asiatic Governments, which were still powerful enough to resist the European settlers, renounced intercourse with them. Two of the most trusted contemporary authorities on this head are Captain Hamilton, who wrote a "New Account of the East Indies," and Captain Beeckman, who wrote his "Voyage to Borneo." Both these works date from the reign of Anne; and they afford a striking instance at once of the immoral cupidity of bodies of armed merchants conquering for lucre, and of the intense detestation in which the European name was then held in the Eastern seas. Such is a picture of European rule in the East Indies two centuries after its foundation—the saturnalia of conquering merchants! It will have been seen how broadly the Anglo-Dutch rule differed from the ancient, and even from the Portuguese, in respect of the predominance assigned to commerce. In point of violence, little distinction appears to be found between the different races of usurping settlers. The lust of trade was cruel and debasing in all the settlements.

But it is time to refer to dates with more precision, and here let it be noted how India became distinctively associated with the name of England.

The discovery of the Cape having been effected by Vasco de Gama in 1486, that era

may be regarded as the dawn of modern Indian trade, as distinguished from the mediæval trade maintained by Venice, Genoa, and the Hanseatic League. Twelve years afterwards, in 1498, Vasco de Gama reached Calicut. The Portuguese Empire dates from the occupation of Goa by Albuquerque in 1500. The empire gained recognition in Europe chiefly in virtue of a Papal bull—then of equal validity throughout Western Europe—allotting to the court of Lisbon the whole empire of the East. It is not surprising that a dominion attained under such a license was marked by a spirit of fanatical proselytism. The career of Albuquerque, it cannot be denied, bore some resemblance to the career of Clive two centuries and a half later. It is said that with five hundred Europeans he defeated the King of Ormuz at the head of thirty thousand. At all events, the disparity in number was probably immense. He next conquered Malacca, raised Portuguese fortresses along the whole coast-line of his possessions, and established a firm dominion in the East. His political talents were even more remarkable in that age than his military exploits. He was among the first to perceive that wealth, and even the State revenue, were to be gained by the freedom of trade; and it may even be said that he anticipated in Asia early in the sixteenth century what the most enlightened states of Europe have not perceived until the nineteenth. The policy of Albuquerque was, however, subverted by the hideous reign of grinding monopolies, and was first faintly restored by the abolition of the exclusive trading licenses of our own East India Company in 1815.

Albuquerque, then, was the founder not only of the Portuguese, but of the European Empire in India, and the originator of the commercial principles which we now obtain in those territories. The conquests which followed his rule were rapid. The coast of Ceylon had been occupied by the Portuguese in 1505. Malacca was taken in 1512. In 1516 Portuguese intercourse commenced in China. In 1534 a Portuguese settlement was formed at Macao. The Dutch trade commenced about 1590. Holland occupied the Mauritius in 1688. She wrenched Malacca from Portugal in 1605. She attempted to open a trade with China in 1622. She took Trincomalee in 1632. Meanwhile the Portuguese dominion had declined. The embassy sent from Lisbon to Japan failed in 1640, and Portugal was expelled from Ceylon in 1656, during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. Thus in the middle of the seventeenth century the Dutch were the only competitors of the English in point of trade.

The English trade with the East Indies originated in the Levant, before Venice had

been robbed by Portugal. The great Republic on the Adriatic had been in the habit of sending annually a single ship to these coasts laden with Indian stores, for which the Venetian merchants charged exorbitant prices. Such a monopoly roused the jealous energy of the English under Henry VIII. This spirit was directed to the formation of a trade in the Levant with India without the intervention of the Venetians. Hence arose, under the Tudors, our famous Levant trade. But the established passage of the Portuguese by the Cape, and their tardiness in availing themselves of the carrying trade which the formation of a mercantile navy would have secured them, directed British enterprise to that quarter before the end of the reign of Elizabeth. Singularly enough, instead of at first following the accustomed track of the Portuguese, an attempt was made to discover a new route either by the north-east or the north-west. Captain Frobisher, in command of two vessels, made three unsuccessful voyages with this view. His first was made in 1576. The aim of these expeditions, to save the circuits of Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, was similar to that in which the great Franklin perished. Sir Francis Drake, on his return from the circumnavigation of the globe, pronounced a passage by the arctic circle impracticable. This advice determined the English to follow in the Portuguese track. Hence with the dawn of the seventeenth century arose the British trade with India by the Cape, which was destined to surpass the trade of the rest of the world.

The first English East India Company was founded in 1600. Cavendish, a young gentleman who had wasted his property in England, had shortly before sailed to the Indies. The account which he gave to the merchants of London on his return determined our Indian future. A great body of them applied to the Queen for a charter of incorporation, defining the principles on which they should trade to the East. In December, 1600, the petitioners were accordingly incorporated by Elizabeth under the designation of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." Reference has already been made in foregoing pages to the East India Company and its history; but it may be interesting to observe, in this connection, that the shares were originally fixed at £50 each, and that the whole capital amounted to £369,891 5s. This, indeed, was no small sum for a first adventure in such an age. In 1676 the profits were added to the stock, and the capital was thereby doubled. Elizabeth, on the formation of the Company, herself nominated the twenty-four Directors,

and also the Governor, who seems to have made a twenty-fifth in the directorate. Leave, however, was given in the charter to the Company or proprietors to elect most of their Directors in future.

The charter allowed the Company "freely to traffic and use the trade of merchandise by sea, in and by such ways and passages already discovered, or hereafter to be discovered, as they should esteem and take to be fittest, into and from the East Indies, unto the countries and ports of Asia and Africa, and unto and from all the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, rivers, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Strait of Magellan, where any trade or traffic may be used, to or from every one of them, in such order, manner, form, liberty, and condition, as they themselves should, from time to time, agree upon and determine." Besides this quaint designation of their commercial privileges, certain political rights were vested in the Company. They were allowed to make bye-laws, and to inflict both fine and imprisonment, and even corporal punishment, providing that they did not transgress the existing laws of their own country.

The English East India Company was soon brought into collision with both Dutch and Portuguese rivals. Actions were not infrequent between their armed mercantile vessels. But the English Company, if duly supported, would have triumphed over all such opposition. Sir Henry Middleton defeated a very superior Portuguese fleet; and Sir Thomas Roe, soon afterwards sent as ambassador to the court of Delhi, aided in the extension of English factories and settlements. Appeals against the collisions in which the rival Companies were involved lay in either case to the Home Government. But James I. accepted the bribes of the merchants of Amsterdam, and abandoned the interests of the English Company.

A treaty was at length concluded between the British and Dutch East India Companies towards the end of this reign. But it was no sooner signed than it was violated by the Dutch in every particular. All the English Company's agents in Amboyna were seized, tortured, and eventually murdered by them, on a groundless pretext that they had stimulated an insurrection of the natives against Holland. But neither the first James nor the first Charles avenged these iniquities. The Dutch Company, supported by the Dutch State, soon became too powerful for the English Company, unsupported by the English State. Consequently, half a century after the formation of the English Company in 1600,

our rule in the East Indies seemed about to expire.

But at this critical period a momentous change took place in the Government of England. Cromwell had succeeded to the supreme power. He was resolved to pursue war, if necessary, in the interest of British commerce. He accordingly allied himself with Mazarin, and declared war against the Dutch. The victorious terms which he enforced upon them in the treaty of the 5th of April, 1654, are well known. It is to be recorded to his credit that in that treaty he avenged, so far as the lapse of time permitted, the atrocities inflicted on the English agents, in connection with which James and Charles, thirty years before, had failed to redress the honour of the nation. It was stipulated among the articles of this treaty that "the Lords, the States-General of the United Provinces, shall take care that justice be done upon those who were partakers and accomplices in the massacre at Amboyna, as the Republic of England is pleased to term that fact, provided any of them be living." A compensation of £82,000 was also demanded for the English Company from the Dutch.

The English East India Company, thus avenged and re-established by Cromwell, never lost their hold on the Eastern world. But from Charles II. they experienced the most inconsistent and capricious conduct. On his accession he confirmed and extended their charter. In 1669 he granted them the island of Bombay, which had been part of the dowry of his queen, the Princess of Portugal. Yet at the moment when the Company were equipping a fleet for the re-acquisition of the kingdom of Bantam, Charles accepted, like his grandfather, a Dutch bribe, and interdicted the expedition. He had repented his liberality in having ceded Bombay to the Company for nothing in return; his mistresses clamoured for more pin-money; his gambling demanded a large supply of cash; and he, too, crushed the English interest for a handful of gold from Amsterdam.

The triennium of James II. introduced at once consistent principles and a false policy. James laboured to increase the severity of the existing monopoly. But in order to explain his peculiar object it is necessary to state in what condition this chartered monopoly had stood in actual practice. Charters were in those days granted almost invariably by the Crown alone. The court was too fickle, and the people were too free, to entitle the holders of these theoretic rights to general respect. The popular presumption was commonly against the equity of royal charters. Their very legality was questioned. The best lawyers openly scoffed at the pretensions of

companies claiming privileges in virtue of them. It was very clear, therefore, that an adventurous people would not be bound by restrictions of certain moral injustice and of doubtful legal validity. Accordingly the monopoly of the East India Company was extensively invaded during the reign of Charles II. The traders to the East in violation of the Company's charter were termed "interlopers." In 1685 this body had seized no small portion of Indian commerce.

The policy of James II. was directed against the interlopers. In 1686 he dispatched a ship of war to India, bearing a royal proclamation, "directing the free-traders to place themselves under the control of the Company, and abandon their pursuits." This decree struck at the root of the Indian wealth which was surreptitiously diffusing itself in the country. Had the Stuarts remained much longer on the throne, it is doubtful whether the British, exposed at once to the hostility of the Dutch and to the growing power of the French, would have been able to maintain their ground in the East Indies. In 1688 James happily fled the country, and the accession of William of Orange heralded a new era to Anglo-Indian interests.

The convention of Parliament, assembled on the abdication of James, opened the whole question of trade with India. But it appears that the patriots were as open to bribery as the court. Soon after the accession of William III. an address was presented by Parliament for the revocation of the charter. The Directors were terrified. William took up the question. He referred it to the Privy Council. The Directors bribed the Privy Councillors. The Privy Councillors accordingly advised the King to set the Parliament at defiance—to renew, and even to extend the charter. The Dutch Company had bribed the Stuart king; the English Company now bribed the advisers of the Dutch king. But the Company were not yet clear of the rocks. It happened that an Act of Parliament—not specially directed, it would appear, against them—had just been passed, providing that every company which did not pay certain taxes which this Act levied on all joint-stocks, within three months after they became due, should forfeit its charter. The East India Directors, by a strange carelessness, permitted themselves to take rank among the defaulters. Parliament seized the opportunity, and declared the charter abrogated.

But gold came once more to the Company's aid. The question went again to the Privy Council. The Councillors were bribed more largely than before, for in truth they had on

this occasion a more difficult task to perform. They now set law and reason plainly at defiance. It is, perhaps, one of the strangest instances of the imperfect working of our constitution in this period that the question should have gone to the King's advisers at all. It related to the construction and operation of an Act of Parliament. The Court of King's Bench was, of course, its legitimate arbiter. But the Privy Council, at once usurping functions and discarding justice, set the Company on their legs once more. This was too glaring. A storm of indignation arose. It took shape in a demand for the books of the Company. From these books it appeared that not less than £100,000 had been expended during this single year for secret service, or, in other words, for bribes under the euphonious name of "gratifications." But such was the slavish spirit of the House of Commons, that from the moment at which it appeared that the exposure would involve in common the greatest personages and the greatest "patriots" in the land, the prosecution of the inquiry was arrested.

But the necessities of Government, more urgent than the cupidity of individual ministers, placed a check on this career of monopoly. William found himself unable to prolong the war with France without a loan of £2,000,000. Certain merchants came forward, offering to advance the money on the condition of being incorporated as a rival company. Thus arose the New East India Company.

The hostile monopolists, however, each acted in a manner as prejudicial to the interests of the other as the elder English Company and the Dutch. The result was almost inevitable: they proposed and effected an amalgamation. This amalgamation took place on the accession of Anne in 1702. The organization of the united Company was very curious. The three presidencies of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were then instituted. The relations of the two Courts of Proprietors and Directors were clearly defined as the Indian executive and the Indian legislative. In 1726 the united Company received a new charter from Sir Robert Walpole, empowering them to create a Mayor's Court at each presidency, which should consist of a Mayor and nine Aldermen for cognisance of all civil questions; a Court of Quarter Sessions for all criminal offences excepting high treason; while the President and Council, who governed in the name of the Company, formed in either case a Court of Appeal. In the extinct title of President, afterwards changed into Governor, we find the origin of the present division of our Empire into presidencies. The development of the European courts

into a form analogous to that which they now bear, dates from an extension of this charter in 1753. But the real evil resulting from the amalgamation of the two Companies was that it crushed the principle of free trade. Mr. Crawford says, "From the union of this new Company with the old one is to be dated the ruin of free trade, the triumph of monopoly principles, and of course the cessation, as far as Great Britain was concerned, of all useful intercourse with India—a blank of one hundred and twelve years." The French rule in India was unimportant.

The final abolition of the exclusive license of trade, so long maintained by the East India Company, took place in 1815. The results of this measure were greater and more rapid than could have been anticipated. In that year the united trade with India and China had reached 40,000 tons, its increase being little less than 1,000 tons a year since the beginning of the century. Under this free-trade system the trade had increased to 61,000 tons in 1820. The Company's monopoly being destroyed, and experience confirming the destruction, the Company itself was a doomed corporation. When this abrogation of special trading rights had taken place, the territorial and political rights of the Company became anomalous.

At present the actual shipping is, under this free-trade system, more numerous at Madras than at Calcutta, and is even greater at Bombay than at Madras. On the other hand, the tonnage is considerably less.

The altered Eastern policy of our own generation is working powerfully both in our Indian trade and in the fortunes of the East. The abolition of chartered monopoly in 1815 was the origin of this change. That abolition extinguished the principle of chartered monopoly. With that principle there was also associated, both in tradition and in fact, a spirit of the worst injustice towards the Asiatics. The lapse of the East India Company and the transfer of its powers are spoken of in a former page.

Foremost among the promoters of our new commercial system in the Archipelago ranks Sir James Brooke. He has illustrated the exact reverse of the Dutch policy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He has endeavoured not to profit by the Asiatics at their expense, but by improving and civilising them. The Dutch practised piracy. It is our aim to put down piracy. The Dutch established their authority in order to oppress all but themselves. We now establish ours to deal justice among all. Rajah Brooke says, "Since the advent of Europe in the Archipelago it has been the tendency of the Poly-

nesian Governments to go to decay. Here the experiment may be fairly tried on the smallest scale of expense, whether a beneficial European influence may not reanimate a falling State, and at the same time extend our own commerce. We are here devoid of the stimulus which has urged us on to conquest in India. We incur no risks of the collision of the two races. We occupy a small station in the vicinity of a friendly and unwarlike people, and we aim at the development of native countries through native agency. . . . I own that the native development, through their own exertions, is but a favourite theory; but whatever may be the fate of the Government of Borneo, the people will still remain, if they be protected and enabled to live in quiet security. I cannot entertain a doubt of the country becoming a highly productive one, eminently calculated as a field of British enterprise and capital." *

These expectations of Sir James Brooke, written more than twenty years ago, are being gradually realised, though perhaps more slowly than the astute reformer of the Archipelago had expected.

The Indian Archipelago is distinctively the theatre of a great commercial future. There is no doubt that within our recognised continental empire itself the formation of railways will greatly increase production by facilitating transport; and it will, consequently, greatly widen the maritime commerce of Great Britain with many regions. Numerous and abundant were the exported products of India in the most ancient times. But in the Archipelago—so important for shipping—there is even now a political organization and a policy to be determined and fixed upon. When we perceive the tendency of the native insular Governments to decline under the justice, the foresight, and the energy of our own rule, we can hardly doubt that those who follow in the footsteps of Brooke will eventually become the naturalised island chiefs, and be to the dynasty that was what the Carolings were to the Merovings. It is by such rule as this that the East Indies now begin to yield the produce with which nature appears always to have designed them to supply the Western world.

Since the abolition of the monopoly, the increase of trade, exclusive of treasure, has been nearly £1,000,000 per annum.

In close connection with the commerce of India is the question of employment there for British subjects. The openings which present themselves to Englishmen are divisible

* Sir J. Brooke, *Expedition to Borneo*.

into several classes:—1, the Covenanted Civil Service of India; 2, the Military Service; 3, the various departments of the Civil Service hitherto known as Uncovenanted; and 4, semi-official positions held by non-official or private individuals. Of these the second alone is distinct, and is fast becoming more so; that is, it becomes increasingly more difficult for military officers to obtain any employment which does not strictly appertain to their own profession. The first and third are in a transition state; or, in other words, the junior members of the department hitherto known as uncovenanted are now covenanted servants, and their places as they are promoted are filled by covenanted men. The terms covenanted and uncovenanted are in this country little understood and less regarded, but in India they have a marked significance. Primarily they mean that the former are under an honourable covenant, in consideration of their high rate of pay and allowances, not to engage in any private enterprise whatsoever; and this will form a radical feature of the engagement on the part of future members of the new covenanted services; while the latter are under no such obligation, and are, in fact, expressly permitted to hold land or engage in trade, provided that “no officer shall apply any portion of the time and attention which ought to be devoted to his public duties, whether civil or military, to the management of that property, and that longer or more frequent leaves of absence are not to be permitted on that account.” Practically this is found to mean that the covenanted officials form the aristocracy of the East, and rank, relatively to the length of service, higher than military officers with treble their pay and allowances, while the uncovenanted officials have to serve many years before they have any rank at all, or obtain any income worth mentioning.

With regard to the former class, it must be remembered that India is a country crowded with British officials, and that something of the official element enters into the nature of all employment obtainable by our countrymen there. Even the railways, which have always been under Government control, are rapidly becoming State property, and the engineers, formerly in the service of companies, State officials. Advocates expect to get appointments as solicitors to Government, Government pleaders, registrars of courts, &c., as supplementary to their private practice; while even merchants are drawn into the official vortex by becoming, and looking forward to becoming, members of the Legislative Councils at the different seats of Government. It is true there are tea and coffee planters, but these are few in number and of little weight in the

country; while neither the area of land to be taken up by private enterprise, nor the encouragement given to settlers in the development of their tracts by Government, commends India even to the passing consideration of the bulk of would-be colonists.

Among the occupations in India which has just been enumerated as open to our countrymen, the Covenanted Civil Service has been placed first, inasmuch as it is held to be the great prize to compete for. The latest returns within reach supply the following information:—In 1862 there were 171 competitors, and of these 8 were successful; in 1863 there were 189 competitors, and 60 were successful; in 1864 there were 219 competitors, and 40 were successful; in 1865 there were 285 competitors, and 50 were successful; in 1866 there were 242 competitors, and 50 were successful; in 1867 there were 279 competitors, and 50 were successful; in 1869 there were 325 competitors, and 50 were successful; and in 1870 there were 332 competitors, 40 being successful. It ought to be remembered, however, that failure at the first attempt, or even the second, does not necessitate or imply ultimate rejection.

On his first landing in India, the assistant collector—as the young civilian is styled—gets Rs. 427 per mensem (about £500 per annum), while, so rapidly does his promotion go on, that in twelve or fourteen years' service he may find himself acting judge or collector of a district, with about £2,800 a year. He has further, after a few years' service, two distinct branches of his profession within his reach, and generally at his discretion:—1, the judicial line, leading up to the High Court, with from £4,000 to £5,000 a year; 2, the revenue line, passing through the office of collector, or quasi lord-lieutenant of a county, to the Board of Revenue commissionerships and lieutenant-governorships of provinces, with a high salary.

Of the duties of Indian civilians in these two branches of their profession suffice it to say that in most cases they will find in the discharge of them a congenial occupation; while, if their tastes lie that way, field sports go hand in hand with their work, and, indeed, form almost a part of it. The leave rules, apart from the regular furloughs which are common to most of the services in India, are remarkably liberal. With the increased facilities for travel, a civilian, by accumulating his privilege for three years to abstain from work for one month in the year, can have a triennial trip to Europe, with the advantage of the health-restoring sea breezes *en route*. The members of other services, while enjoying equally with the covenanted civilian one

month's privilege leave after eleven months' continuous duty, are prevented from employing it to similar advantage—the military officer by an express rule, and the uncovenanted civilian by the comparative shallowness of his rupee bag.

But a most important change is being introduced into the Covenanted Civil Service of India. Much restriction in regard to the admission into it of natives has already been removed, and more will follow, so that the native will stand, according to his proved eligibility, with the European in regard to the highest offices of the Empire.

The military service in India is becoming more and more of a distinctively military character, the various civil posts which used to be given to staff-officers now passing into the hands of members of the new covenanted services, and preferments, therefore, having to be looked for in connection with the performance of military duty only. There is, however, a larger number of officers employed by recent regulations, and promotion is consequently more quickly attainable than in England.

With regard to medical service in the army there has long been a feeling of discontent. Service in the medical department splits itself into two branches. As an army official the doctor draws for the medical charge of a native regiment—surgeon-major Rs. 1,000 per mensem; surgeon, Rs. 800 per mensem; assistant surgeon above five years, Rs. 600 per mensem; assistant surgeon under five years, Rs. 450 per mensem; with extra horse allowance if attached to a cavalry regiment, and with additional allowances of Rs. 100 for the charge of an extra regiment, and Rs. 75 for the charge of a wing. As a civil official, again, the doctor draws for the medical charge of first-class civil stations—surgeon-major, Rs. 1,050 per mensem; assistant-surgeon above five years, Rs. 650 per mensem; assistant surgeon under five years, Rs. 500 per mensem; with extra allowances for the charge of lunatic asylums, gaols, &c. These, again, lead up to the higher appointments of inspector-general and deputy inspector-general, on the consolidated salaries respectively of Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 1,800 per mensem. There are other appointments than even these open to the medical profession, so that, notwithstanding many complaints, that part of the service is not the worst paid. Besides, private practice is not usually forbidden, and in many civil stations this adds very substantially to the income of the doctor.

Of the ecclesiastical department it is not necessary to say more than a very few words. The pecuniary prospects of chaplains are not

such as to tempt young men into their ranks merely for the sake of lucre. But the pay is sufficient to convey a decency to the appointment which is often absolutely wanting in England. Junior chaplains receive Rs. 500 per mensem, and seniors, after ten years' service, Rs. 800. Advancement is more the reward of merit than the gift of patronage.

The group of Covenanted Services has been built up by degrees, and evolved from the confused and intermixed number of appointments which were formerly given to military officers or uncovenanted civilians in default of skilled engineers or surveyors. This was a mistake, and it is being remedied. A brave officer or a well-educated civilian was not necessarily competent to contrive and superintend the building of barracks or the construction of a bridge. According to present arrangements, the successful candidate for admission into the Public Works Department does not go to India direct, nor is he left absolutely to his own resources and discretion during the two years which must elapse between his preliminary examination and his final posting to India. He is admitted to a Government training college, where his tutors are Government servants who have had practical experience of the duties which they profess to teach. It is thus made certain that his training there will be in the right direction, and of practical use in his future career. True he has to pay £150 for his board and education at the college, while the selected candidate for the Civil Service receives that amount from the Secretary of State for India, and has to educate and board himself. Still this is more than counterbalanced by the comparative ages of the young men, and the sums spent on their education up to the time of their probation. It is no small advantage, moreover, to the individuals as well as to the State, to have the opportunity of familiar intercourse with those who are to be employed in the same work in India. And again, a student in a college is often—fortunately for himself—compelled to work, while the Civil Service candidate, left to his own judgment, may rashly prolong his well-merited holiday, hoping, it may be vainly, to retrieve the consequences of his self-indulgence by a sudden spurt.

What, then, are the prospects of the young engineer? In this department, at least, promotion in the strict order of seniority would be highly detrimental to the public service. The regular gradations of the department are assistant engineers, executive engineers, and superintending engineers, and the salaries, commencing at Rs. 300 per mensem, run up to Rs. 2,000, with stated allowances, corre-

sponding with the grade of the official, for travelling. There are, besides these, many special appointments, such as principalships of civil engineering colleges, posts of consulting engineers to Government for railways, canal and irrigation companies, and the various highly paid offices in the Secretariat reserved for members of the Public Works Department.

The next Covenanted Civil Service department in India is that which has to do with the forests. This is really a branch of the Revenue Department; but as public attention was called to the matter in consequence of the growing scarcity of timber, and even of firewood, a more systematic conservancy of the forests was seen to be necessary, and a separate official establishment was appointed; and as there was no nursery or school for forest teaching in India, or even in England, the draft of officials was again necessarily made from the military officers. Amongst these there were to be found many who, from a love of sport or even a taste for botanical pursuits, were easily induced to enter the forest service. Sport and botany, however, form more the pastimes than the duties of the practical forest officer, and a regular training and knowledge of forestry, as practised in a country where timber in large quantities is treated as a marketable commodity and source of revenue, were felt to be absolutely necessary. In England such a training applicable to the forests of India was not obtainable. From the earliest periods of our history, indeed, we have possessed large forest, or rather hunting grounds, and from the reign of William III. Acts of Parliament have from time to time been passed for the restoration and preservation of these forests for the supply of timber for the Royal Navy. Still, with the large importations of foreign timber, more particularly of teak and foreign-grown oak, and the comparative abandonment of wood in favour of iron for ship-building purposes, our forests, as compared with the Indian forests, are simple parks or commons for the convenience and recreation of the people. The area of the largest—viz. the New Forest—does not exceed 63,000 acres, of which scarcely one-third is covered with timber.

In Germany, however, there are large tracts covered with dense pine forests, and the floating of the great rafts of timber down the Rhine and other rivers gives employment to a large population. The Chief Inspector of Forests in India is a German, and under his advice a scheme for combining a sound rudimentary English education with practical teaching of forestry, as in France and Ger-

many, has been established. The attainments demanded from the young candidates at their preliminary examination are not of a high standard, but they are in a special direction, and that is a practical one. The art of twisting English poetry into what we are pleased to call Latin and Greek verses gives way to a good colloquial knowledge of French and German, and an acquaintance with the natural sciences—afterwards of the greatest practical use. This forms a most important feature in the education.

The successful candidate is not, like the young civilian, left to his own discretion in the pursuit of his finishing studies; nor is he, like the young engineer, kept in a college. During the two and a half years over which the finishing course of instruction extends he is boarded for the first year with an executive forest officer in France or Germany, according to his knowledge of French or German, and completes his training either in a forest school or in the office of the director of forests. The cost of this training, whether in France or Germany, is estimated not to exceed £600, to which, in the case of those candidates whose conduct and progress are satisfactory, her Majesty's Secretary of State for India contributes £100 per annum.

The salaries of officers in the Forest Department in India, running through the grades of assistant and deputy conservators to that of inspector of forests, vary from £300 to £1,000 per annum, consolidated rates of travelling allowances in proportion to the grade being always added.

The Departments of Public Works and Forests are the only two branches of public service in India which come under this division, and are open to candidates in this country by free competition. They are, moreover, covenanted departments, as distinguished from the various services about to be enumerated, and which are known as uncovenanted; that is, in the lower and junior grades.

The general form of covenant entered into sets forth that the employé shall, in consideration of becoming entitled to the rights and privileges, in respect of pay and promotion, accorded to officers of the department he serves in, and to leaves and pension rules as fixed from time to time by the Government of India, under the sanction of the Secretary of State, employ himself "wholly, efficiently, and diligently, under the orders and instruction of the Local Government and the officer or officers placed over him." The expenses of his passage to India are paid by the Government, and his pay commences on the day of his arrival in India, provided he embarks within the time notified to him by the Secretary of State.

It will be noticed that, under the new covenants entered into by young Indian officers, in the payments which are to be made to them in Great Britain (that is, leave and furlough allowances), the rate of exchange between England and India, annually fixed by the Secretary of State in Council in communication with the Lords of the Treasury, is to be observed. The present rate of exchange is about 1s. 9½*d.* for the rupee, and there have recently been many complaints from officers on leave who considered themselves entitled to receive their half or third pay allowances—calculating the rupee as being worth 2s.—and who have been mulcted in the difference between a rupee worth 2s. and a rupee value 1s. 9½*d.*, for difference of exchange.

The Indian Telegraph Department is officially said to be at present in excess of the sanctioned complement, and no more nominations will therefore be made for some time to come.

At the head of the services which are called uncovenanted may be placed the Police. Not that all the officers employed in the force are uncovenanted, or even the greater portion of them. But we are now considering the services in relation to the openings which they offer to aspirants for employment in their junior grades. These are now generally reserved for uncovenanted civilians, the supply of young military officers being, as has already been said, short of even the regimental requirements of the Indian forces. In the police force, moreover, the military element is already too strong. The police ought always to be regarded as distinctively a civil, and not a military service. The police-officer, while directly under the orders of his immediate departmental superior, is the servant of the civil magistrate for the detection of crime, the arrest of prisoners, the guardianship of gaols, civil treasuries, and camp kutcheries. The position of a police-officer is one requiring great tact and forbearance, as well as firmness and decision: tact and forbearance in his relationship with the civil magistrates and their subordinates—firmness and decision in the upholding of discipline in his own force; for the power of a police-constable, detached on separate or special duty, is, over the ignorant and half-civilised population of a jungle district, almost unbounded. In such a position the temptation to take bribes, to levy black-mail, and generally to tyrannize over the people, is, to a native, well-nigh irresistible. Again, frequent collisions between police-constables and sepoys of the line take place on great occasions, such as the celebration of Mohammadan or Hindu festivals, assuming the appearance and dimensions of Irish faction-

fights. In all these circumstances the attitude of the police-officer, at once free from partisanship and alive to the dignity of his position, is of the greatest importance to his own credit and success.

Candidates for employment have to pass an examination in the India Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Law of Evidence, and Rules of Practice (Criminal); also in such of the native languages as may be prescribed by the Government under which they propose to serve, and in departmental subjects. The pay of an assistant superintendent of police commences at about Rs. 400 per mensem, running through the grades of first-class assistant at Rs. 500; superintendents, at Rs. 700 or 800; deputy inspector-general, at £1,000, to that of inspector-general of a presidency or province, whose salary varies, but is always high.

The other uncovenanted services offer but few openings to English students. They are in the gift of the Local Governments of India; and independently of the fact that, under the Secretary of State for India, such appointments are reserved, wherever practicable, for natives of India, it requires the highest interest to obtain them. Furthermore, for many of them, those more especially of a routine nature, natives are perfectly fitted. There is no lack of intellect among the natives of India, while for the administration, or, at any rate, the knowledge of law, and, it may be added, for the prosecution of it, they have a singular aptitude. How they are qualified for offices requiring energy, prompt decision, acceptance of responsibility, and high courage remains yet to be seen. Be that as it may, however, the experiment is to be made, and the young Englishman, rich only in expectations, will do well to hesitate before going out to India on the chance of something turning up. Many who have done so are to be found in the ranks of ticket collectors and guards on railways, or, more lamentable still, have been absorbed into the fraternity of “loafers”—mendicants. Not even in Australia, whence many sad stories of classmen of universities and educated gentlemen acting as shepherds reach us, is the Englishman out of place so utterly.

The employments are, 1. The Postal, with its grades of inspecting postmasters, on Rs. 700, and postmaster-general of a presidency on Rs. 2,000 per mensem. 2. The Educational, with the various classes of inspectors of schools on allowances of Rs. 600 to Rs. 1,000 per mensem; professors in colleges, with from Rs. 600 to Rs. 700, up to the directors of public instruction on Rs. 2,250, and principals of colleges on Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500. 3. The Revenue Survey, comprising an assistant at Rs. 325, up to deputy superintendent

on Rs. 750, and superintendent on Rs. 1,000. 4. The Revenue Settlement, where this exists separately from the Civil Service (covenanted), in which the assistants get Rs. 325, assistant directors Rs. 1,287, and principal directors of a presidency Rs. 2,800. 5. Deputy collectors and magistrates placed in special charge under the collectors of districts. These are salt and sea custom officers, and they draw from Rs. 250 to Rs. 600 per mensem.

The principal railway lines open in India are, 1, the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, running from Bombay to Jabalpur in one direction, and from Bombay to Raichore in another; 2, the East Indian Railway, running from Calcutta to Delhi, and from Allahabad to Jabalpur, where, joining the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, it completes the through communication between Calcutta and Bombay; 3, the Madras Railway, running from Madras to Baipur on the west coast, and north-west to Raichore, where it joins the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, and unites Madras with Bombay. Other lines are the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India; the Sind, Punjab, and Delhi; the Great Southern of India; and many more are being constructed.

Any person called to the degree of barrister-at-law in England and Ireland, or being a member of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, is qualified to be admitted as advocate of the high courts of India. The pay of Government pleaders averages about Rs. 500 per mensem; and there are also the highly paid offices of solicitors and advocates general, on Rs. 1,225 and Rs. 2,187 respectively. Registrars of high courts on the original and appellate sides draw from Rs. 1,600 to Rs. 2,000 per mensem, and sheriffs Rs. 1,000, open to the legal profession. The chief justice of a presidency draws Rs. 5,000 per mensem; a puisne judge, Rs. 3,750; and judges of courts of small causes, from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000.

And now, in regard to Christianity, what is to become of India? Divine Providence has placed this immense territory, with its vast population, in British hands. For what? Certainly not for the sake of indigo, coffee, tea, or cinchona. Why was this land brought under the rule of the most Protestant, and, with all its faults, the most Christian rule in the world, unless for a specific purpose? There is no fanaticism in saying so.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Roman Catholic missionaries established themselves in various parts of India. They even penetrated to the court of the Great Mogul. The Portuguese made many and great efforts to bring the native population

over to the Romish Church, but without success. Throughout the greater part of India not only were there no Christians, but the very existence of the Christian religion was unknown. The educated Mohammadans were aware of there being Christian nations in the West. They learned thus much from the Arabic historians, poets, and writers on religion; but the uneducated and the Hindu population were not aware that there was such a religion as Christianity.

When by Lord Clive's victories the East India Company found themselves the sovereigns of Bengal, they entertained great doubts as to their ability to keep possession of a territory the acquisition of which they had certainly not desired, but which, once acquired, could not be safely relinquished. At that time it was the accepted belief that the proselytizing zeal of the Portuguese had lost them their Indian Empire. The Court of Directors accordingly resolved to avoid this error, and in doing so they went to the opposite extreme. They not only did not encourage the spread of Christianity, but they placed every impediment in the way of its propagation. They prohibited missionaries from landing in India, and they inculcated on their servants the greatest deference to the religious feelings and prejudices of the native populations.

The policy in this respect of the Directors of the East India Company had the full approval both of the English public opinion of that day, and also, what was practically more important, of their own officers, civil and military, in India, and was carried out to an extent which excited the astonishment of every new-comer. The Anglo-Indians of that date were men, as their conduct showed, humane, just, and enlightened, eminently gifted with the capacity for ruling, and sincerely anxious to govern for the benefit of the people under their dominion. But their private lives were seldom pure, and they most of them were entirely destitute of religious feeling. They had no desire to propagate Christianity. On the contrary, they regarded any attempt to do so with extreme disfavour, as at once dangerous and silly.

But towards the close of the century a better spirit had arisen in England. It was felt that to prohibit the preaching of the Gospel in India was practically to deny the truth of Christianity. About the commencement of the present century missionaries were authorised by Parliament to establish themselves in Bengal, and many earnest men set sail for the East. They wrote, they translated, they established schools, and they preached. Indirectly they effected much

good, but it was in a great measure by giving an impulse to secular education among the natives, and by introducing a purer morality and a more religious tone among their own countrymen. In their immediate and direct object they to a great extent failed. They went to make converts, and they made but few. The first missionaries were not permitted to penetrate to Upper India. No European could reside or even travel in the interior without the written permission of the Government, and that permission was at any time liable to withdrawal. About the year 1834, on the renewal of the Company's charter, many restrictions were withdrawn, and India thrown open to a large extent. A number of missionaries, chiefly American, took advantage of the permission, and established missions in various parts of the upper provinces.

The overland route became established about 1843, and with it a new era commenced in India. The number of European soldiers at that time was about 5,000, and there might be 400 or 500 non-military Europeans, the civil servants of the Government, clerks, and teachers. The entire European population, men, women, and children, might have been from 6,000 to 7,000. The half-caste population was less numerous—perhaps, all told, some 2,000 or 3,000. The line of demarcation between the half-caste and the native Christians was not clearly defined. Many of the so-called half-castes, or Eurasians, were of pure native descent, and occasionally the ancestry of the native Christian was partly European.

The spiritual wants of the Europeans and Eurasians were very fairly provided for. In all large stations there were commodious churches and a large staff of chaplains. The latter, as a rule, were not very highly thought of. They were men of university education and average acquirements, and their moral conduct was unimpeachable, but they were regarded as deficient in zeal. As a rule, they took little interest in the country, and seldom attempted the conversion of the natives. Neither did they display any interest in the education of the children of the English soldiers.

There were at this period about ten Protestant missions, chiefly American. Next to the Americans in point of numbers were the Germans. As regarded denomination, the majority of the missions were Presbyterian and Independent. Next in number came the Baptists, and then the Church of England.

Besides their Christian schools within the mission premises, the missionaries generally had a school for secular education in the

native city. These schools were highly thought of, and much preferred by the natives to those of the Government; but, though the reading of the Bible was insisted on, they could not be regarded as proselytizing institutions. They gave to all an excellent education—turned out many scholars; but seldom was one of those scholars a Christian. The extreme neatness and the good management of the missionary establishments give an impression of worldly prosperity which is very far from existing. The American and English missionaries can just manage to live in decent comfort. The Germans can hardly manage to live at all. Most of the missionaries are married, and find sympathy and repose in their homes, while the majority go out with more accurate ideas of the difficulties and possibilities of missionary enterprise than prevailed at the commencement of the century. Men like Henry Martyn confidently anticipated a palpable result from their preaching; but the missionaries are now wiser. They feel that their prospects are less bright, and that the toil of a lifetime may produce little or no perceptible result. To them it is to prepare the soil. The reaping of the harvest, perhaps even the sowing of the seed, will in all probability be reserved, in great part, for their successors.

Besides the Protestant missions the Roman Catholics had formerly several establishments. They have so still; but their influence is on the wane.

The law which prohibited the adoption of children by the native princes was, after the mutiny, abolished, as both unjust and impolitic.

In 1843 the Rajah of Gwalior died. His death was followed by dissensions, of which the army took advantage. They compelled their queen to declare war, and marched to the British frontier, where they were met and defeated by Lord Gough. Gwalior was not annexed, but the Government was remodelled, and what remained of the army was disbanded. With the exception of a very few who had pecuniary means, the Christian soldiers were reduced to destitution. A scheme was devised for settling these men and their families in the Dera Dhun, or "Valley of the Tent," which is about fifty miles long, at the extreme north of the Upper Provinces, and at the base of the Himalayas. The place is beautiful in the extreme; but the men would not work. The English attributed the failure of the plan to the indolence of the Christians, so called—"lazy, idle wretches, who would sooner starve than work." The natives, however, were more charitable, and regarded these Christians as

"men of the sword, and not of the field." The number of native Christians in the Upper Provinces, women and children included, may have amounted to 2,000, but this is a mere guess. Personally and individually those Christians, in points of ordinary morality, were slightly better than other natives. They were so; but they were more cringing, a little more helpless, and less courageous than the Hindu or Mohammadan. The profession of Christianity in a native was equivalent to social degradation, and the Christians, aware that it was so, felt accordingly.

The suppression of the mutiny was followed by great changes, which have to no small extent affected the natives. They move more, they read more, they know more, and they think more. Among the richer and better-educated classes the ideas of modern Europe have penetrated their tone of thought, and to some extent even their habits of life. The number of Christians has greatly increased, but the increase is, to a large extent, European, for among the native population Christianity has made little progress.

Good men can only cast the bread of life on the waters, and await with simple faith the time when God shall cause the seed to germinate and the bread to return.

The question irrepressibly comes up, What are the imperial obligations to India, while that country remains an important member of the community of nations which forms the British Empire? The natives of India cannot claim to be more generously treated by their conquerors than they would be by rulers of their own race and choice. India ought to pay her own expenses; but she has not.

The advocates of Indian grievances assert, indeed, that India returns indirectly, if not directly, full value to England for all the benefits which she receives. Great stress is laid upon the "Home Charges," which consist of remittances to the amount of between £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 sterling a year, to cover the interest on money lent to India by English capitalists, and pensions payable to retired members of the civil and military services. As to the debt, England is not greatly beholden to India because that country pays with regularity the interest on money borrowed from English capitalists. One would think that the obligation lay the other way. As far as regards the capital invested in Indian railways, India has made a good bargain, for year by year the net traffic receipts approximate more closely to the amount of the guaranteed interest; and, as soon as this level is reached, India will be able to boast that she has had a complete system of rail-

ways constructed for her without any cost whatever to herself. As to the pensions, not amounting in all to £2,000,000 a year, no one can gravely argue that they form an annual tribute drawn by England from India. Each of these pensions is the reward of a lifetime devoted to the service of India. A civil servant, say, who has gone out to that country in early youth, full of strength, energy, and enthusiasm for his work, remains in India thirty-five years, rising by slow degrees from the post of assistant magistrate to that of governor and despotic ruler of a province containing many millions of inhabitants. Throughout his long, active, and useful career he has done incalculable good to India, setting a bright example to the natives of inflexible integrity of purpose, great industry, and eager devotion to duty, combined with a liberality of sentiment and anxiety to improve the condition of men of all races and creeds within the sphere of his influence, which strikes the narrow Oriental mind with all the force of a new revelation. Such a man retires at the end of his term of service with a pension of £1,000 a year, to spend the evening of his days in the country of his birth. Is it just to point attention to every shilling which he receives as a token of the wealth which England draws from India, while we omit to place on record, on the other side, the lifelong labours of this Englishman to increase the prosperity of India?

An Englishman in India has now no advantages beyond what his own energy and knowledge of business can secure him. Such is the liberality of the Government. Not only is he not protected against the natives, but all other Europeans are equally privileged with himself to contend for the prizes of mercantile life in India; and amongst the well-known firms of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras there are many German, French, and American names—though of course the immense majority are Scotch and English, for the simple reason that Great Britain has the principal carrying trade of the world in its hands, and is the largest producer of, and dealer in, those goods which are most in request among the natives of India. There can be no doubt that the trade with India as thus carried on is most valuable to us; and we should be taking a very one-sided view of the real bearings of our connection with India if we imagined that there was no commercial reciprocity between England and that great country. English merchants, however, having dealings with the United States, France, Russia, and the British colonies, make as large fortunes in business as merchants whose principal dealings are with India. And then

are there no families in India enriched by the commerce with England?

The progress of India since it came under British rule has been extraordinary. Sir Bartle Frere said not long ago that while Englishmen continued to speak of the changeless East, the East was really, under Western influence, undergoing a transformation as complete as was ever effected by magician's wand; and, indeed, our sober experience of the gradual progress of European countries cannot measure the quickness with which revolutionary changes are effected in a country in which society has been broken up from its very foundation, in which all old theories and prejudices have been overturned, and an entirely new impulse and direction given to life by the simultaneous introduction from the West of liberal ideas of trade, politics, and religion.

What the British Government has really done for India can be understood only by considering what was the condition of the country when the East India Company began to acquire dominion in Hindustan. The state of India was like that of Britain, as described by Tennyson, after the Romans had left the island, and before Arthur re-established the reign of law. All "the ways were filled with rapine," and it was rarely that "a random deed of prowess done redressed a random wrong." Now it is widely different. Wherever the traveller goes in India he finds proofs of the abounding prosperity of the country. There are no doubt outlying districts in which little has yet been done to remedy the ill effects of centuries of misgovernment for which England is not responsible. It would be marvellous if there were no neglected spots in so vast a territory. Generally speaking, however, the picture presented at railway stations is that of groups of gaily dressed, comfortable farming folk, who have manifestly a feeling of security, which has become so strong amongst them

that neither men nor women any longer fear to expose their most valuable possessions to the public gaze.

At present it is only the poor in India who pay taxes. The whole revenue amounts to above £47,000,000, being in the proportion of 6s. 6d. per head of population; whereas, taking the population of Great Britain and Ireland as 30,000,000, and the annual revenue as £70,000,000, the proportion per head in the United Kingdom is at the rate of £2 6s. 8d. Of course there is no comparison between the national wealth of the two countries; but it must be borne in mind that of the Indian revenue £20,000,000 consists of rent of the land, and from £7,000,000 to £8,000,000 of the produce of opium duties paid by the Chinese; so that the taxes actually paid by the people of India do not amount to more than £20,000,000, or at the rate of a fraction less than 2s. 10d. a head. India is, therefore, probably the most lightly taxed of all countries that possess a civilised Government.

The putting of India, in the course of events, under the rule of Great Britain involves in it a great trust for the welfare of the world. May Great Britain, as there is reason to believe she is, continue to be true to that trust! As these lines are being written (December, 1878) there are clouds on the sky in the direction of Afghanistan, but they are not "bigger than a man's hand;" and it is to be hoped that the promptitude of the Viceroy and his Council, in conjunction with the Home Government, will speedily result in a lasting peace. The progress of the British army through the country of the enemy has, in its earlier stages, been much like a victorious march, and no friend of mankind can wish it to be otherwise even to the end. Sad pity it is that equal promptitude in other directions had not been so used, years ago, as to have prevented such a war ever being inaugurated.

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THE END.

THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY
OF
THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA
AND THE EAST,

*FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SEPOY
MUTINY IN 1859.*

BY
E. H. NOLAN, Ph.D., LL.D.

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA."

WITH
A CONTINUATION TO THE END OF 1878.

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PREFACE TO VOLS. I. AND II.

THE Introduction to this Work is so written as to render a long preface neither necessary nor desirable. Probably a *History of the British Empire in India and the East* is one of the most laborious works which could be undertaken, however popular the form which may be given to it. This circumstance, so well known, furnishes the Author with a plea for the indulgence of his readers, whose support has been so extensively given to his productions.

The Author will merely use this Preface as the medium of expressing his obligations to those whose assistance he has found so valuable. He is indebted to Mr. J. EUGENE O'CAVANAGH for his aid in the portion which treats of India in the heathen and Mohammedan periods. To JOHN HOLLYER, Esq., of the India House, the Author is especially under obligations for counsel and aid in various ways, although entertaining, on many points, differences of opinion in reference to Indian affairs. The advice of H. T. PRINSEP, Esq., of the Council for India, and the courtesy of Sir PROBY CAUTLEY, also of the Council, claim the Author's grateful thanks. In the selection of the best books as guides and text-books, and for the enunciation of important critiques, he expresses his acknowledgments to Dr. HAYMAN WILSON, Professor of Sanscrit in Oxford University, and Librarian to the India House. From every person connected with the Company's Library attention and courtesy have been received. The Author is also much indebted for the opinions expressed to him in reference to India and Indian affairs by Major-General Sir FENWICK WILLIAMS, Bart., of Kars, and BEHRAM PASHA (Lieutenant-General Cannon), when, in the earlier period of his labours, the judgment of men of eminent parts and experience was of the highest value.

E. H. N.

INTRODUCTION TO VOLS. I. AND II.

COLONEL GURWOOD, in his important work, the *Despatches of the Duke of Wellington*, makes the following remark :—" The great end of history is the exact illustration of events as they occurred ; and there should neither be exaggeration nor concealment, to suit angry feelings or personal disappointment. History should contain the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." In the subject of this work the temptation to deviate from the principle laid down by the writer just quoted is very great. The government of India has long been the theme of party politics in the legislature and throughout the British empire, and recent events have not diminished the tendency to debate the matter, even where the information possessed but little qualified the adventurous disputants. Foreign nations have entered into this discussion, and, prompted by envy or by an adverse policy, have subjected the settlement, progress, and government of the British in India to the most searching, stringent, and severe criticism. The commercial classes in England were, to a considerable extent, in conflict with the home government and the Honourable East India Company, so long as the latter was a trading company. The missionary societies, representing the religious public, have been in collision with the directors on their religious policy in India, and upon numerous social questions of the deepest concern. Military authorities of eminence have expressed very serious differences of opinion with one another and the committee in Leadenhall Street, as to the constitution and direction of the army. Political economists have complained of the management of Indian resources, and mooted schemes of great magnitude in reference to their future development. The crown and the company have not always worked in harmony, and both have been denounced by native rajahs, parliamentary orators, and popular writers, as unjust and negligent ; while men of profound experience in Indian affairs and Indian character have represented the government as adapted to the people with wondrous suitability, and maintained with unswerving justice. Under these circumstances, to avoid a partizan feeling in any direction, keeping in view the old but much neglected maxim, *audi alteram partem*, is an honourable task for a writer to propose to himself, but one of extreme difficulty to perform. It is, however, essential to a correct and honest History of India, not only that a general impartiality should be observed, but that fair account be taken of every conflicting interest and party, and their views, and the arguments by which they have been supported, correctly represented to the general reader. The laborious investigations which this duty imposed have been faithfully executed, and in the following chapters the injunction shall be obeyed-- "Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

That there have been misgovernment and neglect in the administration of India is too true ; but no Englishman can make himself acquainted with all the circumstances of our Indian acquisitions, and the character of the native instrumentality which has been of necessity employed in the army, the collection of taxes, and the dispensation of justice, without feeling that the English nation might take as a motto, descriptive of its Indian rule, the title which Bulwer Lytton gives to one of his works—" Not so bad as we seem." That evils of terrible magnitude exist in the social condition of India, which the government have not made adequate efforts to eradicate, or even to mitigate—and that some have attended the progress of English power and government—is so obvious, and so certain to be the case under any form of government, that it is astonishing how intelligent persons are

found to feel or affect surprise. It is still more a matter of wonder that those who have so keen an eye for the detection of misrule, and for the errors and mischiefs which have been permitted to remain, and even to grow up under our supervision, should be so dull in noting the benefits conferred, and which have been mingled with the measures most generally regarded as injurious. The great dramatist represents Henry V. as discovering amidst the perils of Agincourt that there is

“Some soul of goodness in things evil
Would men observingly distil it out.”

This is the spirit in which all criticism on Indian affairs, and, in fact, all historical criticism, should be made.

The importance of the subject demands that the attention of the British public should be dispassionately given to the present condition of India, and to the measures in reference to her government which must occupy the legislature for very many years to come. This cannot be done but by an intelligent acquaintance with the country, its resources, history, and the social condition of its inhabitants. No time could be more favourable for elucidating these topics in a manner adapted to popular perusal, yet also in a manner comprehensive and in harmony with the progress of the people of this country in the knowledge of social, economical, and political science. India is the brightest gem in the most glorious crown that was ever placed upon a queenly brow. William, Prince of Orange, is represented to have said of Ireland, when looking down from an elevated position upon one of her beautiful landscapes, “This is a country well worth fighting for!” and who could look upon the glorious “Ind,” teeming with fertility—rich in all the natural luxury of the tropics—glowing beneath the brightest sunshine that smiles on even the landscapes of the East—bounded by the old historic lands of remotest antiquity—curious alike in the phenomena of nature and the mental peculiarities of the races that dwell there, and containing unworked resources sufficient to tempt the ambition of the greatest and richest empire—without feeling that it is worthy to be kept by those who conquered, and still nobly hold it. Surely, if ever country were worthy the valour of the brave, the study of the learned, the exploration of the philosopher, the observation of the traveller, and the holy enterprise of the Christian, this is it. There genius of every order may find scope. The languages, literature, religion, and customs of the people,—the scenery, soil, mines, material resources, and geographical position of the country,—all invite the brave in arts and study, as much as the brave in arms, to confer upon it the benefit of their enterprise, and thus enlarge the sphere of human advantage, as well as open up for themselves a track of fame and honour. It is scarcely possible for the English student, at all events now, to devote too much attention to this subject.

For the future welfare of India, and for English dominion and renown, there is hope. The hurricane which has passed over Hindoostan will purify the political and social atmosphere, and leave a brighter and more benign calm than prevailed before. We must not regard political any more than natural convulsions as simply evils. It is necessary that the mind of a nation should be disturbed, to awaken it from supineness, even although the process be alarming. Agitation prevents social evils from settling into a sediment; the more they are stirred, the greater the probability that they will evaporate and pass away. The lightning, which dazzles in the distance, shaking the heavens with thunder, blasting the forest tree, and shattering the sacred temple or the stately palace, also rends the cloud, and scatters its pent-up treasures on the thirsty soil; so in the dealings of Providence, when the voice of his reproof reverberates through the nations, and the lightning of his power smites and overthrows the proudest monuments of human sagacity and dominion, He at the same time replenishes the earth with his goodness, and prepares, by the very processes which fill the peoples with dismay, seasons of fair tranquillity and brightening joy. The breeze which sweeps the stagnant lake carries onward its pestiferous odour, but it also passes over park and pasture, bearing on its laden wing the fragrance of blossom and of flower. It is thus that a philosophic mind regards the operations of the Divine government. So long as the heart

of a nation is sound—so long as there are principle, self-examination, and courage—disasters bear within them the elements of political resuscitation. This has been singularly the case in the history of great nations. They have seldom emerged from an inferior position to a new and higher one, without having experienced some rude collision from without or convulsion within, as in a geological catastrophe, when an inferior organisation breaks up to give place to one of superior type. Frequently great changes take place in the inner life of a nation by slow degrees, less observed by other nations, but not less felt by the people who are the subjects of the change; but it is questionable if even these are ever painless—old customs, laws, religions, do not expire, nor are old policies changed, as the western sunset passes softly away, or as the dawn noiselessly advances with bright feet along the heavenly way: the bird which shakes off its old for a new and gayer plumage finds the process painful as well as gradual, although the result is renewed strength and beauty.

The events which have lately occurred in India, and by which all humane minds have been horror-stricken, are the certain although terrible means by which India is to be opened up to better government and European civilisation. The obstacles which stood most in the way of such happy changes were caste and Mohammedanism; the former must cease to obtain any official recognition, and the latter must be kept down by the only means possible—the point of the sword. As to caste, there never existed on earth any barrier to human progress so effectual; imagination, however depraved morally, while intellectually active, never conceived anything by which pride, oppression, and an immutable ignorance, might be so efficiently conserved. The government of India has been blamed and defended with equal zeal for treating it with respect. Colonel Sykes has irrefutably proved the impossibility of refusing to recognise it, either in the organisation of the army or the administration of the law: it was at once a religious and social institution, possessing a traditional and positive force in relation to society in India which could not be ignored. But the time has gone by when it is safe or possible to humour it, or allow it to impede the aims of government, the discipline of the army, or the progress of society. A writer in the *Northern Daily Express* thus notices the necessity which circumstances now impose upon the Indian government to declare boldly that they will no longer allow this distinction to make the government of India one of sufferance, or to constrain it to appear as if conniving at an institution so abhorrent to reason, justice, and civilisation:—"We see at last the downfall of a horrible superstition, not Brahminism, but of a superstition more revolting and insane—namely, an unprincipled deference to superstition—in a word, the superstition of the Indian civil service. Consider whether the infamy is greater in the poor ignorant creature who burns an old woman for witchcraft, in the full belief that she has formed a compact with the devil, or in him who, believing neither in witchcraft nor devil, attends the fire, and contributes with his own hands a fagot, on the principle that it is better not to disturb inveterate prejudices and long-established customs. This is the plea, and has been the policy, of those who emphatically call themselves 'old Indians.' This is what they oracularly call the traditional policy." Although the passage is too severe, if considered as a description of the motives and principles of the whole civil service of the East India Company, it yet fairly depicts the conduct of the extreme men, civil and military, who abetted a time-serving and timid policy towards the superstitions of India generally, and towards that of caste especially. There is now, however, an end to this; the great military revolution which has startled and fixed the attention of the world has swept away, as with a whirlwind, the very institution it was one of its objects to preserve. England will now provide for the government of India in spite of caste, and with no other recognition than the tolerant spirit of the religion and character of the British people teaches her rulers to observe to all creeds and conditions of men. Here there is a vast advantage gained, at a great expenditure, it is true, both of blood and treasure, and at some cost of prestige; but for the bloodshed a terrible retribution has already been exacted, the treasures plundered will soon be replaced by the improved condition of the country under a better governmental administration; and even the prestige of England will be increased, not only by the glorious fortitude called forth on the part of her suffering soldiers, civilians, and women, or by the new victories

which crown the reconquest of upper India, but by the moral power she has put forth in proving herself equal to the emergency of so great a crisis, as well as able to make use of it for her own honour and the lasting good of the vanquished. As the mariner, who proves his seamanship and his courage in the storm, as well as tests the quality of the ship in which he sails, gaining experience of her and of himself—so England, amidst this tumult, has established the unbending character of her courage and the resources of her empire, while experience is gleaned in reference to her Asiatic dominion which will serve for generations.

The limitation of Mohammedan power and influence must be one of the results of the reconstitution of British authority in India, and such a change must affect the whole social condition of that country. Mohammedanism and a high degree of civilisation cannot co-exist among the same people. The Koran is not only the Bible of the Mussulman, it is his book of science and of government. Its laws and doctrines extend to the whole individual and social life of the Prophet's followers. On all scientific subjects its contents are absurd, puerile, and superstitious; on subjects of public law and policy it is despotic and fanatical. Discoveries in science or social economics are adverse to the fixed principles of this standard, they are therefore rejected by the true believer as infidel. Turkey exhibits the impossibility of a Mohammedan state advancing in the arts and in good government, even under the most favourable conditions: all development of commerce, agriculture, and science in the Turkish empire is to be ascribed to Christians, and is regarded with either disdain, hatred, or horror, according to the individual character of the Turk, or the degree of fanaticism with which he is imbued. It is true that when the light of science does find entrance to the mind of the Mohammedan his religion is destroyed, for if the Koran be confuted in one point, it is confuted in its entirety. Infallible in its pretensions on all subjects, as soon as it is found to be in error, its authority perishes. The public schools in India, and the missionaries, have infused just philosophical notions among the better classes of Mohammedan youth, and where this has been the case they have invariably become sceptics to their creed. A perception of this fact has roused the fanaticism of all Mohammedan India against the English. Alarmed lest intercourse with them, an acquaintance with their literature, or observation of their scientific knowledge, should supplant the doctrines of the Koran, the religious *par excellence* have become maddened with rage against the presence of Europeans in India, and a desire grew up to attempt their expulsion at any risk. This was one of the sources from which sprang the movement by which revolt and slaughter were so recently carried over all Northern and North-western India. For a considerable time the members of various orders especially devoted to the service of the Prophet have been urging on the population and the soldiery to insurrection and revolt in the name of religion; while the more politic among the rajahs and public men have been counselling them to wait for an inviting opportunity. The people were as desirous as the soldiery for a movement against the government, or even more desirous; but it was felt that upon a revolt of the united Brahmins and Mussulmen soldiery, at least partially successful, depended whether the people could effect anything, and accordingly suspense and an anxious, importunate expectation for the moment that should decide the experiment pervaded Mohammedan India. It is probable that this hatred would have been long nursed, without any more open display than desultory outbursts at public festivals, if chances of success had not offered, by the fewness of the British troops, the extraordinary confidence placed in the sepoys, and the marvellous want of vigilance on the part of the authorities, notwithstanding innumerable warnings. Lord Brougham, when investigating the greater probability of crime in proportion to the chance of impunity, remarked—"All the chances which a man has of escape naturally affect his mind when he is meditating whether he shall commit an offence or not." There is no doubt that whatever amount of provocation existed in the fact that cartridges glazed with fat of oxen or swine were served out to the men, by using which caste would have been forfeited, yet the chances of exemption from ultimate failure, presented by the circumstances named above, decided the minds of the soldiery upon revolt. Hereafter no such temptations will be in the way of either Hindoo or Mohammedan. The discipline of the Indian army will be placed on such a footing, and that army so constituted, as to afford

ground for security, and in the public tranquillity a guarantee for progress in civilisation, and the prosperity of the country. According to the religion of the Mohammedan, Christians are not necessarily devoted to death, but only to slavery under certain forms and conditions; while the hatred to heathenism inculcated by that creed is never mitigated—it dooms the idolater to death without mercy. In the future of India, therefore, when Brahmin and Mohammedan perceive that there is no prospect of overthrowing the “kumpany sahib,” they will exercise towards one another, unchecked, the antipathies of their hostile religions, and a second coalition against Europeans will be extremely unlikely, if not impossible. It is not probable that attempts to conciliate the Mohammedan population or soldiery will again be made; all such efforts would fail—Mohammedans cannot be conciliated: the surrender of the country to their control would alone satisfy them. The conciliation of a bigoted sect, whose most cherished religious principle is ascendancy, is bad policy; concession adds to their strength—they attribute it to weakness or an act of homage to their rights, and are proportionately emboldened. This has always been the case with all bigoted and fanatical superstitions; it is in the nature of things for it to be so: and therefore the true policy of the future will be to curb the licentiousness of all fanaticisms in India, and assert the liberty of all, whatever their creed, despite the long-cherished superstitions, or the prescriptive assumption of castes. That this will be the genius of our government in India hereafter public opinion in Great Britain has already indicated; and the noble heir of the house of Derby well expressed the experience of later times when he remarked—“Independent of public opinion, no man and no institution in this country is, or (and thank God for it) can be.” That the government of India will be adapted to the moral and political phenomena there, and the newly-awakened interest taken in Indian affairs by the United Kingdom, there can be no doubt; yet, on the whole, it is false to represent India as having been unjustly treated in a religious point of view. The Rev. Dr. Robert Lee, of Edinburgh, has put this assertion in a just light in these words:—“We incurred no guilt by not having used our power to make converts of the natives, because, as a government, we could not make them Christians, even if we would. If we had the power to do this, we had not the right; a foreign government, as ours is, had no right to take the taxes of the people to compel them to adopt a religion of which their consciences disapproved. Instead of promoting Christianity, such a course would be the most effectual way of retarding it, because it would raise up prejudices against the religion thus forcibly established, which probably nothing would be able to remove.” It is true that the early government of the East India Company was hostile to missionary establishments in India, but of late years all discouragements have been withdrawn. It is also true that the company contributed to the support of heathen temples, which was wrong in conscience, and false in policy, but this has altogether ceased. The tolerance of infanticide and Sutteeism was a necessity; the company dared not have attempted their subversion much sooner than they accomplished it. Every step, however, in the direction of religious freedom, and the protection of the helpless members of the community from superstitious cruelties to which they were exposed, exasperated the Brahmin devotees; in fact, all the movements of “the party of progress,” as certain sections of British and Hindoo society are called, inflamed the resentment of large portions of the population of India in proportion as these movements were successful. There is nothing so hateful to Islam and to Brahma as religious liberty, therefore the defence of Christian proselytes by the government from all the consequences to which unprotected they would be exposed, created an amount of disloyalty in India which cannot be computed in this country by any that have not studied the history, religions, and social life of India. The particular action in the various legal improvements made in harmony with “the party of progress” has not always been judicious, nor marked by forethought. As an example, the interference of government with the *lex loci* in reference to property may be cited. The government, impelled by public opinion both in India and in England, so modified the action of the local law, as to give umbrage to the whole native population of India. All through the East, from the Bosphorus to Calcutta, the local custom dominates. In India it is inexorably rigid: Christian proselytes suffered from it; by becoming Christians they lost caste, and

forfeited their interest in the family property. The hardship and injustice of this, as well as the impediment it created to the spread of the Christian religion, created an agitation among missionaries and other pious and philanthropic men in India, which communicated itself to the same classes in England, and resulted in the abrogation of the *lex loci*, so far as proselytes were concerned. A choice was given to adopt that principle, or to claim a full participation in the privileges of English law. The practical effect was that while by the local law the property must pass from the heathen to the proselyte, he, by adopting the law of England, left the property to whom he pleased—it did not pass back again by right into the hands of his heathen kindred. Thus the proselyte acquired, by his conversion, an absolute right in property, in which otherwise he could only have had a life interest when permitted to pass into his possession. The natives considered such an interference with the *lex loci* as not merely intended to protect the religious liberty of the convert, but devised as a bonus on proselytism. Even in reference to the first and just provision of the enactment, which secured to the new Christian his rights in connection with the family inheritance, a powerful native hostility would have existed; but in the second feature of the provision, which virtually confiscated the property from his heathen kindred to himself, the people saw an intention to make war upon their religion. Few men connected with the government of India approved of such a measure, but the opinion of certain classes in India, and of the majority of the British public, constrained the course which was adopted.

That there has been injustice and impolicy in the administration of India will be admitted by both the people of England, the East India Company, and the crown; but it is impossible to deny that the words of the Rev. Dr. Lee, of Edinburgh describe the facts, when he says—“Of course, if you set up an ideal standard, every nation—Great Britain even—is badly governed; but if you compare it with other countries, I say India is not badly governed. It is incomparably better governed than any country in Asia, and than most countries in Europe. To what conclusion, then, are we to come? have we any right to be in the country at all? This is a question of great delicacy, and opens up many nice points of casuistry. In the beginning, doubtless, much sin was committed; great empires are never acquired without crimes, and our empire in India has been no exception to the general rule. You are now in possession, and cannot quit your post. To give it up would be to surrender the country to anarchy, rapine, and civil war; or to leave it a prey to Russia, which would be to abandon it to an uttermost despotism. The duty, then, devolves upon you to do the best you can to promote its good government and improvement.”

The importance of our Indian empire can hardly be over-estimated; for although the assertions of continental censors, that the severance of India would leave England a third or fourth-rate power, is simply ridiculous, the loss would be severe. In every district of the British Isles there are persons who have acquired a competency, or been enriched by India; her productions enter largely into our commerce; her civil and military services afford remunerative occupation constantly for many thousands of Englishmen, besides those who realise fortunes, and return home to enjoy them; the revenue she renders exceeds that of most of the continental kingdoms; her occupation affords a position of power and influence to Great Britain which are felt all over the eastern world; and the possession of so vast a dominion gives a prestige and glory to the name of England which is recognised by all nations, and which will shed lustre on the page of English history for ever. What India may be made in the way of benefit to herself and to the whole British empire has been strikingly exemplified in the annexation of the Punjaub. That fertile province has become still richer; her people prosperous, peaceable, and loyal; her revenues a source of advantage to herself and to the government of India: and all this has resulted from a complete, instead of a partial conquest, a thorough disarming of the seditious and suspected, the impartial administration of justice, and adoption of laws and a financial system based upon correct principles of political economy. The Blue-books which have been issued respecting the government of the Punjaub, and the reports of trustworthy travellers and residents, place the prosperity of the whole Sikh districts beyond doubt, and prove that since the entire destruction of the Khalsa army, and the organi-

sation of a separate, efficient, and economical government, the whole country of the five rivers has become a source of strength to the government of India. The readiness with which Sikh volunteers were formed, from Ferozepore to Peshawur, during the recent terrible revolt of the Bengal sepoys, and the efficiency with which the old soldiers of the maharajah served in our ranks, impose the conviction that, notwithstanding the impracticable nature of Brahminism and Mohammedanism, all India may in time be governed as well as the Punjaub, and made even more productive of advantage to its own people as well as to its rulers. As already remarked, the great revolt of the sepoys seems providentially to hasten and facilitate such results. So long as a native army constituted as was that of Bengal, and two other native armies so far similarly constituted as those of Bombay and Madras, dictated to the government, or were as much a source of apprehension as power, it was impossible to carry out those improvements of which India is susceptible, and which the British people desire. Even in the Punjaub it was the Bengal army that created our only danger. Should the armies of Bombay and Madras be permitted to remain as they are, or a Bengal army similar in any great degree to the former, be re-constructed, the perils which have so long hung over English rule in India will still impend. Present events, however, have determined the future for us, and the military and civil *régime* will henceforth guarantee the solidity of our dominions, its more thorough usefulness, and its greater honour and renown. The words of Sir Henry Russell, written in 1842, are strikingly appropriate to such considerations:—"Our tenure of India must, under all circumstances, be a military one. If we do not hold it by the exercise of our arms, at least we do by the impression of them. If ever we are thought to have lost our military supremacy, I am afraid no other will remain to us; by our army we must either stand or fall. The most fearful of all disasters that we can dread, therefore, is disaffection among our native troops. When it does occur, and occur it will, unless it be preceded and anticipated by some other, it will be the work of some one bold, able man of themselves, who obtains influence among them. Such a person has never yet appeared, it is true, but it would be a delusion for us to assume that no such person will appear. The natives of India are not an unlikely stock for such a shoot to spring from, nor is the mass ill-suited to the rising of such a leaven. The event, if ever it do come, will be abrupt. It will be an explosion. It will give no warning, but will be upon us before there is time to arrest it. The mischief will have been done before its approach has been discovered. It is only by being foreseen that such a danger can be averted. . . . The more busily the troops are employed, the more they may be relied upon. In our own territory, as well as in the territory of our allies, we must be provided against every emergency. Forces equipped for rapid movement and effective service must be maintained within reach of each other. No point on our border, no quarter of our territory, must be suffered to feel itself at liberty. No incursion will be attempted from abroad, no rising will be adventured at home, if it is not encouraged by the appearance of impunity. Even if these preparations should not be required to repel attack or suppress insurrection, the very appearance of them will serve the purpose of preventing it." The recent revolt fulfilled the predictions of Sir Henry, except in the particular of a man of eminent military parts arising among the sepoys, which, however, he regarded as a possible or not very improbable event rather than one likely. The danger he depicted as existing in 1842 will exist in 1862, or at any other time, if we continue the old military system of absolute confidence in the sepoy; the preventive care, pointed out in the above quotation as essential, must be the policy of our future rule. The explosion has occurred, and the occasion is furnished not only of testing such predictions, but of profiting by such counsels. If we do take up the government of India with a resolute and just hand, the day will not be so distant as some imagine when over her vast area rich cities shall flourish; fertile fields bloom with the beauty and luxuriance of her glorious clime; peace smile within her borders over many millions of contented people; surrounding nations look upon our power as a beauty and a glory; and the grandeur of empire appear as the consequence and accompaniment not merely of our heroism or our skill, but of our virtue. Where the blood of English victims has left its stain the sanctuaries of English piety shall rear their imposing structures; and where

the groan of the murdered Englishwoman cried aloud to Heaven, the prayer and the psalmody of native worship shall be heard. It is the genius of truth and justice to propagate themselves. Every righteous act in legislature, or voluntary benevolence performed by a people; begets its like, and virtue increases and multiplies, spreading its offspring all around; as some prolific eastern tree, not only graces by its beauty the spot from which it springs, but scatters the seeds of its productive life around it in ever-multiplying energy within the limits adapted to its condition.

The study of the History of India by the British people is conducive to the happy results we contemplate. There is no age of the progress and life of India that is not interesting and instructive. In the far mythic past we learn how the infancy of an oriental people was nursed, and how that nurture affected its future growth. From the remotest antiquity to the conquests of Alexander, from the marvellous achievements of that conqueror until Mohammedan invaders overran those realms, there is in the very sameness of Indian life, and the monotony of Indian story, a lesson of interest and practical utility. The genius of the people through a long period, or series of periods, is so indicated as to facilitate the study of their character in all subsequent times to the present hour. The Mohammedan era of India opens up a new view of the existence of her people. Even then she offers a peculiar aspect in the very high places of her Mussulman conquerors. Mohammedans in India, while possessing the common characteristics of the followers of the Prophet, so adapted themselves to Hindoo custom, and so imbibed the Hindoo spirit, that they assumed a peculiar character, in which they differ from all other Mohammedan nations. In the development of this fact there are also historic lessons of value bearing upon the present.

The story of English power and progress in India, and of the wars waged with Persia, China, and other contiguous countries, is probably the most romantic and curious ever unfolded. What deeds of heroism! what unforeseen and unexpected conquests! what striking and singular providences! over what variety and extent of realm the flag of Britain has been unfurled! through what remote glens, and passes, and defiles, her sound of bugle and tap of drum have echoed! on what historic, and yet far-off, fields and mountains the sheen of her bayonets has gleamed in the blazing light of the Eastern sun! even when progressing only by her commerce and her laws, and the reverberation of her cannon ceased among the hills and valleys of the vanquished, how largely she has entered into what Sir Archibald Alison has designated the everlasting war between East and West! how the opinions and feeling of Britain have percolated the moral soil of Asia, to spring up again in renewing and fertilising streams! The people of England must become better acquainted with all this if they will impress their own image upon the Eastern world, and leave it for posterity to recognise. They must study these records of their own fame, as well as of earlier times, if they perform the still nobler task of impressing the image of their God and Saviour upon the oriental heart. If we rise to the greatness of our opportunities and apparent destinies, we need have no fears for our work or for ourselves.

The foregoing Introduction was written soon after the suppression of the Mutiny and the abolition of the political control of the East India Company. Since that period the development of our Empire in the East has made great and rapid strides, with which it is of vital importance that all who make any pretensions to a knowledge of Indian affairs should become acquainted. In our third volume, therefore, we have endeavoured to give a concise and attractive account of the progress of events (including the visits of their Royal Highnesses the Duke of Edinburgh and the Prince of Wales and the proclamation of her Majesty as Empress), as well as the development of the resources and the moral and religious advancement of India to the close of the year 1878.

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THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY
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AND THE EAST,

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BY
E. H. NOLAN, Ph.D., LL.D.

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA."

WITH
A CONTINUATION TO THE END OF 1878:

ILLUSTRATED WITH STEEL ENGRAVINGS AND MAPS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—II.

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PREFACE TO VOL. III.

THE present volume of "The History of the British Empire in India and the East" is intended to carry forward and to supplement the two preceding volumes by Dr. NOLAN. The Author has endeavoured to deal justly with all parties, holding an even balance and recording facts as they occurred during the period which is covered by his history. To ascertain these the literature of the time has been carefully consulted and digested. The English Newspaper Press in India takes a very high rank both in respect to literary quality, and sound, uncompromising principle. The Native Press, moreover, is, in several instances, worthy of the most respectful consideration. The Author has largely availed himself of these sources of information; while besides there are many monographic works on a wide variety of Indian subjects by thoroughly competent and able authors, and these have been in like manner diligently studied.

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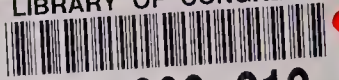
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